
“Above all his Friends and throughout the Ages” – Paradoxical Language in the Old Testament Messianic Prophecies*

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Kafka once wrote that “Messiah will come one day later than he was announced.” And the author of *The Castle* is right on point. No matter how great our desire is to know the time and circumstances in which the long-awaited and repeatedly promised Messiah would come, we might never be able to give a sure, satisfying answer for as soon as we are close to the hour of truth another question would surface and the Messiah, God’s mysterious emissary, will always be one step ahead of us.

For Christians, the Old Testament is relevant, among other reasons, because it contains a considerable number of Messianic prophecies, inspired sayings pertaining to the person and activity of the Anointed One. “Messiah,” *mashiah*, in Hebrew means “anointed.” The Septuagint, the oldest translation into Greek of the Old Testament, ca. 250 B.C., renders this noun as *Χριστός*, Christ which has the same meaning as its Hebrew counterpart. In the Old Testament times, anointed were the kings, priests, and prophets, i.e., the charismatic leaders of Israel whose authority came from God. Thus, the Messianic prophecies represent the pre-history of our Lord Jesus Christ. “These are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ [Messiah], the Son of God,” says the apostle John (John 20:31).

The Old Testament history is marked by a persistent linearity, beginning with God’s creative word (Genesis 1), passing through various calls (e.g., Abraham’s in Genesis 12) and covenants (e.g., the Sinai

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Covenant in Exodus 19), and culminating with the Day of Messiah when the entire creation would be brought back in submission to its Creator. This linear history depicted by the Bible is in strong contrast with the seasons-based cyclical nature of the ancient mythical societies (e.g., Babylon, Ugarit, Canaan, etc.) where, instead of a beginning and an end, one speaks of repeated moments in time.

Throughout the ages, the pre-incarnated Messiah has been journeying along the path of history changing names, titles and garments, softly whispering or indefinitely appearing, hiding himself in mysterious signs and types foreshadowing the great Incarnation, which was fulfilled in Christ Jesus. He has always been there, at the beating heart of history; as the Servant of Yahweh [Yahweh is the personal name of God in the Old Testament, meaning "The One Who Is"], the only God who is here and there, now and then, for you and me, and for both of us when we are in deep need and great sorrow. He is so close to Yahweh, his Father and Anointer, that often times their names are interchanged. For instance, Exodus 3:2 indicates that an angel of Yahweh (a type of Messiah) appeared to Moses in the blazing bush at Horeb, while v. 4 says that Yahweh himself spoke to him.

With respect to the relationship between the pre-existing Messiah and his types, the Psalmist (45:7-8) writes: "Your divine throne is everlasting; your royal scepter is a scepter of equity. You love righteousness and hate wickedness; rightly has God, your God, chosen to anoint you with oil of gladness over all your friends." The "friends" of the Anointed One mentioned in this text refer to the Old Testament types and prefigurations of Christ. The Psalmist points to the Messiah who, due to his divine nature, is above all his types. Since the Messiah shares the same divine nature with God who anointed him to accomplish his saving work in the world, any description of him will use a paradoxical language. This lack of precision reaching sometimes a high level of ambiguity is the very expression of the "interpenetration" (Greek: *περιχώρησις*) of the divine and human natures in the person of Messiah. While the human nature can be encapsulated in phrases, the divine nature tends to escape any precise categorization or definition.

In the following lines we are going to dwell on some of the most representative Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament showing how the inspired writers using a paradoxical language try to convey what is beyond any description.

(1) *The Seed of the Woman.*

Genesis 3:15 contains the first good news (“*Protoevangelium*”-the “First Gospel”) given by God to Adam and Eve immediately after they had transgressed his commandment. God addresses Eve saying that he will establish an enmity between “the woman” and “the serpent” (or the devil). The definite article on the Hebrew word *ha-ishah* “the woman” (a certain woman) made the early Christian writers see in this providential woman a prefiguration of Mary the Lord’s Holy Mother.

The Messianic character of this text was recognized by the Jewish interpreters too. The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (an Aramaic translation -interpretation) of Genesis 3:15 ends with the remark “in the days of the King Messiah.”

But what is most puzzling in this verse is the mention of the “seed” along with “the woman.” It would have been more natural to speak of the seed of a man rather than a woman. This paradoxical wording underlines the fact that Messiah (“the seed”) will be born in a supernatural way without a human father. The text does not say how “the seed” becomes “the woman’s.” It simply inserts the first paradox into the intricate portrayal of Messiah.

(2) *Virgin yet Birth-Giver of God.*

Many centuries have been elapsed from the dawn of humankind when the “*Protoevangelium*” was delivered, and the time (8th century B.C.) when the prophet Isaiah started his activity. The great prophet of Jerusalem left us one of the most known and quoted Messianic prophecies. Isaiah 7:14 insists on the same idea as Genesis 3:15, the supernatural conception of Messiah. The text adds a few new details. First, “the woman” is closely defined as “the virgin” [cf. the inspired rendition of the Septuagint which translates the indefinite Hebrew *ha-almah* “the young woman” with ἡ παρθένος “the virgin”]. The interjection *hinneh* “Behold!” points to a paradoxical reality: that of a virgin yet birth-giver of God. Isaiah says, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that the virgin will conceive [this detail parallels the seed of the woman in Genesis 3:15] and will give birth to a son and she will name him Emmanuel (which means “God-is-with-us”). As one can deduce, Emmanuel’s mother is virgin in the moment of conception, and during her pregnancy. Almost two centu-

ries later, Ezekiel (44:2-3) would have the vision of the eastern gate of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, which will be kept shut. The Christian writers saw here a prefiguration of Mary's ever-virginity (including the post-delivery virginity). "This gate will be kept shut. No one may open it or go through it, since Yahweh, God of Israel, has been through it. And so it must be kept shut. The prince himself, however, may sit there to take his meal in the presence of Yahweh." [The "Prince" here as the "Prince-of-Peace" in Isaiah 9:6 is a Messianic title.]

The second paradox in Isaiah 7:14 is that Messiah, though God in nature will dwell among humans, hence his symbolic name Emmanuel.

(3) Now and then, near and far.

A Babylonian diviner, by name Balaam son of Beor (living at the end of the 13th century B.C.) mentioned in Numbers 24:15-19 and also in a 8th century lime plaster discovered at Deir Alla (Jordan) made his contribution to the recording of Messiah's pre-history. In his saying, inspired by Yahweh, Balaam refers to "a star emerging from Jacob, a scepter rising from Israel" [i.e., a royal Messiah], concluding "I see him-but not now. I perceive him-but not near." (v. 17). The emphasis of this prophecy falls on the pre-existence of Messiah. God allows Balaam to see the Messiah before his conception and birth. While Messiah is present there and at that time, among the children of Israel, in a mystical way, his incarnation was still far away.

(4) The hidden Redeemer.

With lips dried of fever and eyes wet of endless weeping, a long tried Job makes his confession public: "But I know that my Redeemer lives. In the end he will testify on earth. After my awakening, he will set me close to him, and from my flesh I shall look on God. I myself, not another, would behold him; my eyes will be gazing. My heart sinks within me" (Job 19:25-27).

As in Balaam's prophecy, the Messiah who is here named "the Redeemer" – Hebrew *goel* refers to the closest relative whose duty in difficult times was to keep the family property intact – is a living person, though on a different level of existence. Yet his redeeming activity will be disclosed "in the end." The Messiah depicted by Job combines within his person human and divine features. On one hand,

he is God who will raise Job's body from the dust of the earth. On the other hand, he comes on earth as the Redeemer (closest relative) to testify for and to set Job close to him.

(5) One like a Son of Man.

The same oscillation between human and divine, natural and supernatural, may be found in the prophet Daniel whose activity is traditionally dated to the 6th B.C.

In 7:13-14 the exilic prophet describes one of his visions: "I was gazing into the visions of the night, when I saw, coming on the clouds of heaven, one like a son of man. He came to the Ancient of Days and was presented to him. Dominion, glory, and kingship were given to him, and all peoples, nations and languages must serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that will never pass away, and his kingship will never come to an end."

In chapter 7 Daniel mentions four human empires (Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Graeco-Macedonian, and Roman) vis-a-vis the kingdom of God (symbolized in 2:34 by a "rock which was cut out, but not by human hands"). The center of attention is the Ancient of Days sited on the judgment throne: "His robe was white as snow, the hair of his head as pure as wool; his throne was a blaze of flames...ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The court was in session and the books lay open" (Daniel 7:9). Suddenly, one like a "son of man," coming with or from the clouds approaches the Ancient of Days. While human in appearance, the Messiah exhibits divine characteristics: he is coming from above ("the clouds," v. 13), "all the rulers will worship him" (v. 27), the Ancient of Days (God the Father) hands him "dominion, glory, and kingship" (v. 14) and "his kingship will be without end" (v. 14). After his glorious resurrection, the Lord, who assumed for himself the title "son of man" (Matthew 8:20), let the apostles know: "All authority in heaven and on earth has given to me" (Matthew 28:19) alluding to Daniel 7:14.

(5) The Pierced One.

In the post-exilic period (around the turn of the 5th century) the prophet Zechariah (12:9-10) wrote: "When that day comes, I shall set about destroying all the nations who advance against Jerusalem. But over the House of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem I shall

pour out a spirit of grace and prayer, and they will look to me. They will mourn for the one whom they have pierced as though for only one child, and weep for him as people weep for a first-born child.” [The text is quoted in John 19:37, with respect to the Roman soldier who pierced Jesus’ side to make sure that he died on the cross.] The death of the Pierced One occurs in an eschatological context: the siege of Jerusalem by the nations and Israel’s conversion to God. The Messianic age relies on the passion and mysterious death of a human-divine person. One may say human-divine person because in this prophecy God identifies himself with the man-Messiah, the “pierced one.”

A different paradox makes its entrance now: Messiah’s suffering as a unavoidable step toward God’s eschatological victory. Can suffering and victory, coexist together? We have already seen how human and divine, eternal and temporal, are blended in the image of Messiah. But what about the suffering Messiah who “had no form or charm to attract us, no beauty to win our hearts” (Isaiah 53:2)? Is he capable to accomplish God’s saving work? The answer is yes both in Zechariah and Deutero-Isaiah. “The man of sorrows” (Isaiah 53:3), the one who “was carrying our sorrows,” and was “crushed because of our guilt” (vv. 4-5), “gave his life as a sin offering” (v. 10a), thus “he will see his offspring and prolong his life” (v. 10b). “Offspring” refers to the multitude of believers while “prolonging life” may be an allusion to the eternal life in the kingdom of God.

(7) Death and Resurrection.

In Psalm 22, one of the most famous passion psalms (cf. Ps 35; 41; 55; 69; 109), the contrast suffering-victory is slightly modified to death-resurrection. The psalm consists of two divisions: vv. 1-21 describes the suffering of Messiah; vv. 22-31 depicts the triumph over suffering and death. The sufferer’s cry of solitude: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (v. 1; Jesus uses the same words on cross; Matthew 27:46) is soon dissipated by the holiness of God one may always rely on (vv. 3-5). A closer look to suffering follows (vv. 6-8). Interestingly enough, those who laughed at Jesus on cross unknowingly quoted this psalm (v. 8): “He trusted himself to Yahweh, let Yahweh set him free! Let him deliver him, since he delights in him” (Matthew 27:39-43).

The suffering Messiah mentions twice his mother (rather than his father!) as the one who connects him to the Davidic line (vv. 9-11). This could be an indirect allusion to the supernatural conception of Messiah in the virgin's womb (cf. Isaiah 7:14).

Near to dying (v. 15), with his hands and feet pierced (v. 16), Messiah watches how they gamble for his garments (v. 18). The last detail is found also in the evangelists Matthew (27:35) and John (19:23-24).

In the second part (vv. 22-31), the sufferer gathers the fruits of his sacrificial death: resurrection and eternal kingship. Once again, the victory stems from or more precisely cohabitates in a mysterious way with the unbearable suffering.

Messiah-Christ

The same paradoxical language is used in the pages of the New Testament with respect to the person of Jesus Christ, the Word of God made man for our salvation.

Above all his friends, i.e., the Messianic types revealed in the Old Testament, Christ, the Anointed One, bears in his own flesh the mark of the nails as well as the glorious light of the third day resurrection. He is the "image" of the Almighty Father (Colossians 1:15) and the "paschal lamb" who has been sacrificed (1 Corinthians 5:7). He is the true Son of God and the true son of man, the "new" reality beneath the sun (Ecclesiastes 1:9).

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Biographical Sketch of Professor Demetrios Trakatellis Archbishop of America

ATHANASIOS ANTONOPOULOS

His Eminence Archbishop Demetrios of America, the older son of Christos and Georgia Trakatellis, was born on February 1, 1928, in Thessaloniki, Greece, where he attended school until he entered the Experimental High School of the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, from which he graduated as a valedictorian in June 1946.

In September of the same year, he entered the School of Theology of the National and Capodistrian University of Athens, and after four years of theological studies he graduated in 1950. His Licentiate in Theology degree was honored with the grade "excellent." After service for two and half years in the army, he joined the monastic missionary brotherhood of theologians "Zoe" and became the leading theological advisor to various university student organizations such as the Student Christian Union of Greece.

In 1960, at the age of 32, he was ordained to the office of the Diaconate. Four years later, in 1964, he was ordained to the office of the Priesthood. His travels to the United States, in the Fall of 1964, brought him the opportunity to pursue extensive and specialized research in the field of New Testament and Patristics in Pittsburgh. He was meanwhile simultaneously serving the Church in various parishes around the Pittsburgh area, for example, the Dormition of Theotokos Parish (later known as St. Mary's Church) in Oakmont, Pennsylvania.

In 1965 he enrolled at Harvard University in pursuit of a Ph.D. receiving continuous scholarships from the Graduate School of Arts

and Sciences and among them the prestigious "Arthur Darby Nock Fellowship." He studied under Professors Krister Stendahl, the then Dean of the Divinity School, Dieter Georgi, John Strugnell, Helmut Koester, George Williams, and the late George MacRae. His area of specialization was the New Testament and Christian Origins.

On June 20, 1967 the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece elected him Titular Bishop of Vresthena (a town near the Byzantine Mystras, in the Peloponnese),¹ and on Sunday September 17, 1967 he was ordained at the Athens Cathedral by the late Archbishop Jerome (Kotsonis) of Athens and All Greece and members of the Holy Synod to the Episcopal office.² His special assignment was to facilitate his service as an auxiliary bishop to the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, with an added responsibility for the theological education of the clergy of the Archdiocese.

In 1968, and as his doctoral studies at Harvard continued, the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece elected him as a Metropolitan of Attica and Megaris. Bishop Demetrios did not accept the election to this post for reasons related to the canonical order of the Church and the political situation in Greece at that time.

Archbishop Demetrios received his Doctorate of Philosophy from the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University in November of 1971. The examination committee under the directorship of Professor Helmut Koester honored his doctoral dissertation *The Pre-Existence of Christ in Justin Martyr: An Exegetical Study with Reference to the Humiliation and Exaltation Christology* with the grade of "distinction," and recommended it for publication in the prestigious *Harvard Dissertations in Religion Series*.

In 1977, His Eminence received a second Doctorate this one being a Doctorate in Theology from the Faculty of the School of Theology of the National and Cappodistrian University of Athens. The examination committee for this degree, under the guidance of the late Professor Nikos Nissiotis and the Faculty of the School of Theology, honored his dissertation, entitled 'Ο υπερεβατικός θεός του Εὐγνώστου, Ἑξηγητική συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τῶν κεμένων τοῦ *Nag Hammadi* with the top grade "excellent." According to Professor Helmut Koester,³ Archbishop Demetrios established "the standard work on the [Eugnostos]" in his production of a Greek retro-version of the text that is as close as possible to the

lost Greek original.

Three years later, he was invited to teach as a Visiting Professor of Biblical Studies and Christian Origins, during 1980-1981, at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline Massachusetts. He was again invited in 1983 by the same School to teach in the same field, and in 1984 he was named Distinguished Professor of Biblical Studies and Christian Origins of the same institution. He was to remain in this position until his official retirement at the end of the academic year in 1993. In addition to his teaching responsibilities he held the Chair of the postgraduate program "Master of Theology."

During the same period he was invited to join the faculty of the Divinity School of Harvard University as Visiting Professor of New Testament in 1984-1985 and again from in 1988 to 1989. Throughout the years 1984 to 1993 he also served as Student Advisor and on several occasions as doctoral examination committee member. His fields of teaching and research both at Harvard and Holy Cross included several areas such as that of Old and New Testament interpretation, exegesis, and theology, Patristic exegesis, Apostolic Fathers, Gnosticism, History of Early Christianity, and Early Christian Literature.

Archbishop Demetrios has participated in many international scholarly conferences and meetings and retains his membership to several scientific organizations, both in the United States and Europe. Among these we may mention, The Society of Biblical Literature, The Orthodox Theological Society of America, the Societas Novi Testamenti Studiorum (United Kingdom), the Greek Organization of Biblical Studies (Athens, Greece), and the Colloquium Ecumenicum Paulinum (Rome, Italy). Furthermore, he has served on the editorial boards of the journals: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, and *The Second Century*. On October 31, 1999 the Faculty of the Richard Stockton College, in Pomona, New Jersey awarded him the honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters.⁴

On August 20, 1991 the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece elected Archbishop Demetrios as Titular Metropolitan of Vresthena with the simultaneous elevation of the Diocese of Vresthena to the rank of the Metropolis.⁵ In October 1993, on concluding his teaching term at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, he returned to Greece from the United States to assume full-time duties in the

Archdiocese of Athens, while simultaneously pursuing rigorous scholarly research in the field of New Testament Studies.

In October 1995, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate appointed Metropolitan Demetrios as member of the Patriarchal Exarchy to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, headed by His Eminence Stylianos Archbishop of Australia, and including as third member His Eminence Demetrios Metropolitan of Sebastia.⁶

Finally, on Thursday, August 19, 1999, His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected Metropolitan Demetrios to the position of Archbishop of "the largest and most dynamic Eparchy of the Ecumenical Throne,"⁷ the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

His Eminence Archbishop Demetrios was enthroned at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Manhattan, New York on Saturday the eighteenth of September 1999, as Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church in America and Exarch of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. During the Enthronement ceremonies the Ecumenical Patriarchate was represented by His Eminence Iakovos former Archbishop of North and South America and by His Eminence Demetrios Metropolitan of Sebastia. In his inaugural speech Archbishop Demetrios unfolded his "threefold plan" of ministry, consisting of: a) cultivating, nurturing, and sustaining of a vibrant and dynamic Orthodox faith in the United States, b) teaching and practicing limitless love and philanthropy, and c) emphasizing, pursuing and enhancing the establishment of a strong and unbreakable unity within the Church and the human community in general.⁸

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¹ *Ekklesia* 44:19 (1967) 566.

² *Ekklesia* 44:19 (1967) 566.

³ *Odyssey* (1999) 78.

⁴ *Orthodox Observer*, 64: 1167 (1999) 3.

⁵ *Ekklesia* 68:14 (1991) 521.

⁶ Cf. *Orthodox Observer*, 60:1109 (1995) 1.

⁷ Address of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew to Archbishop Demetrios of America, *Orthodox Observer*, 64: 1165 (1999) 2.

⁸ Cf. *Orthodox Observer*, 64: 1166 (1999) 3,11,28.

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Obituaries

JOHN L. BOOJAMRA (1942-1999)



The Orthodox Church lost one of its giants and a pioneer in the field of Orthodox Christian Education with the sudden falling asleep of John L. Boojamra, November 11, 1999. In a field with only a handful of participants, the loss of one is significant. However, the loss of John Boojamra has left a gaping hole in the field of Christian

Education for the American Orthodox Church. For nearly thirty years, he was the leader of the field. Since 1970, John was the Director of the Department of Christian Education for the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America. Since 1975 he was the Executive Secretary of the Orthodox Christian Education Commission, the educational arm of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas. Since 1977 he was Adjunct Professor in Christian Education and Church History at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary. He was co-founder in 1985 and Lecturer at the Eagle River Institute in Orthodox Theology in Alaska.

John Boojamra was a teacher *par excellence*. He traveled extensively throughout the country, providing workshops and training for Orthodox Christian educators and parents. He authored and produced countless resources in Christian Education for the Antiochian Arch-

diocese and the OCEC. Most of this was accomplished on a part-time basis. The Department of Christian Education only became full-time recently. He was a teacher of chemistry and physics at Brooklyn Technical High School from 1968 to 1996.

John leaves us a body of writings that will have lasting significance. His book *Foundations in Orthodox Christian Education* (SVS Press, 1989) has been in use at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and St. Vladimir's as a primary textbook in Christian Education for seminarians since its publication. Countless Church school teachers and scholars in religious education globally have also read its pages. *Foundations* has influenced our vision of Orthodox Christian Education in this country and we are still wrestling with the questions he raised in the work. John's writings in Church History may be less well known, but are no less significant: *Church and Social Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Fordham University Press, 1994), and articles in journals such as *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, *Church History*, *Byzantion*, and many others. A number of other works that were complete but unpublished, thankfully, will hopefully appear in print in the near future.

As a younger professional Christian educator, I will sorely miss John's wisdom, guidance, and advice, as well as our extensive conversations at the oddest of hours! There is a saying that a person's significance is measured by the impact it has on the life of the young. John's influence as a teacher, scholar, guide, and friend upon a generation of clergy, teachers, co-workers, and children throughout the Church in America has been and will be immeasurable. May his memory be eternal!

Information for this announcement was derived from *The Word*, January 2000.

Anton C. Vrame, Ph.D.

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Citation for Honorary Degree (D. D.) upon John S. Romanides

Fifty years ago, John Savvas Romanides graduated from Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology at its first commencement ceremony held on the Brookline campus. Since then, he has proceeded to become one of the most distinguished theologians in the Orthodox Church.

After earning his Holy Cross degree, Fr. Romanides studied at Yale University, the Orthodox Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris, and the University of Athens, where he earned his doctorate in theology. Returning to Holy Cross as a faculty member in 1957, he taught Dogmatic Theology and worked as Editor of the newly established *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* until 1965. From 1970 to his retirement in 1984, Fr. John was Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.

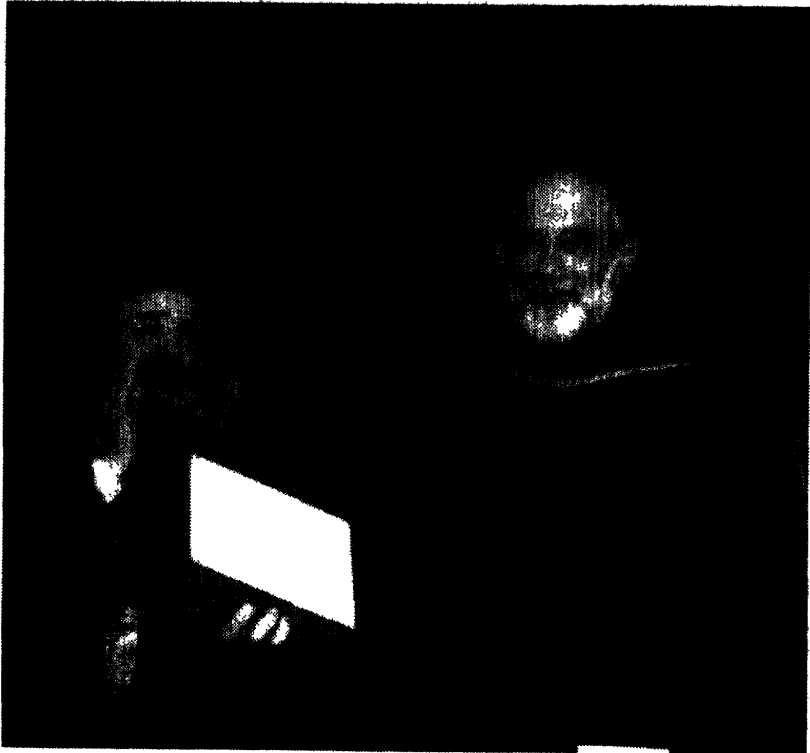
Fr. Romanides has been actively involved in ecumenical dialogue throughout his career. He was a founder of the Orthodox dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and has been a member of the international dialogue. He has been a long-time member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. Most significantly, he was instrumental in the historic consultation of Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox theologians which began in Aarhus, Denmark.

Fr. John's career is marked by significant and ground breaking treatises, including 1) *To Propatorikon Amartema*, 2) *Romeosyne, Romania, Roumeli*, and 3) *Franks, Romans, Feudalism and Doctrine*. Through them, Fr. John has fundamentally challenged and changed our perceptions of ourselves as Orthodox Christian and as "Byzantine," for which he has been aptly called "the prophet of Roman Orthodoxy."

Although not a stranger to our campus, we welcome you, Fr. John Romanides, as you celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of your graduation from Holy Cross. In recognition of your exceptional service to the Church and to theology, we have asked you to give us the singular privilege of accepting the highest honor this sacred School can bestow, the degree of Doctor of Divinity, ΤΙΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ.

Chairman of the Board of Trustees
President
Acting Dean

May 15, 1999



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Dionsysii (Khitrov): A Follower and Companion of Prelate Innokentii

TATIANA KLADOVIKOVA

Prelate Innokentii had many followers and companions. His closest friend and helper in Yakutsk was Dmitrii Khitrov.

On 22 October 1818, Dmitrii Khitrov was born in Khitrovo village in the Ryazan province. He was the son of the sexton of the local church. Dmitrii Khitrov graduated from the theological seminary in Ryazan, and in 1840 he was sent to the far Irkutsk diocese which included Yakutsk and Yakutia itself. Dmitrii Khitrov had been selected for "missionary service" as one of the ten most trustworthy graduates. In Irkutsk in April 1841, he met Innokentii Veniaminov who had just become the first bishop of the newly formed diocese of Kamchatka, the Kuril Islands and the Aleutian Islands. He was in Irkutsk while on his way to this new diocese. Innokentii Veniaminov elected Dmitrii Khitrov to the post of priest in the Preobrazhenskaya [Transfiguration] church in Yakutsk. Thus, lasting spiritual ties and cooperation between the future bishop Dionysii and the Prelate Innokentii began.

Dmitrii Khitrov arrived in Yakutsk ahead of Innokentii Veniaminov, on 29 May 1841. There he was destined to serve for forty-three long years. The first impressions of the new place of work were distressing. Khitrov recalled Yakutsk as follows: "The more our ship drew near Yakutsk, the sadder our faces became. There were no decent houses in the street along the bank of the river. The construction of the stone church, to which I was sent, was unfinished and had been stopped. Wooden scaffolding around it gave it a look of total destruction."

On 3 June 1841, Khitrov again met Innokentii Veniaminov who

stopped in Yakutsk on his way to Alaska. Veniaminov blessed Khitrov: "I invoke you by God to make your every effort for the translation of holy books into the Yakut language." As the priest of the Preobrazhenskaya church, Dmitrii Khitrov began his activity with this blessing. He taught Greek in the theological school. In two years, he was rewarded for this zealous service.

In 1844, two field churches (Nikolayevskaya [St Nicholas] and Blagoveshchenskaya [Annunciation]) were established by the desire of Bishop Nil of Irkutsk in order to Christianize the native inhabitants of northern Yakutia. Khitrov was offered the Nikolayevskaya field church. He accepted that offer. In this capacity, he travelled about ten thousand versts [approximately 6629 miles — ed.] every year and visited almost all parishes of the Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk districts. He also visited the most distant places of the Yakutsk district (Oymyakon, Nelkan, Uchur, etc.) and nomadic encampments of the Tungus.

Living conditions in that field church were extremely severe. Some priests died prematurely. Others suffered from various diseases for several years.

From 1845 to 1847, Khitrov travelled further all over the north-east of Yakutia and along the coast of the Okhotsk Sea. In 1849, he assumed the responsibility for the second field church (Blagoveshchenskaya), and he was rewarded with a purple velvet skull-cap for his hard zealous service.

Khitrov became a member of the Yakutsk theological administration in 1851, and was elected to the rank of missionary with a half pension by the Holy Synod. During these years, he was in contact with Innokentii Veniaminov, now the Archbishop of Kamchatka, who insistently encouraged him to translate the Church's books into the Yakut language. In 1852, Dmitrii Khitrov received an edict from the Holy Synod that the men's monastery in Yakutsk, namely the Yakutsk Spasski Monastery, should pass into full subordination under the Right Reverend Innokentii. That event denoted the joining of the Yakutsk region to the eparchy of Kamchatka. In September 1853, Innokentii left Ayan for permanent residence in Yakutsk. He took up residence in the Spasski Monastery, became its abbot, and began to translate religious books into the Yakut language. He organized a committee for the translation of church literature; Khitrov was appointed the chairman of that committee.

In 1853, Khitrov was also confirmed as a member of the Social Health Committee, was elected to the Yakutsk statistical committee, and was awarded the purple velvet kamelaukion.

Dmitrii Khitrov had come to know the local people, language, culture, customs so well that he could hold church services in the Yakut language and was the first linguist of the Yakut language. He gained the love and respect of the local people.

In 1856, he published in St Petersburg an ethnographic article about the Zhigansk region. At the beginning of 1857, Dmitrii Khitrov was sent to Moscow and St Petersburg by Innokentii Veniaminov to publish the first issue of religious books and a grammar book of the Yakut language, for which he was later awarded the Order of St Anne and the pectoral cross.

In 1858, he was appointed to the position of rector of the Yakutsk theological seminary, which had been transferred from Sitka to Yakutsk. He became a teacher of theological sciences [theology] and, in a year, the head of the Grado-Yakutskaya Preobrazhenskaya church.

The published books arrived in Yakutsk on 22 March 1859. This gave Innokentii Veniaminov the opportunity to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the Yakut language, and so he wrote: "It will be permitted to hold church services in the Yakut language from this time. This year will be remarkable for Yakutia and will mark an epoch in the history of the Yakut nation." On 19 July 1859, the first church service in the Yakut language was held in the Yakutsk Troitskii Cathedral [Cathedral of the Holy Trinity]. Here is a description by an eyewitness: "Crowds of people hurried to the cathedral church from the early morning. There were Yakuts, as well as Russians who knew the Yakut language no worse than the local people. Then the clergy received the blessing from the archbishop and the liturgy began. The Yakuts were very much moved by this event and requested of Innokentii Veniaminov that he should make the 19th of July a holiday forever because they had heard the divine word in their native language in church for the first time on this day." We should recall Dmitrii Khitrov's part in this event: It occurred when he had become a prominent person in Yakutsk and an important figure of the Orthodox Church in Siberia.

He was appointed an abbot of Spasski Monastery in 1865, and the dean of the Grado-Yakutskaya church and of the field churches. At about that time, the Archbishop of Kamchatka Innokentii put a ques-

tion forward to the Holy Synod about establishing an independent Yakutsk diocese, and he recommended the archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov for the post of bishop as Khitrov was a man who knew the region and the Yakut language and customs and who was respected by the local people.

On 7 July 1867, Dmitrii Khitrov was appointed as vicar-bishop of Yakutsk in the diocese of Kamchatka. During his elevation to the episcopacy on 9 February 1868, he received the name Dionysii. When the independent diocese was opened in Yakutsk, his full title became the Right Reverend Dionysii, Bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk.

He began his activity in this capacity by visiting the mission in Chukotka for the christening of the Chukchi people. He also visited throughout the Yakutsk, Vilyuisk and Kolymsk regions. After these extensive trips, he established a theological consistory, a diocesan committee for the Orthodox Missionary Society, and a library. Five new buildings were built for the seminary. Thirty-six new churches, parishes and parish schools were established. And the second edition of religious books was published in Kazan in the Yakut language.

The Right Reverend Dionysii was the Bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk until 1883. In December 1883, he left for Ufa to assume his new appointment as the Archbishop of Ufa. He died there in 1896.

It should be emphasized in conclusion that Dionysii Khitrov was a very important person in the Orthodox Church as well as very close to the local people. That is why he became the first bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk and the closest friend of prelate Innokentii.

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Divine Ecstasy in Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Macarius: Flight and Intoxication

STUART BURNS

Divine ecstasy, the experience of communion with God, is portrayed within Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Macarius¹ through images of flight and intoxication. A comparison of these two metaphors within the writings of Gregory Nyssa and Ps-Macarius reveals something of the complex relationship between the works of these two fourth century authors, and helps in locating Ps-Macarius within his own cultural milieu. This article will firstly examine the concept and use of the metaphor of "Sober Intoxication," before moving on to a consideration of the flight of the soul within the two authors.

SOBER INTOXICATION

The phrase "Sober intoxication" (νηφάλιος μέθη), is an oxymoron that is based upon the distinction between the state of intoxication brought on by wine and a state of Christian perfection available through grace.² There are two formative influences behind the use of the term; that of Philo, and Plato. Philo uses the term "drunkenness" to describe a state of ecstasy, in terms of both prophecy and mystical union,³ and specifically speaks of a place where the soul reaches communion with God, where "he is permeated by fire in giving thanks to God, and is drunk with a sober drunkenness."⁴ For Philo this drunkenness is the stage whereby the soul passes beyond the stage of seeking.⁵

Platonic influence can be seen in Plotinus, who speaks of the soul being stripped of wisdom in the "intoxication of nectar" within Socrates' discourse on love. Plotinus uses the phrase "intoxication" when he speaks of the soul completing her union with the "One." He asserts that the soul, in attaining the revelation of the presence of the

divine, becomes one and is "happy": "a soul becomes again what she was in the time of her early joy,"⁶ and dismisses "even the act of Intellect she once so intimately loved."⁷ When the soul sees the Divine, there is the first grasping of the intellectual content of the vision, and second, an advancing and receiving of the divine, of the union with the "One."⁸ This state is more elevated than that of contemplation, and is reached when the human intellect attains the vision of the source of the intelligible, the one-good, and, carried away by loving impulse, aspires to mingle with it, and ceases from all intellectual activity.⁹ Philo interprets sober intoxication as a transient state, primarily for prophecy and revelation of the divine mysteries, that are revealed through the mystical union with the divine. Plotinus, drawing from Plato is more concerned with the divine union, via a process of purification, which involves the way of the negatives, that is, the ceasing of all knowledge. Philo receives the true wisdom of God for a time whereas Plotinus seeks after permanent union with the One for all time, receiving a state of being rather than a revelation. Philo instills within the Hellenic concept of intoxication a Judaic monotheism and understanding which was central to his basic convictions, and it is this interpretation, that gave inspiration to the later Christian Fathers use of the term. Previous to Ps-Macarius and Gregory of Nyssa the use of the term within Christianity had mainly been in a condemnatory manner, and the dangers and injustices of intoxication enumerated.¹⁰

There has been much debate concerning the relationship between Gregory Nyssa and Ps-Macarius, and this relationship is evident in that both Gregory and Ps-Macarius use "intoxication" and "sober intoxication."

GREGORY OF NYSSA

Gregory uses "intoxication" to refer to the mystic state of those inebriated by divine wisdom,¹¹ and refers to "sober intoxication" in both a sacramental and mystical setting,¹² specifically in connection with Prov. 9:3, Song of Songs 5:1-2, and Ps. 22.5.¹³ Within Gregory's use of "intoxication" there is a great deal of Neoplatonic influence, but he expounds it in an emergent Christian theology.¹⁴ However, Gregory does not fully assimilate Platonism into his mystical theology. Louth remarks that for Gregory the gulf between uncreated and

created is such that there is no possibility of the soul passing across it. That is, there is no ecstasy, in which the soul leaves its nature as created and passes into the uncreated,¹⁵ that is found in those forms of Platonic and Neoplatonic thought in which ecstasy is a permanent union with the divine. Instead Gregory relies upon a doctrine of the Incarnation, and the revelation of God to man by God, for means of communion. He draws from Phil 3: 13 (forgetting what is behind and reaching out for what is ahead) in the quest for perfection, and Danielou terms this doctrine "*epektasis*"¹⁶ (from ἐπεκτείνω: to reach out towards). Gregory states:

In this way, its present state of perfection, no matter how great and perfect it might be, is merely the beginning of a greater and superior stage. Thus the words of the Apostle are verified: The stretching forth to the things that are before involves the forgetting of what has already been attained.¹⁷

Thus, in Gregory, the soul continually reaches out for God, but is never satisfied, never receiving the ultimate union of ecstasy, "rather there is simply a deeper and deeper penetration into darkness."¹⁸ In this longing and penetration into the darkness of the unknowability of God, the soul will always be inspired by its experience of God to long for more.¹⁹ Gregory distinguishes three progressive degrees of knowledge of God,²⁰ a) in light, b) in cloud, c) in darkness. The progression is thus that of the removal of the darkness of error by the light of truth, then beyond the cloud, in the stage of darkness, the intellect recognises its capacity to see God-Love, (as revealed in the Incarnation). The soul reaches out of itself (*epektasis*) and man is raised to God on the "wings of love."²¹ The insatiability of the soul for the knowledge of God is tempered by experiences of the ecstatic nature of love, revealed as desire, (as opposed to ecstatic union with God). That is, the love which seeks to draw the soul out of itself to union with God as He is in Himself.²² Sober intoxication is a Gregorian oxymoron²³ used to describe the soul's experience of God while longing for more of Him. Gregory thus combines an awareness of the Platonic tradition of intoxication as union with the divine, with the concept of the "unknowability" of God and the gap between created and uncreated, and formulates an original element within Christian mysticism, rejecting the Platonic doctrine of ultimate union,²⁴ and instilling a new interpretation into the phrase, overlaying, but not necessarily discounting, previous interpretations.

PS-MACARIUS

The contexts of the occurrences of "intoxication" and "sober intoxication" within Ps-Macarius are generally of a mystical genre, with only one clearly sacramental element, which is found in direct connection with sober intoxication.²⁵ Ps-Macarius uses the idea of spiritual intoxication within his explanations of the lifestyle of the Christian, and emphasises that the divine nature is the source of this intoxication. *Collection I Homily 63.6* speaks of "deep sober intoxication, caused by the Spirit just as the body is said to be intoxicated by wine." Whilst there is only this solitary mention of "sober intoxication" within the homilies, the more profuse occurrences of "intoxication" show a clear underlying influence of the phrase. These occurrences are generally of a revelatory nature, in that the visions spoken of can be received in the intoxicated state, and also of a progressive nature, as the major context is of one of the progression of the Christian, the role of free will in the life of a believer, and of the journey towards the ultimate union with the Divine. Intoxication, for Ps-Macarius is a transient experience, and it is not expected that permanent intoxication is available in the present age. Intoxication with the spirit is caused by the workings of grace upon the heart of a believer. The creature has the free will to co-operate with this working, but also has the opportunity to turn away from it.²⁶ Coupled to the operation of the Spirit in grace upon the heart is the recognition that God, for his own purposes and reasons, may "withdraw to a measure," the "burning of the lamp of grace"²⁷ so that the soul may progress further in terms of citizenship of the heavenly kingdom, only later to "specially trim the lamp" to kindle up the soul with intoxication.²⁸ Although Ps-Macarius refers to being intoxicated with the spirit, or with the Godhead, he also uses the terminology of being intoxicated with "good," and "joyfulness." Goodness in this instance, being the sheer abundance of God. This is to be contrasted with that of "badness" or "evil" intoxication, which he refers to in *Collection I Homily 6.4*. There is therefore the possibility of being intoxicated with badness, the source of which is evil, rather than with grace, and it is this potential that causes free will to be of such vital importance, and which results in the volatile state of the Christian in his spiritual progression. Macarian soteriology, as well as being pneumatologically based, is in the first instance a soteriology of progression, and this is

illustrated by his stress on the transient nature of the intoxicated state. *Collection II Homily 8* speaks of the twelve steps of progression to perfection that the believer has to travel, and intoxication with the resultant communication from the Godhead that is revealed within such a state, is the highest level.

"So it is with the lamp of grace. It is always burning and giving off light, but when it is especially trimmed, it burns more brilliantly as though intoxicated by the love of God. (II.8.2)" "If such a man were constantly experiencing those marvelous things and they were always experientially present to him, he would not be able to preach the word or take on any work...he would only sit in a corner lifted up and intoxicated. As a result the perfect degree of grace is not given him so that he may be concerned with the care of his brethren and in ministering the word." (II. 8.4).

This union with God in Paradise will be a permanent state, and reveals a clear Neo-Platonic influence within Ps-Macarius, but the reception of visions and revelations whilst in the transient intoxicated state shows similarities to the understanding of prophecy as found in Philo.

Within both Ps-Macarius and Gregory there are areas of agreement in the role of intoxication, and the achievement of ecstasy. Both stress the stages of the journey to ultimate union with the divinity. Gregory expands in detail the three stages of progression while Ps-Macarius is considerably more vague and obtuse concerning the twelve steps that a person has to pass to reach perfection. However, sober intoxication is the metaphor both use to describe the ecstasy of divine union that is achieved at the highest earthly stage. Both Gregory and Ps-Macarius stress the transient nature of "sober intoxication" in that the union with the divine is not considered a permanent state. Ps-Macarius in particular stresses the free-will of man to turn away from the pursuit of God, and become intoxicated by bad/evil, a phrase not found in Gregory.

THE FLIGHT OF THE SOUL

The image of the soul flying on the Wings of the Spirit into the air of the Godhead is powerful. It speaks of the journey of the soul, and of the heavenly assistance available through grace and the power of the Holy Spirit. The idea of the soul flying on wings is found throughout early Christian literature, and a study of the concept reveals the

multi-faceted background to the use of the phrase.

The concept of πτερόω, "the provision of wings"²⁹ is found frequently among early Christian writers, and is commonly held to be of Platonic origin. Clement, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria all use πτέρυξ (wings) in their description of spiritual ascent.³⁰ The connection with Plato is found through the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*. The *Phaedrus* speaks of the soul growing wings, watered by beauty, that enables souls to return to the condition in which they were before they fell to earth.³¹ Plato believes the natural property of a wing is to carry what is heavy upwards, lifting it aloft to the region where the race of the gods resides.³² Thus the *Phaedrus* notes

...with the incoming stream of nourishment the quills of the feathers swell and set to growing from their roots under the whole form of the soul; for formerly the whole of it was winged. Meanwhile, then, all of it throbs and palpitates, and the experience is like that of cutting teeth, the itching and the aching that occur around the gums when the teeth are just coming through: such is the state of the soul of a man who is beginning to sprout wings.³³

...so the stream of beauty passes back into its possessor through his eyes, which is the natural route to the soul; arriving there and setting him all of a flutter, it waters the passage between the feathers and causes the wings to grow, and fills the soul of the loved one in his turn with love.³⁴

In the *Phaedrus* myth, divine love requires that man abandon the physical desires and acts of love to experience a heavenly desire, which will in turn deify him.³⁵ Thus the human soul, once equipped with wings, is free to fly into the realm of the true and eternal ideas. The reception of wings is dependent upon the soul finding healing through love and the recollection of beauty.³⁶

The assimilation of the concept of the flight of the soul into the emergent Christian philosophy, evident in the fourth and fifth centuries, was facilitated by the images of birds and flight that were evident within the symbolism of the Christian faith itself. Judaic and Syrian images impinged upon this assimilation together with the Platonic concept of the winged soul. Bird images within Judaism are primarily those of the eagle as a symbol of worship, of royalty, of supernatural power and provision,³⁷ and of God in the form of an

eagle carrying Israel to himself. Goodenough regards the eagle in Judaism as a psychopomp, a bearer of the soul to the next world, and suggests that the very elasticity of the concept of the soul being borne on wings into a heavenly realm allowed for the assimilation of the idea into Judaism and Christianity.³⁸ Part of this assimilation was directed from the East, and Goodenough holds that it is the Thunderbird as a symbol of the sun in Mesopotamia, and ultimately as the symbol of the power of the gods, that carries most force in the Judaic understanding of the role of the eagle and which allowed the bird to represent the power of Yahweh.³⁹ Judaic bird images include the association within Rabbinic tradition of the soul as a bird, that normally resides in heaven, flying there as a dove at death,⁴⁰ and also regarded the dove as a symbol of chastity, due to its monogamous nature, as well as being identified with Israel.⁴¹ Goodenough further notes how Philo refers to the soul as a dove because it is at peace and unified, in contrast to the multiple divisions of the body.⁴² Both the images of the soul seen through the Eagle and the Dove find an echo in the Platonic idea of the winged soul, and it can be seen that the use of bird imagery, and that of wings in particular, was a widespread phenomenon.

The influence of the power of the eagle has already been mentioned, and there are examples of bird/wing imagery being linked to the soul in the Syrian Christian tradition. Ephrem (c. 300-373), the hymnwriter and greatest poet of the Patristic period, in his *Hymns to Julian Saba*⁴³ celebrates the virgin as a high flying eagle, in a passage that speaks of the heavenly encounter with the "cross of light."

Blessed are you, heavenly sparrow
 whose nest was on the cross of light.
 You did not want to build a nest on earth
 lest the serpent enter and destroy your offspring.
 Blessed are your wings that were able to fly.
 May you come with the holy eagles
 that took flight and soared from the earth below
 to the bridal couch of delights.⁴⁴

A further use of the image of the virgin as an eagle is found in *Hymns for the Feast of Epiphany* in relation to the role of the Spirit at baptism:

In the beginning the Spirit that brooded

moved on the waters;
 they conceived and gave birth
 to serpents and fishes and birds.
 The Holy Spirit has brooded in baptism
 and in mystery has given birth to eagles
 virgins and prelates
 and in mystery has given birth to fishes
 celibates and intercessors
 and in mystery of serpents
 lo, the subtle have become simple as doves.⁴⁵

Eagle occurrences also include the exhortation to the soul to draw near to the Holy Spirit in Ephrem's *Teaching-Song* 75: "Let the soul, too, attempt in every way it can to reach the proximity of the Holy Spirit!" "You too body! Don't be slack! Fly like an eagle to come near to that body which gives life to all!"⁴⁶ Similarly *Teaching-Song* 37 speaks of both the wings of heavenly love and the wings of humanity: "Lower the wings of your Love, that I may mount like an egret! Holy Wind, become the air-stream, on which we beat our wings to attain to our treasures."⁴⁷ Ephrem also regards the eagle as an image of the sovereignty of God,⁴⁸ emphasizing once again the royal image of the eagle.

Other Syrian bird/wing images include those of the Persian Sage Aphrahat (c. 340), who in his *Demonstration VI "On Monks"* mentions the ascent towards the heavens as a flight from the world: "Let us lift up our wings as eagles, that we may see the body there where it is."⁴⁹ He also uses the notion of the eagle's power to emphasize the protection of the Spirit upon the believer against "the adversary:" "He that has wings flees from him and the darts that he hurls at him do not reach him."⁵⁰ Similarly the *Odes of Solomon* (c. 200-275) speak of the wings of the Spirit protecting the heart of the believer. "As the wings of doves over their nestlings/And the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths/So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart."⁵¹

The concept of the provision of wings is evident within early Syrian Christianity, and it is the notion of power and protection within the journey of the soul as portrayed by the eagle that is uppermost. The picture of the eagle in flight is the assimilation of the Platonic concept of the empowerment of the soul by contemplation of beauty, into the empowerment of the soul by the contemplation of divine

love and grace that leads to the Christian understanding of the "Flight from the World."⁵² Ps-Macarius regards this flight as dependent upon the grace of God, together with a disciplined life, and above all, as part of the journey of the soul that must be experienced through prayer and bodily activity through a life of austerity and self-control.

GREGORY OF NYSSA

It is within Gregory of Nyssa that the assimilation of the Platonic concepts involved is best illustrated. He regards mankind as having lost the "wings of immortality" which he possessed in his original nature⁵³ and regards the rising of the soul to beyond the present world as a stage along the journey back to God.⁵⁴ Flight, for Gregory is an image of the participation in the Godhead which for the Christian is a "continuous and everlasting process."⁵⁵ Gregory states that; "Once it is released from its earthly attachment, the soul becomes light and swift for its movement upward, soaring from below up to the heights."⁵⁶ The soul ever rises higher and will always make its flight yet higher by its desire of the heavenly things straining ahead for what is to come."⁵⁷ Gregory used the *Phaedrus* as the basis of his expressions of the flight of the soul beyond phenomena and towards the beauty that lies beyond the heavens, in a manner that is, as Cherniss asserts, too Platonic to be missed.⁵⁸ However, Gregory instills a Christian understanding of the flight of the soul, basing the flight of the soul to God upon the attraction of like to like; "The soul grows by its constant participation in that which transcends it; and yet the perfection in which the soul shares remains the same, and is always discovered by the soul to be transcendent to the same degree."⁵⁹ Thus, for Gregory if the soul has been purified of evil, it will be with the fair, that is with the divine,⁶⁰ and yet will continue to receive from God without in any way diminishing God.

He asserts from Ps. 16.2-3 that the wings of man are regrown though sanctity and righteousness, as seen though the eyes of God. When Your eyes look at me, they are averted from what is contrary; nor will Your eyes see in me anything that is contrary to me. Thus by Your eyes, O Lord, I obtain the grace of being winged again, of recovering through virtue the wings of the Dove, by which I may have the power of flight. Now I can fly and rest, and indeed in that rest which the Lord enjoyed when he rested from His creation.⁶¹

Gregory also utilises the image of the dove as a picture of the perfection, which is the goal of the soul. Similarly, though the bride is a dove because of her previous perfection, she is ordered to become a dove once more by way of being transformed into what is more perfect.⁶²

PS-MACARIUS

In his use of the idea of the flight of the soul Ps-Macarius stresses the experiential necessity of the journey of the soul within the Christian life, and the reception of divine communication in the form of dreams and visions. Ps-Macarius uses bird/wing imagery several times in relation to the flight of the soul, asserting that the wings available to mankind are wings supplemental to the created nature of man. That is, man was not created with bodily wings, but with the potential to receive wings of the Spirit, which will enable him to fly into the heavenly realm.

When God created Adam he did not provide Him with bodily wings, like the birds, but He had designed for him the wings of the Holy Spirit, those wings which He purposes to give him at the resurrection, to lift him up and catch him away whithersoever the Spirit pleases—which holy souls even now are privileged to have, and fly up in mind to the heavenly frame of thought.⁶³

The goal of the flight of the soul is into a “heavenly frame of thought,” and it is here that Ps-Macarius locates the activity of the divine within man. That is, in this present age God’s grace teaches the mind to fly and releases the soul into the presence of God through prayer.⁶⁴ Ps-Macarius understands the Christian life as a life of potentiality. The Christian has received citizenship of the Kingdom of God in this present time, through baptism, and has the potential to live in the heavenly Kingdom, which will be certain in paradise, in this present age. However, the actuating of the potentiality is dependent upon many factors, one of which is the desire of the Christian, another of which is the presence of divine grace. Flight is thus the result of petition, built upon desire.

To fly into the divine air and enjoy the liberty of the Holy Spirit may be ones desire, but, if he does not have wings given him he cannot. Let us pray to God that He gives us “the wings of a dove” of the Holy Spirit so we may fly to him and find rest and that he may separate and

take away from our soul and body such an evil wind, namely sin itself, inhabiting the members of our soul and body.⁶⁵

The result of flight is therefore not only entering into the presence of God but the removal of the "evil wind of sin" that is evident within the body. This, as noted above, is accomplished by the sacrifice of Christ and the sprinkling of His Blood, and actuated by prayer. This prayer is directed by the Spirit, and the soul is transformed by grace; "Just as the feet of the birds are the wings, so the heavenly light of the Spirit takes up the wings of thoughts worthy of the soul and leads and directs the soul as he knows best."⁶⁶ And again, "The Lord will make it [the soul] light, to take up wings to the heights of heaven and transform and change it out of its own very nature."⁶⁷ This change and progression of the soul is a continual process and is subject to grace. Thus the progress is not constant although Ps-Macarius asserts that the soul in flight will not suffer harm by evil spirits; "So the soul going up and down in the fire of the Spirit and in divine light will suffer no harm by any evil spirits; so the soul receiving the wings of the Spirit, and flying into the heights of heaven, is above everything and derides them all."⁶⁸

There are within Ps-Macarius' wings imagery echoes of previous usages of the metaphor. The idea of the soul receiving protection from the wings of the Spirit draws from the image of the power of the eagle, and is also found within both Aphrahat and the *Odes of Solomon*. So too is the analogy of Aphrahat of the eagle on the wing regarding the earth, and the soul in flight regarding the true position of the body. The desire for flight, so important within Gregory of Nyssa is coupled not with sanctity and righteousness, but with prayer. It is this insistence upon the role of prayer within the flight of the soul that is the unique contribution of Ps-Macarius. For Ps-Macarius the grace of the Holy Spirit, which is provided by the sacrifice of Christ, is dependent not upon an ascetic lifestyle alone, but upon prayer within that lifestyle.

Ps-Macarius also uses accessible images to further emphasise his insistence upon the experience of the flight of the soul. He compares the eagle who is "constantly upon the wing" yet with much stillness and rest, with the flight of the soul who receives the "Wings of the Spirit" and is "furnished with wings."⁶⁹ This use of the eagle as an image is connected to the power and rest that the bird displays in

flight. In doing so Ps-Macarius uses everyday images to illustrate divine realities. The eagle is of secondary importance to the divine reality of the potential flight to God's presence that Ps-Macarius is seeking to convey.

An aspect of Macarian thought is his use of the image of the soul flying into the "divine air,"⁷⁰ and into the "air of the Godhead" (ἀέρα τῆς θεότητος); "For Christ was sacrificed and His Blood, sprinkling us made us grow wings, for He has given to us wings of the Spirit that we may fly unencumbered into the air of the Godhead."⁷¹ The background to the phrase "the air of the Godhead" is uncertain, and is reminiscent of both NeoPlatonic flight into the "One" as found in Plotinus,⁷² as well as of the Eagle/Dove imagery of Judaism. However, as Ps-Macarius uses metaphors and images within his rhetorical style to convey the trials of the spiritual journey it is possible that this particular emphases of the phrase is of Macarian origin, created in an attempt to explain the destination of the Christian to his disciples seeking instruction and advice. It is a Macarian attempt to illustrate the union with the divine, that in Ps-Macarius' view, occurs through the interchange of grace/Spirit and soul, in a concept that is understandable to his direct audience. Ps-Macarius views the Godhead through the Holy Spirit, the foremost accessible part of the Trinity. The "air of the Godhead" is the activity of the Holy Spirit. A similar understanding is shown by Ephrem who regards the Spirit as the "air stream" or the "Holy Wind" that provides uplift to the beating of the wings of the soul. Thus this Syrian poetic image of the Spirit as wind, is taken by Ps-Macarius and joined with the Neo-Platonic idea of union with the "One." In doing so Ps-Macarius extricates a Christian meaning from a Neo-Platonic origin, and imbues a powerful poetic image, of the winged soul flying into the presence of God, into the emerging Christian philosophy.

Ps-Macarius' use of flight imagery is unconnected with any exegetical passage or purpose, rather it is of an inspirational exhortative genre. As such it is difficult to draw the inspirational threads together to give an overall interpretation. However, the idea of the soul enabled to fly by the Spirit on the Divine air/air of the Godhead to the heavenly thoughts is the Macarian interpretation of participation in the Godhead.

The picture of the soul in flight is thus one of the soul in freedom and protection. Freedom from the weights of the earthly distractions

to prayer, and protection from evil while on the journey of prayer. The cleansing power of the Godhead is released through prayer, and the soul in such a state communes with God in the "heavenly frame of thought" and in the power of the "air of the Godhead," receiving visions and dreams. The image portrays a temporal state and not a permanent residence for the soul. Ps-Macarius regards the soul as receiving wings at baptism, the believer appropriating what was made available for him by Christ at his crucifixion. The believer is thus equipped for potential flight, potential communication. The life of ascetic discipline and above all the life of prayer within the ascetic lifestyle actuates the potentiality, but is also subject to the vagaries of divine grace. In Ps-Macarius understanding grace is not constant, and ebbs and flows according to the divine will. As a consequence the journey of the soul is not constant. Ps-Macarius refers to "twelve steps" on the journey to perfection; "In a manner of speaking, there are twelve steps a person has to pass to reach perfection. But again grace may recede somewhat and he descends to the next lower level, now standing on the eleventh step."⁷³ In the flight of the soul the believer is open to evil influences, and is liable to sink as much as soar. Ps-Macarius' emphasis is as much on the uniqueness of the place of prayer in his asceticism as it is on his progressive soteriology, and the potential to fly into the presence of God whilst still bound by the earthly body.

COMPARISON

Within both Gregory and Ps-Macarius there is the requirement for an ongoing search for spiritual fulfilment, as found in grace, and personified by faith. Participation is continuous growth, with the possibility of retreat, that is drawn on by the divine and enabled by grace. Ps-Macarius in particular focuses upon the role of the Holy Spirit, and of observance of the Commandments, in the progressive participation of the Christian.⁷⁴ In *Collection I Homily 31.6* Ps-Macarius speaks of the reaching out (ἐπεκτεινόμενος) of the mind of the believer towards God in warning his disciples about complacency, and he instructs his audience to keep in mind the "perfect goal of liberty and freedom from the passions," a teaching which echoes Gregory's concept of *epektasis*. Within the Church Fathers it is the life of self-control (ἐγκράτεια) that enables the soul to receive the

divine assistance that is required to “fly on the wings of the Spirit” and to communicate with the divine. The community that Ps-Macarius was seeking to create was a pure Church, a community of believers that were wholehearted in their response to God, and who receive communications from God when in receipt of an abundance of divine grace, and who acknowledge the transient nature of their position on the journey. As such, Ps-Macarius’ brotherhoods are communities of those who partake of the divine,⁷⁵ and are “participators of the secrets of the heavenly King.”⁷⁶ Ps-Macarius recognises the danger of not allowing the Spirit to work upon the heart because of a lack of discipline and asceticism, but he also counsels against those who having experienced divine grace, and living a life of self-control assume that they are free from sin.⁷⁷ The experience of grace that results in “flying on the wings of the Spirit” does not bring the Christian into perfection, and Ps-Macarius is at pains to emphasise this.

Ps-Macarius and Gregory differ in their emphasis as to the loci of the spiritual outpouring that enables the divine journey to begin. Within Gregory the impetus behind the journey towards divine union comes from the understanding of the incarnation as the revelation of the knowledge of God, and the instigation of the search for the divine. For Ps-Macarius the crucifixion is the place of the outpouring of the Spirit and of the enabling of the journey towards the divine and the pulling down of the evil that is within the heart of man. Within this concept is the well known Macarian idea of the soul as the dwelling place of both grace and sin, and it is in proportion to the discipline of life, together with the giving of grace, that the believer advances on the journey through the twelve levels.

Ps-Macarius lacks the philosophical detail of Gregory, and appears to be less influenced by Neo-Platonism than his counterpart, however, that may be due to the extant sources and nature of the individual corpus under consideration. Although both stress the necessity of the experiential reality within the sacramental aspect of the journey, they do not limit the experience of intoxication to a sacramental context. Gregory regards the ecstasy of partaking of the Eucharistic wine as a foretaste of eternal ecstasy.⁷⁸ Similarly Ps-Macarius asserts that the sacraments enable the Spirit to work upon the heart,⁷⁹ and teaches that the Spirit is necessary for true worship.⁸⁰ However, both clearly move away from the purely eucharistic setting in their use of the idea of being “intoxicated with God.”

In conclusion, it can be said that Ps-Macarius' understanding and use of "intoxication" is a further indication of the unique use of language that is characteristic of the Macarian Corpus.⁸¹ The non-sacramental connotation as found in Ps-Macarius largely does not figure in Hellenic Christian literature before c. 350 A.D. except within Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory and Ps-Macarius instill the interpretation of the word as ultimate communion with the Godhead into the psyche of Christendom, and do so in a way that is associated with the reception of grace and the Holy Spirit. In regard to the question of priority, which in the case of the debate concerning the priority of the *Great Letter* of Macarius and the *De Instituto* of Gregory, experts presently accept Macarian influence as previous and formative, it can be said that Gregory has the more systematic doctrine of intoxication and ecstasy, but this in no way determines formative influence. Rather the indications are towards an environment of mutual exchange. The synthesis of philosophical structures and ideas that occurred during the 4th century included the appropriation of Neo-Platonism into an emergent Christian philosophical language, and this is indicated by the pervasive nature of philosophical influence that was endemic in the Cappadocian region. Gregory of Nyssa is, perhaps, the best example of this. Macarius was also affected by influences similar to Gregory, and given that the precise relationship between Gregory and Ps-Macarius has not been identified, a two-way process must not be discounted, particularly if Ps-Macarius was a wider member of the fourth century "Cappadocian Circle." Ps-Macarius has been regarded as an icon of early Syrian Christianity. A proponent of an isolated asceticism that was eventually subsumed by Egyptian led ascetic practices. However, Ps-Macarius, who portrays so many Syrian traits, is not an isolated ascetic. These similarities between Ps-Macarius and Gregory once again suggest an environment of extensive interaction. Ps-Macarius stands with Gregory as one who began to illuminate the process by which the reception of heavenly wisdom occurs and who grounded his theology into community life. That his work is not as clear or as systematic as Gregory's does not detract from the underlying concepts that he sought to communicate to his disciples. Ps-Macarius' use of "intoxication" and "sober intoxication" places him once again in the midst of the synthesis of Greek and Syrian thought that occurred in the Cappadocian region in the late fourth century. To Ps-Macarius' Syrian heritage

must be added his unique use of language and theology which reveal a debt to hellenism, and a large degree of original thought and striking spiritual wisdom.

NOTES

¹The writings of Ps-Macarius are found in three collections. *Collection I* H. Berthold (ed.), *Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*. (2 vols.) Berlin: GCS, 1973. *Collection II* H. Dorries, E. Klostermann & M. Kroeger, ed. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*. Berlin, 1964. *Collection III* E. Klostermann & H. Berthold, ed. *Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon*. Berlin, 1961. *Translations*: G. Maloney, *Ps-Macarius. The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*. New York: Paulist Press, 1992. V. Desprez, *Neue Homilien des Makarios/Symeon*. (Oeuvres Spirituelles.) Sch 275. Paris: Editions du cerf, 1980. References given cite Collection, Homily and relevant paragraph.

²H. Lewy, "Sobrias Ebrietas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik," *BZW. Beihefte* 9. Geissen, 1929. H.J. Sieben-A. Soullignac, "Ivresse Spirituelle," *Dictionnaire de Spirituelle*, 7, 2312-2337. Leclercq, J., "Jour d'Ivresse," *Vie Spirituelle*, 76 (1947) 574-591. Meloni, P., "Drunkenness," *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 255.

³Philo. *Opera* (ed. Mangey, London, 1742) I 103.32; I.60.31; I.16.22; Daniélou, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique*, Paris, 1944, 290-302. Lewy, "Sobrias Ebrietas," 3-41. In relation to prophecy in Philo, see Wolfson, H.A., *Philo vol. II*, Massachusetts, 1947, ch. 9. See also A. Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition*, Oxford, 1981.

⁴Philo, *Leg. All.* I, 82-84. Louth, *Origins*, 34. E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Roman Period*, vol. 6:202. New York, 1956. Lewy, "Sobrias Ebrietas," 10-12.

⁵The phrase "drunkenness of spirit" was especially widespread in the Hellenistic language, especially within the Hermetic writings (those writings concerning Hermes, circulated under the name Hermes Trismegistus, c. 3 BC), and Daniélou suggests that this is where Philo has borrowed the phrase from (*Platonisme*, 290). However, Wolfson prefers to note that the reference of sober intoxication within Philo stems from a comparison with the ecstasy brought on voluntarily by strong wine in the cult of Dionysius. "The term used to describe the drunken frolic is *βεβάρχευται*," lit. "possessed with a Bacchic frenzy," from the festivals of Bacchus or Dionysius, at which frenzy was brought on voluntarily by the drinking of wine" (Wolfson, H.A., *Philo vol. II*, Massachusetts, 1947, 49f.). For Philo's description of the drunken frolics of the heathen cults see *Cher.* 29.92.

⁶Plotinus, *Enneads*, VI.7.34. Trans. S. McKenna, London, 1991. A.H. Armstrong, London, 1966.

⁷*Enneads*, VI.7.35.

⁸*Enneads*, VI.7.35.

⁹Lilla, S., s.v., *Neoplatonism. II. Plotinus*, EEC, 586f, Gerson, 65 fn 27. There is a debate concerning the condition of the identity of the One and the soul in Plotinus. Armstrong asserts that the self does not lose its identity in the ultimate union, and that all its lower powers and activities remain in being, ready for use when required. See Bussanich for the contra position. Armstrong, A., *Plotinian and Christian Studies*,

Variorum, 1979. Bussanich, J., *The One and its Relation to Intellect in Plotinus*, Leiden, 1988.

¹⁰Eg. Clement, *Paedagogus*. 2.2. (GCS1); Eusebius. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. I. 2.21, (GCS2); Chrysostom, *Hom. 29.1 in Gen* (PG 53.23). Basil, *Is. 178*. See Lampe "μέθη," 838.

¹¹Lampe, p. 838. Greg. Nyssa, *Exegetical Works. Comm. On the Song V* (PG 44).

¹²Greg. Nyssa, *Comm. on the Song XII* (PG 44).

¹³Daniélou, J., "From Glory to Glory" *Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical writings*, New York, 1995, 33-46.

¹⁴See K. Gronau, *De Basilio Gregorio Nazianzeno Nyssenoque Platonis Imitatoribus*, Göttingen, 1908. R.E. Heine, *Perfection in the Virtuous Life*, Cambridge, Mass., 1975. Daniélou, J., s.v., "Mystique de la Tenebre chez Gregoire de Nyssa," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 2ii, 1872-1835.

¹⁵Louth, *Origins*, 81.

¹⁶Daniélou, *Platonisme*, 309-326 esp. 314-316, cf. Phil. 3:13; Liddell & Scott, 520. Lampe, 513. Greg. Nyss., *Commentary on the Song XLVI, XLIV* (PG 44). *Life of Moses* (PG 44). See also Heine, *Appendix C. The Source of Gregory's use of Philippians 3:13*.

¹⁷*Commentary on the Songs XVI* (PG 44). Daniélou, *From Glory*, 196.

¹⁸Louth, *Origin*, 88. Greg. Nyss., *Comm. on the Song XII*.

¹⁹Heine, "Perfection," 78. Louth, "Origins," 90.

²⁰See Greg. Nyss., *Comm. on the Song XI* (PG 44).

²¹Spidlik, T., s.v., "Ecstasy," *EEC*, 262. *Comm. on the Song XII* (PG 44).

²²Louth, "Origins," 96.

²³Daniélou cites "watchful sleep" as another example. *Platonisme*, 295.

²⁴Daniélou, "From Glory," 36.

²⁵I.63.6.

²⁶I.45.3.

²⁷II.8.2.

²⁸I.52.2.

²⁹Liddell & Scott, 1304.

³⁰See Lampe, 1976, 1204.

³¹Hackforth, R., *Plato's Phaedrus*, Cambridge, 1952. *Phaedrus*, 246-248.

³²*Phaedrus*, 246D.

³³*Phaedrus*, 251C.

³⁴*Phaedrus*, 255D.

³⁵Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, vol. 8:41.

³⁶Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedrus*, 96-98.

³⁷Ex. 19:4; Deut. 32:11; Ps. 103:5; Is. 40:31.

³⁸Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 8:121.

³⁹Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 8:127, 129.

⁴⁰Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 8:42.

⁴¹Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 8:44.

⁴²Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 8:38. Philo, *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*, XXV (125-127); Ambrose, *De Isaac vel amina*, vii, 59.

⁴³Beck, E., *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrens Hymnen auf Abraham Kidunaya und Julianos Saba*, CSCO 322 & 323, Louvain, 1972. Beck doubts Ephrem's authorship of the majority of the hymns to Julian Saba, preferring to ascribe them to Ephrem's students.

For a discussion on Beck's proposals see Griffith, S., "Julian Saba; Father of the Monks of Syria," *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2:2 185-216, esp. 199ff. Griffiths asserts that the first four hymns of the collection are indeed Ephremic. For an overview of the life of Julian Saba, see AbouZayd, S. *Ihdayutha*, Oxford, 1993, 324-26.

⁴⁴ *Hymns on Virginity*, XXIV.3 (Beck, 322:61); McVey, C., *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns*, CWS, New York, 1989, 366.

⁴⁵ Post-Nicene Fathers 13:278, *Hymns for the Feast*, VIII.16.

⁴⁶ Beck, E., *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Fide*, CSCO 154, Louvain, 1955. Trans. Palmer, A., *Eighty-Seven Teaching Songs on Faith*, Forthcoming teaching song 75.23f.

⁴⁷ *Hymns on Faith*, 37.9. Trans. Palmer, 80.

⁴⁸ *Hymns on the Nativity*, XVII.2.

⁴⁹ Aphrahat, *Dem VII.1*, Post Nicene Fathers, 13:363.

⁵⁰ Aphrahat, *Dem VII.2*, Post Nicene Fathers, 13:365.

⁵¹ Ode 28.1 Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon*, Oxford, 1978, 108.

⁵² Alszegey, Z. s.v., "Fuite du Monde," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Vol. 5:1575-1600.

⁵³ Greg. Nyss., *Comm. on the Song XV* (PG 44) tr. Musurillo in J. Danielou, "From Glory to Glory," Crestwood, 1995, 284.

⁵⁴ Cherniss, *Platonism*, 42. For a discussion on the cosmology of Gregory of Nyssa, see Daniélou, *Platonisme*, Paris, 1944, 165-168.

⁵⁵ D. Balas, "Metousia Theou" *Man's Participation in God's Perfections According to St. Gregory of Nyssa*, Rome, 1966, 165; E. Ferguson, "God's Infinity and Man's Mutability: Perpetual Progress According to Gregory of Nyssa," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973) 59-78.

⁵⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Moysis*, II.224 tr. F. Ferguson, A.J. Malherbe, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses*, New York, 1978.

⁵⁷ Gregory Nyssa, *Vita Moysis*, II.225.

⁵⁸ Cherniss, *Platonism*, 42 esp. n. 56.

⁵⁹ Danielou, "From Glory," 198. *Comm. on the Song VI* (PG 44).

⁶⁰ Cherniss, *Platonism*, 49.

⁶¹ Daniélou, "From Glory," 286. *Comm. on the Song XV*.

⁶² Daniélou, "From Glory," 191. *Comm. on the Song I*.

⁶³ I.48.6, .9.

⁶⁴ Dörries, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon*, Göttingen, 1978, 201.

⁶⁵ II.2.3.

⁶⁶ II.1.9.

⁶⁷ I.44.5.

⁶⁸ II.30.6.

⁶⁹ I.14.23.

⁷⁰ II.47.2; II.2.3.

⁷¹ I.11.1.2, (mirrored in II.47.2) III.4.2.

⁷² Plotinus, *The Enneads*, VI.9.77-28.

⁷³ II.8.3. Ps-Macarius does not list the steps.

⁷⁴ III.27.7.

⁷⁵ II.17.2.

⁷⁶ II.17.2.

⁷⁷ II.17.6.

⁷⁸ Lewy, *Sobrias Ebrietas*, 136. Cf. Daniélou, "Platonisme," 294.

⁷⁹ I.52.2-3, Stewart, C., *Working the Earth of the Heart*, Oxford, 1991, 219. Desprez, *Pseudo-Macair: L'âme et Eglise*, (Hom. I.52) in Gribomont (ed.), *Commandments du Seigneur*, Rome, 1970.

⁸⁰ See also Desprez, "Le bapteme chez le Pseudo-Macaire," *Ecclesia Orans*, 1988, 121-155.

⁸¹ See Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart*, Oxford, 1991.

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Documents in the National Archives of the Sakha Republic Concerning the Activities of the Prelate Innokentii (Veniaminov): A Brief Review

MRS. NADEZHDA STEPANOVNA

More than one million dossiers and files are stored in the National Archive of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and its branch, one of the largest archives in Siberia and the Russian Far East. These files are a great source of Yakut history from 1701 to the present day, containing unique documents of a historic value. They are common property of the peoples of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). Among these diverse, rich and informative materials, the documents of ecclesiastic bodies and institutions are among the most important and the greatest in number — sixty archives of eighteen-thousand files. It is extremely unfortunate that this valuable source of ecclesiastical, spiritual and cultural history has not been studied and used by scholars yet, for a well known reason.

On the occasion of the Veniaminov's Bicentennial, archivists of the Sakha National Archive have made known the documents concerning the activities of St. Innokentii (Veniaminov). As a result of this work, we have made a list of genuine, unique documents regarding the prelate's activities in Yakutia during the years of 1852-1870.

A great number of documents, unknown before, were found in the Archives of the Yakut Ecclesiastic administration and Yakutsk Spasski Monastery, Kamchatka Ecclesiastic consistory, and the Yakutsk Ecclesiastic Censorship Committee for the Yakut translations. The documents that have been found can be theoretically divided into four sections:

1. Instructions and orders regarding the personnel under the supervision of Innokentii, Archbishop of Kamchatka, made for the Yakut Ecclesiastic administration during the period 1852 -1864.

2. Veniaminov's letters written between 1857-1860.

3. Registers of financial donations for publishing religious and church books; expense sheets of Veniaminov's trips to the *uluses* (districts).

4. Decrees, documents of the Holy Synod and of the Metropolitan of Moscow Filaret.

The most interesting documents are those written personally by Innokentii (Veniaminov). By Decree of the Synod, 27 August 1852, the Yakutsk region was attached to the Kamchatka Eparchy. The Right Reverend Innokentii arrived in Yakutsk on the eleventh of September 1853. By that time, many priests under the leadership of the Archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov were working very hard on translations of the Gospel and some other books. On the 28 January 1854, Archbishop Innokentii of Kamchatka gave instructions to award the priests Aeon of the Amginskaya Preobrazhenskaya Church [Church of the Transfiguration in Amginsk], Dmitrii Vinokurov of the Yakutsk Bogorodskaya Church [Church of the Mother of God in Yakutsk], Pyotr Popov of the Meginskaya Church, and Ioann Lobanski of the Yakutsk Cathedral with medals for translating religious and church books into the Yakut language.

He cared about children. In one of his instructions, 18 April 1855, the Archbishop wrote: "I think that here, as in America and other places of the Kamchatka Eparchy, it will be very useful to allow children to acquire a basic knowledge through ways in addition to sermons, by collecting them in the church beyond church service time.... Doing this is even more necessary and important here, because many of the local children, due to their parents' poverty or some other reasons, do not study Divinity and learn their duties anywhere else."

I would like to draw your attention to another document, signed on 21 July 1859, in which the Archbishop gave instructions to hold church services in the Yakut language. After religious books had been released in Yakut, the first Divine Liturgy in the Yakut language took place in the Yakutsk Cathedral on 19 July 1859. Prayers in Yakut were chanted by the Archbishop himself.

Among the documents of the second section, there is a letter of the

Archbishop written on 27 March 1858, to gold miners of the Olyokminsk district in which he asked for financial assistance to construct a new building for the Spasski Monastery in Yakutsk. The next letter, dated 27 May 1860, was addressed to Bishop Pavel of Yakutia regarding the celebration of the first church service to be held in the Yakut language. Another letter, 9 January 1857, was sent to the Holy Synod regarding the translation work of church books. All the above-mentioned letters were signed by the Prelate.

In the Archive of the Yakutsk City Duma, a copy of Bishop Innokentii's letter to the Yakutsk Governor A.D. Lokhvitski in 1865 has been found, where he wrote: "The 15th day of December is a most special and memorable day, for after the Liturgy (which I was able to hold for the twenty-sixth time, with God's blessings) on this day I had the great joy and surprise to receive an icon of St. Innokentii, brought to me from Irkutsk, a place remote by distance but very close to the heart...." This letter was written by Veniaminov in Blagoveshchensk.¹

The third section of the documents is comprised of three registers. Expense-sheets of the Yakutsk Ecclesiastic Administration, made during Archbishop Innokentii's trip to *uluses* (districts) with an indication of the route and places he visited, are included; for instance, his trip from Yakutsk to Suntar in the year 1857 via Olyokminsk, Nyurba, Magan, and then back, travelling the long distance on twelve horses (2569 versts in the old Russian measurement [approximately 1703 miles; 2723 km. — ed]).

The fourth set of documents is comprised of the decrees and documents sent by the Holy Synod to Archbishop Innokentii, particularly: the letter of Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow and Kolomna regarding the appointment of a new bishop; and the Decree of the Synod inviting Innokentii to St Petersburg with the purpose of discussing the issue of transferring his See to the Amur. Having become the Metropolitan of Moscow, St. Innokentii was still concerned about the activities and affairs of his former Yakut congregation. For example, a letter by Archmandrite Veniamin of Moscow (Chudov Monastery), 21 January 1870, was sent to Bishop Dionisii of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk regarding the sending an icon entitled "The Fatherland" at the request of Innokentii.

We should note here that the expansion of Christianity was accepted positively throughout the whole Yakut region, including the

most remote villages and settlements. As proof of this fact, we have found the following documents. In the petition forwarded to Archbishop Innokentii by the leaders of Dyuzhinsky *ulus* (district), dated 20 November 1853, we can read: "The Yakuts, inhabiting the Yakut region ... brimming with the Word of God and believing in the truth, have been enlightened with the Christian Faith ... and have built churches and parishes in their small settlements for ceremonial services." In this petition, they asked for a blessing to construct a new church at Ambardakh-Sysy. This petition was signed by the head of the Dyuzhinsky *ulus* Semyon Neustroyev and the elders of seven different *uluses*: Nikolai Popov, Grigorii Sleptsov, Pyotr Afanasyev, Mikhail Fyodorov, Fyodor Pkhlopkov, Arsenii Chemogradski, Sergei Strekalovski. In December 1856, the Dyuzhinskaya Church was built.

Another interesting document is dated in the year 1865. The leaders of the Baturusk, Meginsk, Borogonsk, Bayagantaysk, Dyuzhinsk *uluses* wrote in their letter: "After we had bad climatic conditions, drought and poor crops for several years in a row, Your Right Reverend held a church service on the 27th of May 1865 in the central settlement of five Yakut *uluses*, called Tyungyulu. The next day, on the 28th, much rain started, which lasted for many days. Those rains were very beneficial for a bumper crop of grass and wheat..."

Thus, the documents concerning St Innokentii's life, found in the Sakha National Archive, manifest many of his activities in details. The eight years he spent here doing the will of God were very important and vital for the moral revival of this Northern region.

Documents of St Innokentii are valuable relics of the history of our peoples. The search for other documents will go on, and we do hope that future scholars will find new, interesting and good materials connected with the name of St. Innokentii (Veniaminov), Apostle to America and Siberia, the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna.

NOTES

¹ Editor's note — The icon would have been of St Innokentii of Irkutsk, in honour of whom Veniaminov had received his name at monastic tonsure for elevation to the episcopacy. For the location of Blagoveshchensk, see Introduction, sec.4.

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cinating introduction to the religious world of Byzantium is enormously enhanced by many well-chosen and well-photographed illustrations, with sixteen pages in colour (though some of the descriptions are a little odd: the 'plump cushion' on which various archangels and emperors are said to stand looks more like a semi-circular dais to me). All in all, this volume is thoroughly to be recommended.

Prof. Andrew Louth

Vlasios I. Phidas, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, Β' Ἀπὸ τὴν Εἰκονομαχία μέχρι τὴν Μεταρρύθμιση* (*Ecclesiastical History II: From the Iconoclastic Dispute to the Reformation*, 2nd edition, Athens (1998), pp. 766.

The reviewer had the good fortune to present the first volume of this magnificent Manual of Vlasios I. Phidas, *Church History I*, Athens 1992, in an extended form in the periodicals, *Theologia* [64 (1993) 335-341] and *Kleronomia* [28 (1996) 369-379]. What is written here is a continuation of the previous reviews. The first volume is much more extensive (969 pages) than the second. Our purpose here is to give a general account of the wealth of contents, which this author has offered through great labor. The page references we supply in our presentation are not exhaustive but indicative.

According to the first volume of his Manual, the author had initially designed two volumes, one on "The First Period: From the Foundation of the Church to the End of the Iconoclastic Dispute (1st - 9th century)," and another on "The Second Period: From the End of the Iconoclastic Dispute to Modern Times (10th - 20th century)" (see vol. I, pp. 20-21, 19-23). Nevertheless, this second volume is subtitled: "Second Period: From the Iconoclastic Dispute to the Reformation," and not to the Capture of Constantinople (1453). This is indicative of the author's return to his initial teaching textbook of three volumes. We can only wish him a speedy completion of his endeavor with the appearance of the third volume of his history.

It is interesting to note Phidas' reference to the third millennium, which is already dawning as 1998 marks one of the last steps for the completion of the second millennium. This provides him with the occasion to comment on the first two Christian millennia comparing them to each other. "If the first millennium," he writes, "promoted the well balanced and mutual co-inherence of local particularity

(τοπικότητα) and ecumenicity (οἰκουμενικότητα) of the Christian message, the second millennium dissociated local particularity and ecumenicity and introduced a serious disjunction in the unity of the experience of the Christian world. The entry of the third millennium of the historical life of the Church conjoins again the vision of the unity of the Christian world with the same problems, but also with additional historical burdens" (pp. 7-9). "The second millennium, then, of the historical life of the Church, was inaugurated with the Christianization of almost all the peoples who moved beyond the Rhine, the Danube and the Black Sea. ... If the first millennium established the vision of the spiritual unity of the Christian Europe, the second millennium was associated with the tragedy of the multiple church partitions of the Christian world" (pp. 90-91).

As regards the contents of the present volume, there are nine chapters which deal with the following topics: 1) The Dissemination of Christianity in the East and the West (pp. 17-91). 2) The Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches (pp. 92-175). 3) The Development of the Administrative Organization of the Eastern Church (pp. 176-267). 4) Heresies and Theological Disputes in the East (pp. 268-315). 5) The Western Church and the Investiture Struggle of the Papacy (pp. 316-391). 6) Organization, Divine Worship and Spiritual Life of the Western Church (pp. 392-480). 7) Hesychastic Disputes in the East (481-554). 8) Relations between the Eastern and Western Churches (pp. 555-639). 9) Divine Worship, Monasticism and Spiritual Life of the Eastern Church (pp. 640-745). The material, as presented, is not divided into parts, but into chapters, which are quite extensive and include subdivisions. There is no index to abbreviations, but there is an extensive index of names and contents. Subdivision 5 of chapter 8 deals with: The Ancient Oriental Churches (pp. 626-639) and supplies succinct information on them all. We find special subdivisions on education and theological literature. There is also special reference to these in relevant points of the other subdivisions and the same applies to biographies, which are quite rich (p. 694). There are no footnotes. The texts, plentiful in their appearance, which correspond to each epoch, subjects and persons, are placed within the text and the same applies to the references to them.

There is no special chapter on bibliography as is the case with volume one. The bibliography is included at the beginning of each

chapter and within the text, corresponding with the expositions, which make them up. It is classified as: sources, bibliography, writings, contributions, additional bibliographical aids.

Reference is made to most of the ecclesiastical historians of our times, living or deceased, such as Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Vasilios Stephanides, Gerasimos Konidares, Athanasios Angelopoulos, Ioannis Anastasiou, Demetrios Gones, Spyridon Kontogiannes, Soterios Varnalides, Apostolos Glavinas, as well as to other authors, whose field is related to the topics under study. It is interesting to note that Phidas argues not only with Vasilios Stephanides (pp. 189, 206, and elsewhere), but also with his teacher Gerasimos Konidares (pp. 217, 219).

Phidas makes ample use, as in his previous volume, of his own works, which have already appeared, and of their content. It is clear that as a perceptive academic teacher and author, he had worked on topics which eventually would constitute relevant material to be used in his general manual. Generally speaking, the author is forced to make selections in his work on account of the multitude of material.

A further problem seems to be the type of material that relates to this dark period of Church History (9th-15th centuries). It is marked by duplicity of spiritual life in the two Churches, the Eastern and the Western, and, being focused on the Great Schism of 1054, is extremely difficult to elaborate. The peculiarity of the historical material of the two Churches makes the interpretation of events particularly difficult, but the author approaches it with two premises: a) the new rapprochement of the two traditions, and b) the criterion of the common ecclesiastical tradition of the first millennium. As he says, "It is evident that the evaluation of the historical material in this task has been attempted on the basis of a new methodological approach. It was not detached, of course, from its established thematic organization, but it was related to a new perspective of interpretation of historical development. For this reason, it was necessary to supply at least the basic texts, which indicated the developments, both in the East and in the West" (p. 8).

Proper attention is given to critical research (international or not), with its deficiencies or certainties (pp. 19, 20, 25, 29, 46, 164, 477) and to critical judgment, criticism and criteria (pp. 8, 19, 20, 183, 273, 279, 298, 305, 381, 537, 651, 704). The author interprets (pp. 22, 54, 253), refutes (pp. 189, 206, 217, 219), corrects (pp. 46, 60,

250, 591), ascertains (pp. 272, 447, 644, 709), underlines (p. 667), and evaluates (pp. 20, 354). Whenever he presents personal views, he usually speaks in the first person, and he speaks using expressions such as: "as we have already noted" (p. 190), "in our view" (p. 207), "in our opinion" (p. 218), "as we proved" (p. 242). Following the strict rules of historical research, he emphasizes: the causes (pp. 93-97, 313, 431), the presuppositions (pp. 573-574, 671-682), the motivations (pp. 20, 273, 490), the stimuli (p. 490), the factors (p. 393), the arguments (pp. 273, 315, 468, 729), the means and the aims (p. 394), the indications (p. 675), the observations (p. 685), relating to the development of events, movements, etc. He does the same with regard to the results (pp. 491, 583), recapitulations and conclusions (pp. 218, 304-305, 550-554, 573-574, 687-689), repetitions (pp. 18, 20, 299), and consequences (perhaps one of the most typical expressions of this author's discourse, appearing on many pages, e.g. 72, 173, 205, 210, 322, 394, 491, 538, 573-574, 577, etc.). Whenever necessary, he emphasizes the conjunction of what he writes to what comes afterwards and to the contemporary situation and *vice versa*: "as we saw" (pp. 95, 144, 178, 214, 225, 266, 405, 529, 573-574, 583, 626, 641, 664, 694), "as we have already noted" (p. 180), "as we have proved" (p. 242), "as we shall see" (pp. 175, 459, 484, 557, 696), "prospect for the future, which became a past event a long time ago" (p. 558), and "simply prospect" (pp. 250, 253).

He records the problems, or more mildly the issues (pp. 285-286, 415, 468, 503). He rarely uses words like "must" (p. 22) or "ought to" (p. 710), which is most unusual for a Greek author! He produces rich characterizations of persons, events, situations, editions, as he does in the first volume, but more extensively in this one (pp. 21, 47, 60, 73, 111, 153, 264, 271, 275, 276, 316-317, 372, 408, 464, 466, 469-475, 477-480, 486-489, 497-498, 520, 529, 544, 550, 640, 656-658, 681, 703, 728, 733-734).

The language, as in the previous volume, is Demotic Greek, but also close to simple Katharevousa, with all the richness of the Greek, ecclesiastical, theological and scholarly terminology and with real literary value. Phidas has a distinctive style, which can be delineated with reference to certain typical phrases (such as "undoubtedly," "it is possible (and the opposite)," "it could be," "rightly," "without question," "it is indisputable (and the opposite)," "trustworthiness," "obviously reasonable," "as it appears," "on the one hand...on the other hand") or to his habit of working out hypotheses, beginning

with what is possible and eliminating what is inapplicable and eventually arriving at what is probable or the opposite. Another characteristic of Phidas' style is his habit of highlighting what is said to occur for the first time and of enumerating his thoughts and conclusions.

This volume contains a lot of information concerning the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He explains the term "ecumenical" (pp. 189-190) and the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate up to 1453: it was vast, as it included southern Italy, the Adriatic, the lands around the Caspian Sea and the Volga River, Crete and the Baltics, and indeed, the entire land of Eastern Europe and the greatest part of Western Asia (p. 266). Of special importance is his reference to the conciliar institution of the Great Church (pp. 197-210, 288, 292, 531, 539, 585, 589, 603-611). Particularly important is his point that the Standing (*Endemousa*) or Patriarchal Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate included all the canonical forms of expression of conciliar consciousness, namely: a) the annual special Patriarchal Synod of the Metropolitans without jurisdiction and of the simple Archbishops as eparchs of the Ecumenical Throne, b) the annual regular Patriarchal Synod of all the Metropolitans who had Bishops under them, which was summoned at the invitation of the Patriarch, and c) the exceptional Standing Synod in its narrower or broader synthesis, which was summoned for the purpose of dealing with emergencies and other general matters relating to the Faith or canonical order (p. 210). Other interesting points relate to: a) the crisis in the relations between Rome and Constantinople under Photios (9th century), "which is mistakenly regarded by some as a schism, although it was only a case of breakdown of communion, which did not last long" (pp. 93-94), b) the election of Ignatius (846-858, 867-877), which was not canonical but was clearly based on an initiative of Queen Theodora (p. 98), c) the death of Photios on 6 February 892 (p. 138), d) the political zealots of Constantinople (p. 139), and e) "the Great Schism (1054) of the Churches of East and West" (p. 93).

Professor Phidas has clearly put us in his debt with this mighty volume. We wish him all the best for the completion of the third and final volume of his manual before the end of this millennium.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavridis (Halki)
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

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Enthronement Speech

ARCHBISHOP DEMETRIOS (TRAKATELLIS) OF AMERICA

“Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God forever and ever. Amen” (Rev. 7.12). This beautiful biblical hymn from the book of the Revelation of John expresses my feelings at this solemn hour: feelings of fervent worship and adoration offered to the Triune God, and, at the same time, intense prayer to have His mercy, love, and power supporting me in the sacred task in which He has called me, to serve as Archbishop His selected and beloved people of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

My adoring reference to God, is accompanied by feelings of the warmest thanks to His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaios and to the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the supreme honor of bestowing upon me the awesome responsibility of tending the bright and high promising flock of the Greek Orthodox faithful in this great country.

I am thinking, also very thankfully, of my distinguished and holy predecessors, the Archbishops Alexander, Athenagoras and Michael of blessed memory, and the Archbishops Iakovos and Spyridon. They have served with all their power the very same people whom I am going to serve, thus continuing their work. I extend my particular thanks to His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos for the very gracious words he offered me as representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch

and for his truly inspiring and edifying address.

I should like to extend my sincere thanks to my precious Brothers, the Metropolitans and Bishops, the pious clergy and the faithful lay people for the warm reception and the plentiful of love they showed me. My wholehearted thanks also extend to the Church of Greece and to the Greek Government for their support and their presence here through distinguished representatives. Last but not least, I am expressing my warm thanks to the honorable representatives of the United States of America's governmental and political leadership and to all the distinguished friends, religious, civil, academic, and business leaders, who were kind enough to participate in this ceremony.

On this solemn occasion, please allow me, in the spirit of love and honor for all of you, to bring to our attention a few basic issues which are significant for our work in the years to follow. I will limit myself to three of them which seem to be the most significant and which constitute fundamental priorities in the life of the Church.

The first is the issue of *the cultivation and growth of our Orthodox faith* which our Ecumenical Patriarchate has preserved intact and immaculate. This is a faith by which our Church lives and functions for twenty centuries. A faith which gave to the world millions of true Christians faithful to the Gospel of Christ – millions of saints and martyrs. A faith which the great and ingenious Fathers and Ecumenical Teachers of the Church defended, safeguarded and delivered to us whole, clear, and undistorted. A faith which created a wonderful tradition in which with utter discretion and control have been used and incorporated elements from the Greek cultural heritage.

This Orthodox faith has been always and is still today a basic priority for us. This is the reason why a number of serious questions is raised at this crucial moment: How intense and deep is our consciousness of this Orthodox faith? How much do we feel bound as individuals and as a community to our Orthodox Christian beliefs? How much do we know the substance of this faith as power and knowledge? As a power capable of changing the human beings and the world, as capable of moving even the mountains and of rendering the impossible possible (Mt. 17.20-21)? As a knowledge which offers the saving truth about God, humanity and the entire creation. Finally, how much our Orthodox faith constitutes our real and genuine identity within the pluralistic and multidimensional world of contemporary American society?

The questions are many and so are the answers, as we contemplate the past and look towards the future which the love of God has granted to us. Regardless of the answers, however, one thing is certain: Here, a remarkably wide field of a truly great work is open to us. A work with immense possibilities and huge perspectives. A work aiming at the invigoration, cultivation and growth of a dynamic and illumined faith within the clergy and the lay people of the blessed *Omogeneia* which constitute the flock of our Holy Archdiocese.

To this superb work, to this wonderful effort I should like to invite today all the beloved brothers and sisters. We have to be the Church which should give whole, powerful and genuine the witness of faith to this great country of America where God has planted us in. All of us, without exception have been called by the Lord to become conscious, true, dynamic and illumined people of faith, who, as Apostle Peter underlines, are ready and "prepared to make a defense to any one who calls us to account for the hope that is in us" (1 Pet. 3.15).

There is no doubt, that such a work, such an orientation, necessitates an emphasis and an intensification of the didactic, educational and cultural activities and programs of our Church. Within this perspective, it becomes imperative that we revitalize and further develop our theological and educational centers, like our Holy Cross School of Theology and our Hellenic College so that they could increase to their most and best their educational dynamism and become brilliant centers of cultivation and promotion of the values of the Orthodox faith and the Greek *paideia* and culture.

Within the same perspective, all the Dioceses and the Communities of our Holy Archdiocese are called to make the work of the cultivation and development of the Orthodox faith a substantive part of their activities and programs, by using all possible available means, from the traditional educational processes to the advanced communication technologies. Our target is the growth and preservation of a robust and illumined Orthodox identity as a basic characteristic of the members of our Greek Orthodox Church, particularly of our young generation, of our beloved and very promising children. This Greek Orthodox identity will enable our Greek-American faithful to stand with dignity and pride in the midst of our American fellow-citizens, respecting their religious and political beliefs within the large scheme of pluralism and globalization but, at the same time, insisting in the effort to safeguard the unique treasure which is our Orthodox faith,

and to cherish our precious asset which we all acknowledge to be our Greek heritage.

The second major issue which deserves special attention is the issue of *love, charity, and care for the human being*. Our Orthodox Church, faithful to the Gospel of her Founder, is the Church which loves each and every human person without any limitation, discrimination or reservation, especially when he or she is in a condition of need, pain and ordeal.

The center of our faith is a God, Who is love, and is the Son of God who became man in order to serve man, in order to redeem humanity and the whole of creation from evil, decay and death. Our Church, following the steps of this God who is a serving God, is permanently dedicated to the care of man, serves man not only within the limits of the possible but beyond any limit. Simply, she loves beyond any measure.

All of our communities in the Archdiocese are invited to intensify and to continually optimize this excellent spirit of love and *diakonia*, service. Let the living mutual love and the eagerness to transcend ourselves for the sake of the other who is in need, be the distinctive sign of our Orthodox ethos. Here we are not talking only about philanthropy or offering of material help to suffering brothers and sisters. Here we are talking about an attitude of life which encompasses our whole existence, and which means initiative and dynamism and avant-garde programs which cover conditions of sorrow, isolation and loneliness, sickness, despair, poverty, and all sorts of ordeals. Of course, our Church in America has given for many years plenty of palpable evidence for her philanthropic ethos and disposition. Today, however, we emphasize the need to intensify such an offering towards all directions. Here, there is an outstanding human dynamic and in addition tremendous possibilities due to the astonishing progress and the very impressive growth of the *Omogeneia* on all levels. Here, there appears the bright opportunity for the Greek Orthodox Church in America to be, with the blessings and the grace of God who is love, a truly model Church in terms of offering love to man. A Church which embraces every human being, especially the suffering ones, and offers, on a continuous basis, love, care, and tenderness to a world tormented by cruelty, violence, alienation and selfishness.

Limitless love translated into service of the suffering human be-

ing, is a basic priority, which we have as members of the Church of Christ, especially in view of the dawning third millennium. A millennium, which, in all probability, may have in store serious ordeals for humanity. It seems that the people will need strong support in order to survive and progress in the midst of huge changes in the environment, the economy, the social transformations, the biotechnology, the population explosion, the ideological confusion and the continuous technological revolution. Our Church here in the United States, as a Church of limitless love and philanthropy, as a Church destined to serve and to give, can play a significant role in the sacred effort to support man and the right to life and to contribute in the task of resolving the pressing problems which humanity will face in the years to come. Here, the limitless, wise and inexhaustible love of the Church becomes a strong element in the confrontation with the future, no matter what this future might be.

At this point, please allow me to indicate, and close with it, a third important issue, which in addition to the two previous ones, constitutes a basic priority for us. This is the issue of *unity, concord, and unanimity of our ecclesiastical body, and of our Greek Orthodox Community in general.*

Let us remember what the Lord immediately before his passion, has requested from the Father concerning the believers: “keep them in your name, which you have given me, so that they may be one like us (Jn. 17.11)” that may they all be one; even as you, Father, are in me and I in you, that they may also be one in us, so that the world may believe that you have sent me” (Jn. 17.21). And Paul, the Apostle to the nations, pleads with the believers to live “forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.” Why? Because “we are one body and one Spirit, just as we are called to the one hope that belongs to our call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all of us” (Eph. 4.1-6).

This is precisely the reason why, we feel our duty to stress the need for unity and peace among us. Without fear or hesitation we are invited, beloved brothers and sisters, to set aside difference, misunderstanding or conflict that could create distances among us. Distances that shake the unity and drive away the peace of God. Nothing should jeopardize the great and divine gifts of unity and harmony, of unanimity and communal accord. We have all the presuppositions, as

people and as Church to build in the highest and strongest possible degree, a unity dynamic and unbreakable so that we could be and stay one body, one soul, one mind, one will. In our case, the continuation and intensification of the task for unity and peace, is the wonderful work into which God calls us today. He calls us in view of the great objectives which are being set in front of us. The future is our superb destination, and the future cannot be built but only on the basis of our unity.

A unity and harmony which must be cultivated and pursued on many levels and in many forms within our Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and our Greek-American community in general. It must be cultivated as unity and mutual understanding among the generations, that is the young, the middle aged and the old. It must be cultivated as unity and harmonic cooperation between the clergy and the laity. It must be cultivated between the newcomers Greek-American immigrants and the Greek-Americans of the third or fourth generation. It must be cultivated as unity and unbreakable bond between the people of the *Omogeneia* and the people of Mother Greece.

Such multidimensional unity and concord is not exhausted within the area of our Archdiocese, but is supported and treasured as a unity integrally connected to the Mother Church, our Ecumenical Patriarchate. A unity which through our Ecumenical Patriarchate is extended to the larger circle of the Orthodox Churches in the United States, in order to embrace, finally, the world.

Today, all of us then under the wings of God, are called to continue our creative march, to continue it, in the bright avenues in which the love and the wisdom of our God lead us. This is a march of a dynamic faith, of an unlimited love and of an unbreakable unity, a march in every step of which we will feel the need to repeat the beautiful hymn from the Book of Revelation with which we started: "Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God for ever and ever. Amen" (Rev. 7.2).

Holy Trinity Cathedral
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From Sacramental Life To Sacramental Living: Heeding the Message of the Environmental Crisis¹

DR. ELIZABETH THEOKRITOFF

Every so often, there is a news story with all the force of a contemporary parable. One such concerned disastrous forest fires that raged for months on end in Indonesia, causing pollution, illness and accidents on a massive scale. A key factor in this environmental disaster, reportedly, was the prevailing logging practice: logging companies take the trees they want, damaging others in the process of felling and extraction, and the discarded remains lie around as kindling.

In the forests of Indonesia in 1997, prolonged drought meant that the destructive results of this behaviour were unusually swift and dramatic. But the underlying pattern is only too familiar: we focus on what we want to take from the world around us; we cut corners in order to get it in the easiest and most convenient way; we leave mounds of waste in our wake. And we are frequently unaware of how we are affecting other people, let alone other creatures.

But now let us look at a different model for using the world:

John [of Ephesus] relates how he was staying at a certain monastery one day when a wandering monk... was entertained there to a meal. He ate so slowly and with such extreme deliberation, taking two bites to everyone else's dozen, that John's curiosity was aroused; afterwards he questioned the visiting monk in private, and this is what he was told in reply:

"I hope that God will not judge me for having opened my mouth over food which is derived from God's gift without stretching my thoughts to give praise for His bounty. I hope in His name that I shall not be

condemned for having stretched forth my hand to my mouth without every time... similarly stretching forth my tongue to praise and my mind to prayer on behalf of those who labour and sweat and toil to supply my need."²

Comparing the story from contemporary Indonesia with that from sixth-century Syria, the difference is a matter of *engagement* with the world around us. The wandering monk uses the world with awe; it is a gift that connects him with the divine Giver, and with a whole nexus of people whose labour has made that use possible. It is an attitude incompatible with wastefulness: we have a responsibility for whatever we use.

Engagement with the material world - a recognition that use of it involves us in a relationship with God and with others - is the hallmark of an attitude which can be called sacramental. It could hardly be otherwise, since God's own engagement with the world lies at the heart of the fundamental mystery or sacrament: the "great mystery of godliness" (1 Tim. 3:16), that Christ "appeared in the flesh... and was taken up in glory." And He was taken up "having renewed in Himself the nature of Adam which had descended to the nethermost parts of the earth."³ Becoming part of His creation at the Incarnation, Christ *engages fully* with humanity, accepting all the consequences of the course begun with Adam.

We could say, then, that the environmental crisis speaks to us of the need to engage once more with the world - to live in a way which is true to our faith in the Incarnation. And this in turn means going about our daily lives in a manner consistent with the sacramental life that we already experience in the Church - just as the Syrian monk's every meal was eucharistic, an act of thanksgiving and wonder.

Let us now look at some of the characteristics of sacramental life, and ways in which they might translate into a way of living which is itself sacramental. As we see from the story of the monk, this "sacramentality" involves matter; it involves our attitude to time; and it involves the person.

SACRAMENT AND MATTER

i. More than meets the eye

The sacramental, almost by definition, involves *more than meets the eye*; it involves a spiritual reality concealed within the physical.

This is supremely true of the mystery of the Incarnation itself: "When you see the Child in swaddling clothes," says St. Cyril of Alexandria, "do not let your thoughts stop at His birth according to the flesh, but rise to the contemplation of His divine glory."⁴ Clearly, it is equally true of the mysteries of the Church in which we participate. The Divine Eucharist is not just a meal; baptism is not just a bath:

... That which is outward and visible is earthly, that which is inwardly understood is higher than heaven. Salvation comes through washing, and through water the Spirit: by descending into the water we ascend to God.⁵

This not to say, however, that the physical action and the material elements are no more than "disposable packaging" for a spiritual reality. On the contrary, physical things are able to convey the reality of God's action towards us precisely because their own essential reality lies in the same mystery, the sacrament of God's love manifested in creation. It is not only in the Eucharist, but in the very fact of bread and wine from the wheat stalk and the vine that we perceive "a great wonder, as great as the miracle at Cana."⁶

Nor does this sacramental "hiddenness" apply only to things: it applies also to people. "Send down Thy Holy Spirit *upon us* and upon these gifts," as we pray at the Eucharist: it is not the eucharistic elements in isolation, but the gathered community of the Church which is "shown" - as the Liturgy of St Basil says - to be the Body of Christ. And this sacramental reality of what we are, as a body and as "members in particular," has the power to extend into every aspect of our life. It is in monastic life that we are confronted most clearly with this transforming power of sacramental living, as the following conversation with an Athonite elder demonstrates:

Fr. Aimilianos [Abbot of Simonopetra] once pointed through the window at a monk digging in the garden, and asked me: 'What is this monk doing?' I said he was digging. He replied: When a monk is outside his monastery he looks for Christ. When he is inside the monastery he is, likewise, searching for Christ... The monks serve at the feet of Jesus. They are not professionals; they do not work for a living but for life. The monk that is digging is running after God.⁷

That is to say that the underlying reality of the monk's actions - of the actions of every Christian - is to be understood *theologically*: and

this understanding of the essence of our activities cannot but be reflected in the way we perform every action. Indeed, perhaps the greatest single impediment to making the connection between our faith and "church life" on the one hand, and a sacramental way of living our everyday life on the other, is the loss of the language of theology as "the essential dimension of the totality of the Church's life;" a loss of the sense that "everything is theological because it happens within the Church, the Body of Christ, and the Temple of the Holy Spirit."⁸

If we lose this theological vision, we are left with a variety of piecemeal languages: a sterile philosophical language which is labelled "theological," a language of piety, a language of morality - so that everything that will not fit into one of these categories is relegated to the secular realm, and our approach to it is at the mercy of secular concerns. An instance of this is the readiness with which environmental questions are labelled as "political."

The diocese or parish, not to mention the individual Christian, shares a great many activities with the secular world: buying, selling and maintaining property, social activities, fund-raising. If we ask *how* the Church community should do these things, where do we start looking for an answer? The language of piety is not helpful. The language of morality might be called upon: we should do these things in a way that is ethical. The definition of "ethical" might even be stretched to include "without ostentation," "with concern for the indirect effect on others." Indeed: we should not behave worse than any decent agnostic or pagan. But is this really the fullness of the Church's witness to the world? St. Innocent of Moscow, the nineteenth-century Evangeliser of Alaska, offers us a different vision:

As a creature of Almighty God you exist in this world solely in order that through all you do, by the totality of your life, your entire being, God's great and holy name may be glorified.⁹

With a criterion such as this, we may start looking differently at all our interactions with the world. Are we moved to glorify God when we see sacks of our rubbish destined for the landfill? Is God's wisdom and providence in creating plants for even the harshest climates best glorified in pea-green lawns maintained regardless of the cost in water, fertiliser and pesticides? There are no formulae for producing answers. But once we recognise that in every action, there is concealed something of the mystery of our life in Christ, then we stand a better chance of asking the right questions.

ii. *Creation restored*

We have said above that the physical reality of the sacrament is able to convey a spiritual reality precisely because the physical creation is in itself a mystery of God's love. Correspondingly, therefore, what the sacrament reveals is *creation restored to its intended state* - to being a means of relationship with God. Eating, for instance, no longer signifies autonomy, a human desire to maintain our natural life without reference to God: instead, it becomes in the Eucharist our supreme means to commune with God through His creation. There is no longer any disharmony between our physical nourishment and our spiritual nourishment, because we perceive that both come directly from God. As St Irenaeus insists:

As we are His members, we are also nourished by means of the creation (and He Himself grants the creation to us, for He causes His sun to rise, and sends rain when He wills). He has acknowledged the cup (which is part of the creation) as His own Blood, from which He bedews our blood; and the bread (also a part of the creation) He has established as His own Body, from which He gives increase to our bodies.¹⁰

The restored order of creation shown to us in the sacramental use of matter has inescapable implications for the way we live in the world:

Firstly, before creation can be recognised as transparent to God - as a gift relating us to the Giver - it has to be "de-divinised" in itself. "Nothing else so soils the work of God and makes unclean what is clean," writes St Symeon the New Theologian, "as the deification of creation, and the worshipping of it as equal to God the Creator and Maker."¹¹ This applies equally whether we are talking about the literal worship of created things by pagans ancient and modern, or about the more insidious forms under which "covetousness, which is idolatry" (Col. 3:5) is rendered socially acceptable: material criteria for success, consumerism, "keeping up with the Joneses." To this extent it is correct to say that Christianity "desacralises" nature; but it is at most half the story. Created nature needs to be "desacralised" in order to reveal its true relationship with the sacred. Seen as the servants of false gods, whether literal or figurative, material things are a distorting mirror. Seen as an end in themselves, they are opaque. But seen as a "gift and sacrament of God's love" in the words of Fr Dumitru

Staniloae,¹² they become transparent to God - a window into heaven. It is no accident that this latter phrase has been applied to the icon, which is a supreme example of matter used sacramentally: the world depicted in the icon is a world transfigured,¹³ and at the same time the animal, vegetable, mineral and human worlds all combine to realise this image.

Secondly, recognition of creation as God's gift raises the question: a gift to whom? There is a clear answer to this: "Thou openest Thy hand and all things are filled with good" (Ps. 103.28, LXX). Contrasting God's liberality with the attitude of his rich contemporaries, St. Gregory the Theologian elaborates:

"He stretched out ample land for all land creatures, and springs, and rivers, and woods; and air for the birds, and water for the aquatic creatures; and He bestowed the basic necessities of life in abundance on all creatures, not dominated by any power, not restricted by law, not divided by boundaries..."¹⁴

Inasmuch as creation is a gift, then, it is a gift to all in common. And there are further strings attached. Often when we assert that something "is a gift" we mean: "He doesn't want it back, it is mine to do what I like with." In the case of God's gifts, however, there is reason to believe that He does want them back - with interest. In fact, while God's gifts are poured out generously for our needs and our use, it is a mistake to regard any part of them as our "property," as St. John Chrysostom reminds us:

Is this not an evil, that you alone should have the Lord's property, that you alone should enjoy what is common? Is not "the earth God's, and the fullness thereof?" If then our possessions belong to one common Lord, they belong also to our fellow servants. *The King's possessions are all common...* we all share them equally.¹⁵

The "interest" we owe includes the benefit to other people and creatures from those gifts which pass through our hands. It may be noted that the fashionable notion of "stewardship" is applicable primarily to these gifts, to the elements of material creation which in human parlance we "own." "Stewardship" in the patristic understanding does not mean applying concepts of property to the whole of our relationship with material creation, but rather applying the notion of relationship, of relatedness, to our already sufficiently extended concepts of property. Both our use of "our" land and the things we spend

“our” money on are to be informed by the recognition that we are using things given by God for the benefit of all creatures.

A third aspect of the restoration of creation to its intended state is that man is thereby restored to his proper position within that creation. What is that position? The modern secular notion that man is “just a part of nature” is doubtless a reaction to a perceived idea that man is “above nature;” but neither contention represents the fullness of the Christian understanding. For man is both:

a being from both natures, the visible and the invisible... Taking [man’s] body from pre-existing matter and animating it with His own breath... God placed him on Earth as another cosmos, a great cosmos in miniature; another angel, a “hybrid” worshipper, initiated fully into the visible creation and to a lesser degree into the intelligible; a king of things on Earth, but subject to the King above; earthly and heavenly, transient and immortal, visible and intelligible, midway between greatness and insignificance, at once spirit and flesh...¹⁶

This tension in our nature is crucial to taking full responsibility for our position as a creature with unique abilities to shape and manipulate its environment, without falling into tyranny and exploitation. The Christian understanding of man’s “kingship” over things on earth is altogether inseparable from his subjection to the King above.

Is this vision anthropocentric? It is theocentric: it depends absolutely on rediscovering God as the central principle of our own being. Is a striking insight, St Maximus the Confessor speaks of man’s fall from theocentricity to being centred on “things below him:”

Man did not move around ... God as his own principle in the way that he was naturally created to do; but... in a manner contrary to nature he moved around the things below him, over which he had been appointed by God to rule.¹⁷

the “move around” things below us actually means that we revolve around our *appetites* for these things. And when everything revolves around the desires of man the consumer, that is “anthropocentricity” in its most negative form. This is not the logical conclusion of the “rule over the beasts” that God appointed for us, but its antithesis; when we act as a devastatingly cunning “top predator” whose appetites for luxuries and amenities is not curbed by its basic needs, then we fail the primary test of ruling over the “beasts” within us, our own animal appetites.¹⁸

The sacramental alternative offers a vision of man not as *center*, but as *mid-point* - as mediator, in St. Maximus' words again. The difference is that whereas a center need presuppose only one other reality, a mid-point presupposes at least two. Standing "midway between" the material and the immaterial world, man's role *par excellence* is to offer creation up - "Offering unto Thee Thine own of Thine own"¹⁹ - so as to receive it back from God as a gift of Himself. Man's special position in relation to the rest of material creation involves first and foremost an obligation to mediate and articulate other creatures' praise to their Creator, as the *Apostolic Constitutions* make clear:

... The choir of stars strikes us with admiration, declaring Him that numbers them, and showing Him that names them; the animals declare Him that puts life into them; the trees show Him that makes them grow: All these creatures, being made by Thy word, show forth the greatness of Thy power. *Therefore every man ought to send up a hymn from his very soul to Thee, through Christ, in the name of all the rest, since he has power over them by Thine appointment.*²⁰

The challenge of "sacramental living" is to see in *every* use we make of the world an aspect of this "hymn on behalf of the rest of creation." This opens the way to a realization that humanity and non-human creation are interdependent not only for physical survival, but also in a spiritual sense. The idea that all is created for man's sake is undoubtedly common in the Fathers - and, just as undoubtedly, it does *not* mean that everything is for our convenience or consumption, but has more in common with what would today be called "ecosystem services" with an added spiritual dimension. But it is also balanced by a cosmic and eschatological vision according to which man exists for the sake of the whole creation. This brings us to the very specific sense in which the Church's cosmological vision can properly be called anthropocentric: it is centered indeed upon the Son of Man:

... Even the original creation of the world was established for Him who is baptized here below as Son of Man but is acknowledged by God from above as the only beloved Son, through whom all things are made and for whom all things exist, as the Apostle says (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6)....

Do you see that God made man in His own image for this reason, that man might be able to accommodate the Archetype through the

Incarnation? Therefore God created man as a link between the intelligible and the sensible worlds and as a recapitulation and summary of all creatures for this purpose, *that by being united with man He might be united with all creatures*, and that everything in heaven and on earth might be recapitulated in Christ, as Paul says (cf. Eph. 1:9-10), and that Creator and creation might be one by hypostatic union, in the words of the Godbearing Maximos.²¹

SACRAMENT AND TIME

i. "Time for the Lord to act"

While the Church has developed daily, weekly and annual cycles of services which reflect the time of this world and may be said to sanctify it, the Eucharist, with the sacraments that depend on it, has never been subsumed into these cycles. It does not belong to any particular time of day. Vespers and Matins, or the services of the Hours may in practice be celebrated at anomalous times of day, but it never ceases to be evident that their *raison d'être* lies in one particular time of day - Vespers goes back to the ancient lamp-lighting prayers, Lauds celebrates daybreak and so forth. The Divine Liturgy, on the other hand, is not an Hour to be associated with time as we experience it in this world: it is a "time for the Lord to act."²²

It is these words, "it is time for the Lord to act," that preface the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. So far from belonging to a two-hour slot on Sunday morning, the Liturgy offers the key to escaping the domination of time so as to "experience the 'blessed Kingdom of God' in our daily life."²³ What is this key? "We must learn to know the right time, the *kairos*," says Archimandrite Vasileios, Abbot of Iviron (Holy Mountain). "...A hermit who lived nearby Iviron was asked what he did in his hermitage, how he spent his time. The answer was simply, 'I live here.' When we are frenzied with activity not according to God's will, we are like people running on a treadmill, not getting anywhere; we appear to be moving but are not. In God's time it does not matter if things appear not to be happening..."²⁴ This does not, of course, mean that we are to do nothing; in contrast to that "frenzied activity not according to God's will" another Athonite abbot, Archimandrite Aimilianos of Simonopetra, speaks of how work is understood in the monastery: as "not a servile labour but a *diakonia*, a ministry of service performed for the monastic community without

gain, without necessity, without force; a well-pleasing sacrifice which is illumined by prayer and becomes a transfiguration of the world and of objects, a way of continuing the Divine Liturgy outside church."²⁵ Or in the words of another, anonymous monk as he performs his "ministry of service" at the kitchen stove: "I try to see the whole of life without compartments. I get up in the morning, do my cell rule, go to the services, visit my friends the frogs, snakes, turtles and birds down at the river - it is all one life. Everything then becomes a game, a life enjoyed in God..."²⁶

While Fr Vasileios' description of life on the treadmill may sound depressingly familiar, how does any of this relate to our use of the material world? Compared with other resources, the environmental impact of wasting or misusing time might appear negligible. But if we consider the causes of pollution and waste of resources in the developed world, it is remarkable how often they are connected with the frenetic pace of life, the desire for convenience, for "saving time;" and, more insidiously, the desire to be in control of our time. Look for instance at use of the car (and aeroplane); "labour-saving" devices from the washing machine to the leafblower or electric tin-opener; the copiously packaged "fast food;" and that bugbear of any social gathering, the disposable crockery and cutlery. When less wasteful, more "sacramental" options are suggested, how often does the idea founder because it would be "inconvenient" or "take time?"

The underlying problem here seems to be a focus on an "end product" - on our own private agenda for what *we* want to accomplish at a given time. Unless we are working specifically on our own agenda, "the present is seen merely as a bridge leading to the future."²⁷ The alternative is to see our time as a series of "*kairoi*, pregnant moments wherein God reveals Himself;"²⁸ this means that *every* activity that occupies our time, whether or not it is according to our own plans, is a "time for the Lord to act." Thus for instance waiting in a queue might become an exercise in cutting off our own will; humdrum tasks might be opportunities for prayer and recollection, more easily accomplished if our mind is not reeling with the noise of a machine.

All this is not to say that doing things the long way is always a virtue in itself, but it is to suggest that "saving time" can become an obsession. And once we are focused on "saving" as much time as possible, it is hard not to regard the time we cannot save but have to spend as something to be written off, a parenthesis in the real busi-

ness of living our lives. This is in marked contrast with the admonition in Ephesians to "redeem the time" (Eph. 5:16); far from *saving* our time, the Apostle is exhorting us to *trade with* it. St Symeon the New Theologian discusses the nature of this "spiritual transaction:"

Therefore, let us redeem the time of our life, giving over our resolution and our whole selves to the doing of God's commandments alone, to the sole acquisition and gain of the virtues...

... and we shall gain great things by means of this spiritual "transaction," doing prudent business with the time of the present life, traversing the path of this life in righteousness and sobriety, bearing bravely, that is, the burden and the heat of the day.²⁹

It is clear that the emphasis here falls on *how* we use whatever tasks the day brings - not on the excellence of our plans, or on how quickly we tick items off our agenda. This is a lesson which becomes particularly crucial when we try to teach children how to take proper care of God's creation; they can hardly be expected to grow out of their natural impatience if their parents also expect instant gratification and results.

ii. *The eschatological vision*

So sacramental life cuts right across time as we know it, giving us a radically new perspective on our own use of time. But why is this so? Nicolas Cabasilas explains succinctly in the opening words of his treatise on the Life in Christ:

The life in Christ originates in this life and arises from it. It is perfected, however, in the life to come, when we shall have reached that last day.³⁰

"Perfected," not "replaced:" in sacramental life we enter upon a present reality, which is however grounded in the future. "'Sacramental,'" writes Fr Georges Florovsky, "means no less than 'eschatological.' To *eschaton* does not mean primarily final, in the temporal series of events; it means rather *ultimate* (decisive); and the ultimate is being realised within the stress of historical happenings and events. What is 'not of this world' is here 'in this world,' not abolishing this world, but giving it a new meaning and a new value, 'transvaluating' the world, as it were."³¹ When we apply this eschatological vision to our relationship with the rest of God's material creation, it reveals how our purpose as the Church differs from

the aims of any environmental organisation. A sacramental use of the world does not look either to damage limitation or to returning nature to the *status quo* before human tinkering, but to the ultimate transfiguration of all things.

Clearly, the *eschaton* which is present now, "transvaluating" the world, is not something that we can sit back and wait for. "Thy Kingdom come" is inseparable from "Thy will be done on earth." It does, however, determine the way we act in the world in several ways:

Firstly, the eschatological perspective reveals the limits to what we can do for the rest of creation by direct remedial action. There is undoubted value in working to restore a "balance of nature" which reflects God's wisdom and providence, and on which mankind has frequently and ill-advisedly attempted to improve: but this in itself will not silence the "groaning of creation." This "groaning" reminds us that "nature" as we know it, and more particularly the relationship between man and other creatures, is actually *unnatural* in relation to the purpose of its creation. After the Fall, as St Symeon says,

creation no longer wished to serve the transgressor, Adam, since it saw him as one who had fallen from divine glory and rebelled against his own Maker. This is the reason why, when God saw from before the creation of the world that Adam would be saved by rebirth, He subjected creation to him, and put it under a curse so that, having been created for the sake of man who had fallen into corruption, it should itself become corrupt and provide him annually with corrupted food.³²

This means that measures intended simply to "patch up" the fallen world can never be our ultimate aim: our vision for the material creation goes far beyond this, and can be served only by growing in our relationship with God. "Love the One, and even the beasts will love you," as the Elder Amphilochios of Patmos used to say; and his words are borne out by the lives of countless saints, early and modern, around whose radical God-centredness everything in the natural world "acquires a harmonious order."³³

So we can hope to restore harmony in the natural world only through growing in holiness; but our effort to live in harmony with the world around us is an inescapable part of that spiritual growth. In the words of Metropolitan John of Pergamon:

Sin against nature... is serious not only because it involves disrespect towards a divine gift, but also - and mainly - because it renders the human being incapable of fulfilling its relational nature.³⁴

It is the relationship with God which is primary, but we are given no way of growing in it except through other people and things: in the words of one of St Maximus' deceptively simple apophthegms, it is "according to whether we use things rightly or wrongly [that] we become either good or bad."³⁵ "Rightly or wrongly" here is *eulogos* or *paralogos*, i.e. "with good reason" or "contrary to reason", where "good reason" includes the *logos* of the created things we use. This throws light on why the use of material things is so crucial, for surely this is not some sort of arbitrary test. Rather, it is a fact of our nature, following necessarily from our place as part of the same creation as inanimate things: "we have no real choice, if we wish to pursue our own true end, but to live in harmony with the *Logos* - and the *logoi* - of things as well."³⁶ This connectedness means that we cannot approach God apart from material creation; it also means that we take all material creation with us into freedom from "bondage to decay." Far from belittling the bond that joins us with the rest of the material world, the eschatological vision reveals it as eternal:

In the world there is struggle, in Eden, a crown of glory.
At our resurrection, both earth and heaven will God renew,
liberating all creatures, granting them paschal joy, along with us.
Upon our mother Earth, along with us, did He lay disgrace
when He placed on her, with the sinner, the curse;
so, together with the just, will He bless her too;
this nursing mother, along with her children, shall He who is Good
renew.³⁷

Secondly, one might nevertheless ask: does not an eschatological emphasis lead to a devaluing of the actual world in its fallen state? This would be inevitable if eschatology were simply the "final page" to which we look forward; but instead, as we have seen, it is nothing other than the dynamic reality which "transvaluates" all things. The sacramental life of the Church is precisely the experience of the eschatological reality breaking through into the world, and creation, humanity included, is caught up into it. The lavish abundance of worship co-exists with ascetic frugality in everyday life; Why is it, asks Metropolitan John, that

"the genuine Orthodox monk, who according to the Sayings of the Fathers should wear such a shoddy and threadbare *rasan* that he could hang it outside his cell door in the certainty that no one would be

tempted to steal it - why during the Liturgy does this same man, as celebrant, put on the most splendid vestments, without being scandalised or scandalising anyone else? Quite simply, because the eschatological character of the Eucharist remains vivid in his consciousness..."³⁸

It is a reflection of the eschatological character of the Church's life that we bring perishable fruits, flowers and branches into the church for blessing or decoration, and then dispose of them reverently as things that have partaken in the holy. We can even be so bold as to say that it is the very fruits of corruption and decay which in the Church become Eucharist, God's communication of Himself to us. For the bread and wine that we offer are not the fruits of Eden; if the finished product is the work of human hands, the wheat and grapes are the work of soil and compost and its rich population of organisms - in a word, the process of corruption. "The banquet of immortality... transforms the corruption of the tomb into the blessing of Cana,"³⁹ a constant testimony to the eschatological dynamic at work throughout the world we touch and see. The elements of the Eucharist are the supreme example before our eyes of a body "sown in corruption and raised in incorruption."

Thirdly, it should be recognised that the eschatological vision does have a profound affect on our expectations of this life.

Orthodox theology recognises an organic, but also a dynamic,... dialectic relation between history and eschatology. It is one and the same: the community of Christ's body, the Church of God's people in history and the "Church of the first-born" in the heavenly Kingdom. However, there is still an arena of spiritual effort and movement. One and the same reality is effected, but *it is the living organism in its growth...*⁴⁰

Our sacramental life in the Church is a life-long struggle to become what we are, to appropriate what has been given. Coupled with the recognition that all creation is destined ultimately to be liberated from futility, our acute awareness that this is a process yet to be consummated will not lead to contempt for material creation, but it certainly will lessen our demands on it. In practical terms, it reminds us that many of life's irritants are simply not soluble this side of the resurrection: "in the world there is struggle." As we see increasingly how technical solutions intended to solve a problem definitively - pesticides on crops, for instance - frequently spawn a host of more

intractable problems, it may be not untimely to question the assumption that problems are there to be solved, and that hard work and diligent research can produce a reasonable approximation to an earthly paradise. It is not by irrigation schemes but "by the rivers of our tears" - by the struggle for godliness, which also involves caring for the material needs of others - that the desert will ultimately "blossom" in the way for which all creation longs.

SACRAMENT AND PERSON

i) Synergy

What differentiates a sacrament from an act of magic is that it does not work on us mechanically and automatically; it involves a free response on our part. St. Nicolas Cabasilas speaks of the dynamic of sacramental life in these terms:

Two things, then, commend us to God, and in them lies all the salvation of men. The first is that we be initiated into the most sacred Mysteries; the second, that we train ourselves for virtue. Human endeavour can have no other function than that of preserving what has been given so as not to waste the treasure: consequently, the power of the Mysteries alone bestows on us all these blessings.⁴¹

Here is the paradox of our sacramental cooperation, our *synergy* with God: God does everything, provided we do everything in our power to "preserve what has been given" - to be faithful in our relationship with Him.

This notion of *synergy* is an important one not to lose sight of when we are confronted with large-scale social problems, of which environmental degradation is today perhaps the most terrifying. The alternatives are (a) a facile optimism that God has got everything under control and will not let anything really unpleasant happen to us; (b) a morbid pessimism about all human activity and ingenuity as a work of evil which can only make things worse; and (c) a sort of eco-Pelagianism which assumes that we have to sort out the entire mess by human efforts alone. This last ends up being as paralysing as the morbid pessimism when we realise that the problems are of superhuman proportions. Unlike the facile optimism, a notion of synergy recognises our responsibility; in contrast to morbid pessimism or eco-Pelagianism, it also gives us hope - which is of great importance, in the face of the fear and gloom and despair that we often feel at our

powerlessness as individuals. The pragmatic question of "What difference does it make if I take one box of waste paper to be recycled?" is no longer the point: the point is that we are called to be faithful in small things, to live in a way which does not make a mockery of our prayers to God to preserve His world. As for the "difference," we may take courage from the story of the Athonite elder who used to gather up spilt lentils:

When something spilled on the ground... however small, the Elder [Joseph] would bend down to get it, even though this was a great ordeal for his sickly and semi-paralysed body, and he would tell us, 'Don't despise even the smallest of things, because waste of these things counts, and the blessing will depart from our house. Thanks to our carefulness and economy, I have often seen the holy Forerunner come and throw into our compound many of the things we need.'⁴²

ii) Communion and person

When in the mystery of Baptism we are born into the life of the Church, we are baptised by name. We are accepted in repentance by name; we receive Holy Communion by name. Sacramental life is not collective, but personal. In no way, of course, is this to say that it is an *individual* matter. The Holy Chrism activates different spiritual energies in each person, as Cabasilas says;⁴³ but all serve for the building up of the one body. In fact, the very image of the Church as a *body* precludes both individualism and collectivism, for a body is an organism made up of unique parts in cooperation, each indispensable to the others.

What implications does the personal nature of sacramental life have for our sacramental living in relation to the world around us? For one thing, it means that every interaction with the material world forms part of a relationship with others as well as with God; as we have said above, no part of creation is "ours" in the sense that we can use it without taking account of how we are thereby affecting others. Awareness of this may well lead us to discover more about the wider consequences of our actions - the way in which our choices of food, clothing, transport and so forth help or harm "neighbours" whom we may never meet, and enhance or disfigure the beauty of God's creation.

On the other hand, the way in which each person takes up his

responsibility to others and to the world cannot be predetermined; it will be a part of his unique, personal relationship with God.

"What good work is there that I could do?" one of the desert Fathers is asked; and he replies: "Are not all actions equal? Scripture says that Abraham was hospitable and God was with him. David was humble, and God was with him. Elijah loved interior peace and God was with him. So, do whatever you see your soul desires according to God and guard your heart."⁴⁴

If a personal approach does not favour channelling people or parishes into predetermined "programs," at the same time it leaves the door wide open for people to involve themselves in concrete projects if such is their calling. Indeed, it is quite possible that what some find their "soul desires according to God" involves expressing love and compassion in ways that others might consider quite radical - such as vegetarianism, or trying to limit the size of their family. But the criterion for any course of action cannot simply be what practical results it shows, but what we ourselves are becoming thereby. It is at once too narrow and too general simply to "think globally and act locally:" we are called to think cosmically and act personally.

Again, it is the monastic tradition that brings our Christian calling most clearly into focus:

[This] is the principal contribution of the monastic tradition: a call to become conscious of our personal responsibility in the process of death which tyrannizes creation and at the same time a refusal to hide behind generalized accusations about a depraved humanity, an unjust society, a wasteful economy etc. No, none of this is relevant. I myself ceaselessly perpetuate the transgression of Adam and destroy the harmony of creation by abandoning the Creator in order to give myself up to unnatural passions; and in return nature, wounded and condemned henceforth to bear thorns and thistles, turns itself against me...

The monk ... decides to tackle the fundamental causes of corruption, and to restore in himself the royal but deformed image of God, in order that creation, lost in Adam, might be restored in Christ.⁴⁵

We are not to conclude from this that injustice, wastefulness etc. are matters of indifference; what we are being told is that they are only symptoms of a much deeper spiritual malaise, and one that can only be tackled in the heart of each person. And while alleviating symptoms may often be an act of compassion, it is no substitute for

rooting out the cause of the sickness. One might suggest that it is the particular calling of the Christian "in the world" - the non-monastic - to work on both fronts: doing whatever lies in our power to alleviate the symptoms of fallenness, without forgetting the inalienable responsibility that each of us bears personally for the restoration of creation.

Epilogue: Becoming what we are

It is very clear that the state of the world today calls not only for changed attitudes, but for lives that reflect those attitudes. There is little point in talking eloquently about the "eucharistic ethos" of the Church without examining minutely and honestly how far such an ethos is reflected in the whole way we live, as church communities and as members of the Church. Some would go further, and advocate environmental programs to be pursued by the parish. But the problem here is less with the details of such programs in themselves, than with the narrowing of horizons implied: the parish appears thereby to be given some aim, some goal other than being the Church. Ultimately, however, the message of the environmental crisis to the church community is simply this: Become what you are! Be in the world as the leaven of the Kingdom, as a living witness to the transfiguring power of Christ, who has "left nothing undone until He has bestowed on us the Kingdom which is to come."

NOTES

¹ Revised version of a talk given at Holy Protection Cathedral, Los Angeles, in November 1997.

² S.P. Brock, "World and Sacrament in the Writings of the Syrian Fathers," *Sobornost* 6:10 (Winter 1974), p. 695. The story comes from John of Ephesus' *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 17:256.

³ Litya 5, Vespers for the Ascension.

⁴ *On Luke*, Migne PG 72:492A.

⁵ Theophany, Lauds 4; *Festal Menaion*, tr. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 383-4.

⁶ St Ephrem, *Hymns on the Table* III; tr. S.P. Brock, *ibid.* p. 695.

⁷ John Chrysavgis, *Fire and Light* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publ., 1987), p. 75.

⁸ Fr Alexander Schmemmann, "The Orthodox Theological School Curriculum," *Second International Consultation of Orthodox Theological Schools* (Kuopio: Syndesmos, 1985), p. 15.

⁹ St Innocent of Moscow, *Indication of the Way; Alaskan Missionary Spirituality* (ed. Fr Michael Oleksa) (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1987), 94.

¹⁰ St Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* V.ii.2

¹¹ St Symeon the New Theologian, *Second Ethical Discourse*; tr. Fr A. Golitzin, *St Symeon the New Theologian: On the Mystical Life*, Vol. 1 (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), p. 30.

¹² "The World as Gift and Sacrament of God's Love," *Sobornost* 5:9 (Summer 1969), 662-673.

¹³ For more on this subject see Leonid Ouspensky, *Theology of the Icon I* (first edition) (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978), 189.

¹⁴ St Gregory the Theologian, *On love for the poor* 25 (PG 35:889C).

¹⁵ St John Chrysostom, Hom. 12 on 1 Timothy, XII:4; tr. P. C. Phan, *Social Thought (Message of the Church Fathers, 20)*, (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1984) p. 159.

¹⁶ St Gregory the Theologian, *Second Hom. on Easter*, 7, PG 36:632B (= Hom. 38, *On Theophany*, 11).

¹⁷ St Maximus, *Ambigua*, PG 91:1308C; tr. N. Russell in P. Nellas, *Deification in Christ* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987), p. 213.

¹⁸ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *On "let us make man..."*, PG 44:270D.

¹⁹ Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, Anaphora.

²⁰ *Apostolic Constitutions* VII.35 (ET Ante-Nicene Fathers 7, 473)

²¹ St Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain, *Handbook of Spiritual Counsel*; tr. N. Russell in P. Nellas, *Deification in Christ* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1987), pp. 230-1.

²² Ps. 118:126; the words are quoted by the Deacon immediately before the Divine Liturgy begins.

²³ George Mantzaridis, *Time and Man*, tr. J. Vulliamy (S. Canaan: St Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1996), p. 101.

²⁴ Rasophorem Monk Aidan, "Autumn Seeds from Athos," *Friends of Mount Athos Annual Report* 1996, 44.

²⁵ Archimandrite Aimilianos, "The Experience of the Transfiguration in the Life of the Athonite Monk," in *Metamorphosi* (Athens: Akritas, 1984 [in Greek]), p. 142.

²⁶ Quoted in Rasophorem Monk Aidan, *op. cit.* p. 45.

²⁷ George Mantzaridis, *Time and Man*, p. 31.

²⁸ John Chrysavgis, *op. cit.* p. 34.

²⁹ St Symeon the New Theologian, *Twelfth Ethical Discourse*; tr. Fr A. Golitzin, *St Symeon the New Theologian: On the Mystical Life*, Vol. 2 (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996), pp. 160, 161.

³⁰ St Nicolas Cabasilas, *The Life in Christ*, Bk I.1; tr. C. J. de Catanzaro (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), p. 43.

³¹ "The Church: Her Nature and Task," reprinted in *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, MA: Notable and Academic Books, 1987), p. 68. Emphases original.

³² St Symeon the New Theologian, *Fourth Ethical Discourse*; *On the Mystical Life*, Vol. 1, pp. 37-8.

³³ L. Ouspensky, *loc. cit.*

³⁴ "Ecological Asceticism," *Our Planet*, Vol. 7/6 (1996); reprinted in *Sourozh* 67 (February 1997), p. 24.

³⁵ *First Century on Love*, 92; *Philokalia* II, tr. G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard and K. Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), 63.

³⁶ Bishop Basil of Sergievo, "Towards 2000: The Transfiguration of the World," *One*

in *Christ* 1997/3, p. 201.

³⁷ St Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise* IX.1; Sebastian Brock (tr.), *Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), p. 136.

³⁸ "The Eucharist and the Kingdom of God," Part II, *Sourozh* 59 (February 1995), 28.

³⁹ Fr John Jillions, "God revealed in the flesh," *Again* 20:3 (Fall 1997), 7.

⁴⁰ Bishop Athanasios (Yevtic) of Herzegovina, "The Eschatological Dimension of the Church," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 38/1-4 (1993), 100. My italics.

⁴¹ *The Life in Christ*, Bk III, p. 110.

⁴² *The Elder Joseph the Hesychast* (+1959); ET forthcoming

⁴³ *The Life in Christ* III.1, p. 103.

⁴⁴ Abba Nistheros, 2; *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The alphabetical collection* (tr. Benedicta Ward; London: Mowbrays, 1975), p. 130.

⁴⁵ Fr Makarios, 'The Monk and Nature in the Orthodox Tradition,' in *So that God's Creation might Live* (Syndesmos/WWF 1992) p. 43.

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“God the Physician:” Ecclesiology, Sin and Forgiveness in the Preaching of St. John Chrysostom

REV. PROFESSOR IAIN R. TORRANCE

For anybody, whether Christian or not, forgiveness is astonishing and ultimately inexplicable. Restitution, even cancellation, is explicable; forgiveness is not. For Christians, a belief in “one baptism for the forgiveness of sins” is embodied in the Nicene Creed, and raises ultimate questions about the nature and quality of the “good life” lived by Christians, as well as the relationship between that life and baptism. There is considerable value in examining how forgiveness and distinctively Christian life is understood by John Chrysostom, both because he is a representative of the less theologically sure footed Antiochene school, and because he was so much concerned with practical Christian living. He is very down to earth. However, as a point of entry, I want to begin with four points drawn from his great contemporary, Augustine of Hippo, or, at least, from the extremely interesting perspective on Augustine taken by Robert Markus in his book *The End of Ancient Christianity*.¹

First, Robert Markus draws attention to ethical discussion at the end of the fourth century. Specifically, he referred to Jovinian’s denial that virginity *as such* was a higher state than marriage,² and Augustine’s cautious restatement of the moderate view: marriage is good, virginity is better. He quoted Augustine’s *De virginitate* 28: “... the married are certainly able to follow his footsteps [*vestigia*], even if their feet do not fit perfectly into the footprints ...”³ It is evident that below the surface there was a desire for a definitive fundamental account of the distinctiveness of Christian living. The

differing styles of the ordinary Christian and the ascetic elite are noted. But if they are both instances of genuinely Christian living, how may they be brought together? How is the difference between the two, *the misfit in the footprints*, to be calibrated? Robert Markus suggests that Augustine acknowledges the difference, but tries to minimise the gap. Both belong within the one Church. But the questions, once raised, are persistent. Is there a single Christian morality?

Second, Robert Markus reminds us that Augustine's conversion was at least aided by his prior conversion to Christian Platonism. Thus, Augustine believed that there was an ordered hierarchy of beings, and that "being good" entailed encouraging the mind to disengage from material things, which eroded its freedom to control and direct. This tended towards an "ascetic morality of detachment."⁴ Inner freedom is linked to power over the body. Markus continues that, round about the year 400, Augustine's thought underwent a paradigm shift.⁵ This was as he was finishing the *Confessions* and just before he wrote the treatises on *Marriage* and on *Virginity*. He seems to have lost his optimistic belief that goodness could be achieved through human effort aided by reason. Salvation lies not in orderly detachment, but is dependent on the miracle of divine grace. It followed that he no longer saw sin primarily as "a breach of right order," "a surrender of reason to passion," but as "a retreat into privacy:"⁶ the root of human sin lay "in man's liability to close in on himself," a withdrawing whereby community was destroyed. Augustine henceforth tended to portray pride as the "fontal sin," rather than "violation of the right ... order."⁷ This framework helps us to approach Chrysostom. How are we to understand his virulent attacks on wealth? Is the Christian life fundamentally to do with ascetic detachment?

Third, Robert Markus argues that it was Augustine's long earlier struggles with the Donatists, which shaped the way he encountered Pelagius after 411. Both Donatists and Pelagians asserted belief in a "pure" Church, "the one by external separation, the other by internal migration."⁸ To Augustine this went to the heart of what it was to be a Christian and he engaged in what Markus calls a "vindication of Christian mediocrity."⁹ The Church is a mixed body, both holy and worldly at the same time, which may only be purified at the end. Again, let us refer this to Chrysostom: how mixed was Chrysostom's church, and what light does this shed on his understanding of sin?

Fourth, Augustine and Pelagius differed fundamentally in their

understanding of the role and effectiveness of baptism. While Pelagius required perfection and casting off of weakness, Augustine allowed a space for the “middle time of prayer;”¹⁰ baptism “launched the Christian on a lifelong process of convalescence.”¹¹ With this in view, we will note Chrysostom’s medical metaphors, asking how he understood post-baptismal sin and the relation between baptism and the Christian life.

We will approach Chrysostom’s understanding of sin and forgiveness through the broad headings of his presentation of the doctrines of God, the work of Christ and the Church as an agent of transformation.

A short-lived riot in Antioch at the beginning of Lent in 387 led a group to deface the statues of the imperial family and so bring both city and people under threat. Chrysostom responded with his *Homilies on the Statues*, his most famous series of sermons,¹² which are thus set in the context of an actual appeal for forgiveness after public outrage. Genesis was the book prescribed for Lent, so Chrysostom expounds the doctrine of creation. “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth:” Chrysostom sets out to show what is consoling in this. When we hear that God made the heaven, the earth, the sea, the multitude of the stars, may we not take comfort and see this as proof of God’s love, that he made so wonderful a world for so puny a being as myself?¹³ What is even more remarkable is that God made this world not from payment or recompense, but *entirely as the gift of love*.¹⁴ Chrysostom moves deftly from astonishment and wonder at the generosity of God, to evoking a sense of gratitude for the goodness of God’s created things: they are heretics who speak evil of God’s created things (like wine) – we are not to accuse that which is the workmanship of God, but rather blame the madness of a fellow mortal.¹⁵ This in itself tends to move Chrysostom away from an overall ethic of moral detachment. There is gladness with and acceptance of God’s created world. He takes it further, elaborating on the verse, “Drink a little wine for thy stomach’s sake.” For what reason did God permit that such a saint should fall into such a state that he needed the assistance to be had from drinking wine?¹⁶ This now permits Chrysostom to introduce his account of God’s providence to the thoroughly frightened townspeople. His understanding of providence is crucial for his account of sin and forgiveness. God *permits*¹⁷ his saints to suffer evil, so that they may not become presumptuous. A life shorn

of the dynamic of repentance remains trapped in sin.

This is evidently difficult, and Chrysostom goes to great trouble to explain and illustrate what he means. If we only hold God to be good when he is honouring us, and not when we are being chastised, then we make God only half good.¹⁸ He frightens some and is merciful to others, but without himself becoming divided.¹⁹ Human parents are used as an illustration: if they may punish those whom they love, not from cruelty and inhumanity, how much more proper is it so to think of God?²⁰ This, in turn, leads Chrysostom to his much used and pastorally important metaphor of God as physician. Just as a physician is not only a physician when he washes and feeds his patient, but also when he cauterizes and cuts, so God is still the same God.²¹ There is constancy and this is the same God who acted in grace at the creation. Chrysostom widens his account of the healing activity of God into a general account of God's economy. In the *Homilies on Repentance*, urging us to see the purpose of God (σκοπός);²² he goes on to explain how God extends his economy (οἰκονομία)²³ in the world. This has a direct effect on human behavior: in the light of the economy of God, we are to learn "the method" of delivering ourselves from the dangers into which we have fallen (τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς);²⁴ each is to "take care of his soul, and make it pursue the economy of the future life."²⁵

However, in such a struggle against sin, Chrysostom did not see the human agent as being alone, and this allows him to show the extent, the full reach, of the economy of God. God is personally active in the human realm. In the horror-struck paralysis which gripped the city after the defacing of the statues, Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, went to Constantinople to beg the forgiveness of Theodosius. In the *Third Homily on the Statues*, Chrysostom assured the people that while the Emperor is supplicated, and the Bishop is supplicating, God himself will interpose,²⁶ softening the heart of the Emperor; when Esther entered the presence of the Persian king to supplicate on behalf of the Jews, God himself went with her;²⁷ in *Homily 16 section 4*, on Hebrews ix 15-17, he reminds his hearers that "we have God working with us, and acting with us." This is put very boldly in the *Homily on the Paralytic let down through the Roof*: "It was one kind of benefit that his soul should be purged by the length of his suffering ... but it was another benefit no less than this that [God] was present with him in the midst of his trials ... He it was who strength-

ened him, and upheld him, and stretched forth a hand to him, and suffered him not to fall. But when you hear that it was [*God*] *himself*, do not deprive the paralytic of his share of praise ... For even if we be infinitely wise ... yet in the absence of his grace we shall not be able to withstand even the most ordinary temptation.”²⁸

As one of the most celebrated preachers the Christian Church has ever seen, Chrysostom was able to apply this economic closeness of God in the most graphic way. Commenting on Jer. 31.32 “the day I took them by the hand to lead them out of Egypt,” he asks, “Why does God mention the method (τρόπος) of the Exodus? ... In order to show paternal affection (ἵνα πατρικὴν δείξῃ φιλοστοργίαν). He did not lead them out as slaves, but as a small child whom his father leads.”²⁹ Chrysostom’s understanding here of the loving closeness of God is part of what enabled him constantly to preach that his people should be bold in repentance, not ashamed. God is generous and forgiving, wishing their salvation. God is not only actively close in a purposeful, redemptive way, but there is an intimate quality to the relationship. This is significant, in that it goes beyond a preacher’s anthropomorphism, to suggest that God is grace, that forgiveness displaces and overwhelms judgement, that God does not even remember. In section 4 of the *First Homily on Repentance*, Chrysostom dwells on the parable of the prodigal son. When he returned, his father accepted him with open arms. Why? “Because he was a father and not a judge.”³⁰ He continues: “When it is appropriate to save the one who was lost, that is not an opportunity for courts or minute examination, but only for humanity and forgiveness.”³¹ He refers back to his medical analogy: no doctor pauses in delivering medicine so as to exact a punishment. Chrysostom next considers the well behaved but indignant older brother in the parable, who is evidently taken to represent the better behaved townspeople of Antioch, hesitating to readmit the adulterer or theatre goer to the church community. He reminds them that just as there is a loving intimacy in the action of God, so too there must be in their own acts. He explains: the father in the parable said, “You see *your brother*, not a stranger. The prodigal returned to the father who *could not remember* what had happened, or, better, who could only remember as much as was capable of moving him to sympathy, mercy, affection and compassion ...”³² Similarly, in the same homily, Chrysostom refers to the lost sheep: on finding it, the shepherd did not beat it, but lifted it to his shoulders and brought it

back to the flock. This understanding of a purposeful and personal gracious act prepares the way for Chrysostom's account of the work of Christ.

John Chrysostom was not Cyril of Alexandria and his Christology was less systematic and more occasional than subsequent historians of doctrine might wish. We can identify two aspects in his preaching of the work and death of Christ. According to one aspect, the weight is placed on the death of Christ. "We had offended and ought to have died. He died for us and made us worthy of the inheritance ... we could never have been saved if our Lord had not died for us."³³ Chrysostom goes on to describe Christ's death as a "ransom price" which broke the tyranny of death. A tyranny exists when the one who has died is never more allowed to return to life.³⁴ He continues: sacrifices prior to Christ procured an arraignment, not a release from sin.³⁵ The types (ἀντίτυπα) contained only the figure, not the power. In his *Homilies on Romans* he tells us that "no human power could set us free from all those evils, but thanks be to God, who was willing and able to do such great things."³⁶

In a second aspect, which gives some explanation of the definitive nature of Christ's death, Chrysostom tells us that Christ is both truly God and truly our brother. "He that is so great ... he that made the worlds ... even he was willing and strongly desired to become our brother in all things and for this cause did he leave the angels ... and come down to us, and took hold of us ... He destroyed death, he cast out the devil from his tyrannical power, he freed us from slavery: not by brotherhood alone did he honour us, but also in other ways beyond number. For he was willing also to become our High Priest with the Father ..."³⁷ Actual brotherhood was important. In *Homily 1 on the Statues*, commenting on the saints of the Old Testament, he says that we may not say that we cannot aspire to the virtues they possessed, on the grounds that they were partakers of another nature or were not men.³⁸ So it is with Christ. Yet Chrysostom, though an Antiochene, distances himself from adoptionism: "He had compassion on us, not appointing a High Priest for us, but himself becoming High Priest."³⁹ So the personal continuity between the eternal and incarnate Word is equally stressed; he is both Priest and victim,⁴⁰ and as genuinely incarnate, "he knows what human nature suffers."

Baptism, to Chrysostom, is more baptism into Christ's death than into his life lived on our behalf, but it, too, is a preacher's account

and again there are several strands. The first strand is rather absolute. He tells us that "baptism is the cross. What the cross and burial is to Christ, baptism has been to us, even if not in the same respects. For he died and was buried in the flesh, but we have done both to sin."⁴¹ The agent is Christ. He "killed and buried former sins."⁴² And as he rose in his body, so we rise from our sins. *How is this a resurrection?* "Because" says Chrysostom, "sin is mortified and righteousness has risen again ... and when you hear of a new life, look for a great alteration,"⁴³ a new conversation, a change of habits.

This comes close to triumphalism, but parallel to it, in another strand, Chrysostom shows his anxiety about post-baptismal sin. He constantly reminds his people that though baptism has brought it about that we should be dead to sin, "*this must be maintained by our own exertion* (παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς)."⁴⁴ There is no further sacrifice for sins if we sin willfully;⁴⁵ there may be repentance, but there is no second cross;⁴⁶ if Christ does not die again there is no second washing;⁴⁷ "if before baptism [sin] brought about the death of the body, and the wound required so much attention that the Lord of all came down to die ... if after so great a gift and so much liberty, [sin] seizes you again while you bend down under it willingly, what is there that it may not do [to enslave you]?"⁴⁸

But in yet another strand of Chrysostom's preaching this anxiety is itself qualified. Repentance is not an entirely human work: he writes, "let us accept from God the repentance that heals us. For we do not offer it to him, but he has supplied it to us."⁴⁹ In a subsequent homily he noted: "Could your repentance have the power to wipe clean so many sins? If it were only up to repentance, then be afraid. But since repentance is mixed together with the philanthropy of God, take courage. For God's philanthropy is immeasurable ... What one spark is in comparison to the sea, so wickedness is before the philanthropy of God ... [but] the sea, even though it is vast, has limits, but God's philanthropy is unlimited."⁵⁰ How may such help be found? Here Chrysostom turns to his account of new life and forgiveness within the Church.

In an important passage, he asks, "What harbor⁵¹ is like the Church? ... If I find a thorn, I change it into an olive branch, because things here are not troubled by the poverty of nature, but are honored with the freedom of choice. If I find a wolf, I make him into a sheep without changing nature, but rather altering choice."⁵² The Church, he

continues, is thus superior to the ark of Noah. The ark took in animals and kept them as animals. But the Church receives the animals and changes them. In the Church, one enters as a hawk and exits as a dove, "not because nature is altered, but because wickedness is expelled."⁵³ The notion of the Church as the crucible of repentance is very important to Chrysostom. Never a patient man, some of his sharpest diatribes are against those who do not take the Church seriously,⁵⁴ and it is here that we may locate his outburst, "The Church is not a theatre that we should listen for amusement"⁵⁵ and his lengthy attack on laughter in Church.⁵⁶

For Chrysostom, then, it was a matter of the most passionate concern that it is the task of the Church to encourage and maintain a totally changed way of life. This is practical Christian living. Chrysostom notes that it is not the number of times we attend communion but purity of hearts which please God.⁵⁷ Trapped in sin, we are like a disgusting geriatric slobbering with spittle, yet, when we are willing, "merely by a decision, we can suddenly become young again."⁵⁸ Again and again in his sermons he insists that there should be an actual demonstration of change: "Is our doctrine a fable? If you are a Christian, believe in Christ; if you believe in Christ, show me your faith by your works."⁵⁹ Yet it would not be true to say that the whole burden of response is thrown back upon the human individual. We receive two gifts from God: that we are set free from sin, and that we are made servants to righteousness – and this, Chrysostom says, "is better than any freedom."⁶⁰ He gives the analogy of an orphaned child. God not only sets the child free, but also becomes a kind father to her. God has not only set us free from sin, but has led us to the life of the angels, killing our former sins and deadening the old man.⁶¹ Before the coming of Christ, there was no Spirit present to assist, nor any baptism of power to mortify the flesh.⁶² God "did not merely give remission from punishment, but remission from sins and life as well. It is as if someone were not merely to free a person with a temperature from his disease, but also to give him beauty and strength *and social rank as well*."⁶³ The sense of overwhelming generosity, which comes in here, is crucial to Chrysostom's preaching of forgiveness. There is a numbing and quite inexpressible generosity in God. Chrysostom says in the same homily (commenting, of course, on the *τὴν περισσείαν τῆς χάριτος* of Romans 5:17): "it was not a medicine that we received to be a *mere counterbalance* of the wound

... Christ paid down far more than we owe – as much more as the illimitable ocean is more than a tiny drop.”⁶⁴ The generosity of God acts constantly as an incentive for repentance.

Such a change of life requires training, and has to be learned. Chrysostom invites his hearers to consider how difficult it was for an acrobat to undress while on a tightrope. Does it not appear so risky that we can hardly bear to look? What about balancing a pole on your face and balancing a child on top of it? He assures the people that virtue and going to heaven is easier, if we have the will.⁶⁵ If we wish to attain skill in any of the crafts (τέχναις) we do not simply wish, but actually have to get on with it. “If someone wants to become a pilot, he does not (simply) say “I wish” but he also grasps hold of the task.”⁶⁶ So the moral life is a learned skill: “Let us learn, then to be made use of, let us learn to be spitefully treated – *this is part of being Christian.*”⁶⁷

Such a practical craft of goodness is easily eroded. Suppose you have been to a strip show: “With what eyes will you see your wife when you return ...?”⁶⁸ Chrysostom was acutely aware of the compulsiveness of sin and the addictive quality of pornography. Again and again, he begs his people to break the cycle, to keep away, to come to Church, to confess. It is the devil, he says, who has switched round the emotions. We are bold when we sin, ashamed when we confess, while we should be bold to confess, and ashamed to sin.⁶⁹

Sin not only contaminates the other activities of a single agent, but also is contagious as it spreads from person to person, and this contagiousness must be taken seriously. The defacing of the imperial statues handed Chrysostom an example on a plate. A small group had stirred up the tax riot⁷⁰ but now the entire city lay under threat. Similarly, in the *Homilies on Repentance*, he takes his cue from 1 Corinthians 5:1. Even the healthy Corinthians were at fault because they neither censured nor scolded the sinner. They believed that the fault extended only as far as the one who had committed it, whereas the one who sinned was a member of the whole body.⁷¹

Chrysostom expends great effort and much persuasion in trying to induce his people to maintain the will and habit of Christian living. He constantly addresses the excuse of weakness of will and counters it by reminding the people that “we have God *working with us and acting with us*”. What we must do is “apply ourselves to the matter as to a [real] work”.⁷² This real work requires an effort of imagination.

Thus Chrysostom draws attention to the teaching of Jesus: "If you would be perfect, go, sell your possessions ..." (Matthew 19:21). Jesus did not issue a command. He said, "If" and Chrysostom says: "Let it be fixed in your will, be the lord of your imagination ... Things done by command and from obligation do not bring much reward. But things accomplished through free will and by our sense of honor possess brilliant crowns."⁷³ Elsewhere, he suggests that to lead the Christian life, we need to see the world differently. He illustrates the difference of that vision by pointing to the behavior of children. A small child has no fear of a burning candle, but is terrified by a theatrical mask. Similarly we have groundless fear of death, but no dread of sin which it is much more appropriate to fear.⁷⁴

The twin enemies of the practice of Christian living are listlessness and despair. Listlessness is constantly condemned; Judas is cited as an example of despair.⁷⁵ As a means of keeping his people engaged in a different social practice, Chrysostom commends almsgiving. It is part of our training (ἐγυμνάζομεν) for repentance.⁷⁶ In an illuminating account of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, he suggests that while virginity is to do with bridling the body and pleasure, almsgiving is to do with release from our slavery to wealth.⁷⁷ Chrysostom has many famous polemics against wealth. They are classic invective, biting and theatrical,⁷⁸ and are, of course, the counterpart to his commendation of almsgiving. But behind the oratory there are at least two points of fundamental seriousness. First, the indecent inequalities of wealth, in their blindness, show contempt for Christ. Among much else, Chrysostom says: "... your dog is well cared for, while the person, ... for the sake of the animal, is boxed in (κατακλείεται) to extreme hunger;⁷⁹" "... he who was made in the image of God is in distress because of your lack of humanity (τὴν σὴν ἀπανθρωπίαν);⁸⁰" "... the member of Christ, on behalf of whom he came down from heaven and shed his precious blood, is without even necessary food, because of your greed."⁸¹ What we have here is much more than an ascetic distaste of wealth and an ethic of detachment. The entry of the Son of God into the structures of our life has made us *brothers*, and provides the foundation for a different ethical behavior.⁸² Chrysostom's second underlying point is that the wealthy tend to be profoundly unfree. If they cannot bear to give things away, then they are owned by their possessions⁸³ and are guilty of idolatry.⁸⁴

For Chrysostom, then, the Christian life is one drawn forward for closer communion with God. There is not a Christian elite as such, as all or any may lapse into presumption. The metaphor of God as physician shows us a healing God, not one preoccupied with settling scores. The Christian life is to do with progress. Forgiveness, even for dreadful crimes, is there to be obtained. The Nicene formula is acknowledged and taken account of. Christ is in our flesh, and no merely human power could have set us free. However, though Christ is our brother, relatively little is made of the vicarious life of Christ or the sanctification and recreation of human nature in his person. He buries former sins and assists in the avoidance of subsequent sin; he is an example, but does not stand in our place. The Church, as ark and harbor, has a key role in regenerating those who enter. The desire is that Christ be formed in us, not that we are engrafted into a renewed humanity in him. Much though he achieved, and attractive though his preaching is, especially in its emphasis on humanity and compassion, in the last resort Chrysostom's weakness is a tendency to moralize the resurrection into changed behavior, which, because it is not objectively rooted in Christ, always threatens to collapse.

NOTES

¹ Cambridge University Press 1990.

² Jovinian also denied that abstinence *as such* was better than thankful eating. Jerome (*Adversus Iovinianum*, 1-2, AD 393) and Augustine (in *De bono coniugali* and *De sancta virginitate*, AD 401) wrote against him.

³ Markus, *op. cit.* 46.

⁴ See *Asceticism*, edited by V.L. Wimbush and R. Valantasis (Oxford University Press, 1995), especially chapter 1 (by Kallistos Ware) and chapter 4 (by Samuel Rubenson).

⁵ See also Paula Fredriksen, "Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self" in *JTS* 37.1 (1986), 3-34 (esp. 20-26, commenting on the gulf between Augustine's reading of Romans in 395 and in 400).

⁶ Markus, *op. cit.*, 51.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ The phrase is from Gerald Bonner, *Augustine and modern research on Pelagianism* (Augustinian Institute, Villanova, 1972), 36.

⁹ Markus, *op. cit.*, 53.

¹⁰ *Tempus hoc medium. De gest. Pel.* 12.28, and Markus, *op. cit.*, 54.

¹¹ Markus, *op. cit.*, 54.

¹² The definitive study is F. van de Paverd: *St John Chrysostom, The Homilies on the Statues: An Introduction* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 239; Rome 1991). See also

J.N.D.Kelly: *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom – Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (Cornel University Press, New York, 1995).

¹³ *Homily 7 on the Statues*, section 3.

¹⁴ *Homily 7 on the Statues*, section 3: PG 49 93C: ἀλλὰ γυμνήν τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ποιῆσαι τὴν χάριν.

¹⁵ *Homily 1 on the Statues*: μὴ διάβαλλε τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ δημιούργημα, ἀλλὰ κατηγόρει τῆς τοῦ συνδούλου μανίας.

¹⁶ *Homily 1 on the Statues*, PG 49 23A.

¹⁷ ἀφίησιν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς κακοῦσθαι, PG 49 23C.

¹⁸ *Homily 7 on the Statues*, PG 49 A: ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀγαθὸς ἂν εἴη.

¹⁹ τοὺς μὲν φοβεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλεεῖ, οὐκ αὐτὸς μεριζόμενος: PG 49 327C (*Homily 7 on Repentance*).

²⁰ Cf. *Homily 7 on the Statues*, and the *Homily on the Paralytic let down through the Roof*, which both use fathers to illustrate the chastisement of God.

²¹ *The Homily on the Paralytic let down through the Roof* develops this metaphor.

²² *Homily 7 on Repentance*, PG 49 323D (σκοπός twice).

²³ PG 49 328A and 329A ("ὦ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ ἀπειλήσαντος).

²⁴ *Homily 4 on Repentance*, section 2.

²⁵ *Homily 4 on Repentance*: πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παρόντος βίου οἰκονομίαν (PG 49 303A).

²⁶ αὐτὸς παραστήσεται μέσος: PG 49 49A.

²⁷ And Chrysostom outrageously continues: "If a woman, supplicating on behalf of the Jews, could allay the anger of a barbarian, much more will our Teacher, begging on behalf of so great a city, in conjunction with so great a Church, be able to persuade this most mild and merciful Emperor."

²⁸ PG 51 51B.

²⁹ *Homily 6 on Repentance*, PG 49 320A.

³⁰ *Homily 1 on Repentance*, section 4, PG 49 283B: "Ὅτι πατὴρ ἦν, καὶ οὐ δικαστής.

³¹ οὐ δικαστηρίων καιρὸς, οὐδὲ ἀκριβοῦς ἐξετάσεως, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ συγγνώμης μόνον (PG 49 283C).

³² ἀδελφὸν ὄρᾳς, οὐκ ἀλλότριον. Πρὸς πατέρα ἐπανήλεν, οὐδὲν δυνάμενον ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν προτέρων (PG 49 284D).

³³ *Homily 16 on Hebrews*, PG 63 123D.

³⁴ *Homily 17 on Hebrews*, PG 63 129B.

³⁵ *Homily 17 on Hebrews*, PG 63 130D.

³⁶ *Homily 11 on Romans*, PG 60 489A/B.

³⁷ *Homily 5 on Hebrews*, PG 63 47B/C.

³⁸ *Homily 1 on the Statues*, PG 49 28A.

³⁹ *Homily 5 on Hebrews*, PG 63 47D. The point was important for Chrysostom. In *Homily 15 on Hebrews*, PG 63 119D, he says: "He did not come first and then become [High Priest], but came and became at the same time."

⁴⁰ *Homily 17 on Hebrews*, PG 63 129A.

⁴¹ *Homily 10 on Romans*, PG 60 480A. Chrysostom virtually repeats this in *Homily 11 on Romans*: "we were buried in the water, he in the earth; we in regard to sin, he in regard to his body ..." PG 60 484C/D.

⁴² *Homily 11 on Romans*, PG 60 490C.

⁴³ *Homily 10 on Romans*, PG 60 480B/C.

⁴⁴ *Homily 10 on Romans*, PG 60 479D: "this must continually be maintained by our

own exertion, so that, even though sin issue countless commands, we may never again obey it, but may remain unmoveable, as does a dead person,”

⁴⁵ cf. *Homily 20 on Hebrews*, PG 63 143B/C.

⁴⁶ cf. *Homily 20 on Hebrews*, PG 63 143D.

⁴⁷ cf. *Homily 11 on Romans*, PG 60 485D.

⁴⁸ *Homily 11 on Romans*, PG 60 488D.

⁴⁹ *Homily 7 on Repentance*: μάλλον δὲ δεξώμεθα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἰατρεύουσιν ἡμᾶς. Οὐ γὰρ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ ταύτην προσάγομεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ταύτην ἐχορήγησεν. PG 49 327D.

⁵⁰ *Homily 8 on Repentance*.

⁵¹ Church as harbor is fairly common in Chrysostom. See *Homily 2 on Repentance*, section 1, where it a harbour for both the sinner and righteous. Chrysostom has a very inclusive understanding of the Church. In *Homily 3 on Repentance*, section 4, again showing an inclusive vision, he says that “the Church is a hospital, not a court of justice:” ἰατρεῖον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα, οὐ δικαστήριον.

⁵² *Homily 8 on Repentance*, section 1 (PG 49 335D-336D): Τίς γὰρ τοιοῦτος λυμὴν, οἷος ἡ Ἐκκλησία; ... Ἐάν δὲ ἀκάνθαν εὗρω, εἰς ἐλαίαν μεταφέρω· οὐ γὰρ ἀπορία φύσεως τὰ ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ προαιρέσεως τετίμηται· ἐάν δὲ λύκον εὗρω, πρὸς βάτον ποιῶ, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλων, ἀλλὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν μεταφέρων.

⁵³ *ibid.*, PG 49 337A: ... οὐ τῆς φύσεως μεταβαλλομένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς κακίας ἐλαυνομένης.

⁵⁴ The great English historian Edward Gibbon wrote in his inimitable way: “Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition. Although he struggled, according to the precepts of the gospel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God, and of the church ...” *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter xxxii (in the Penguin Classics edition, volume II, p. 255).

⁵⁵ *Homily 2 on the Statues*, section 4 (PG 49 58B/C).

⁵⁶ At the end of *Homily 15 on Hebrews*.

⁵⁷ *Homily 17 on Hebrews*, section 4 (PG 63 132A).

⁵⁸ *Homily 10 on Romans*, PG 60 481B: ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐβουλήθη, γέγονεν ἄφνω νέος, ἀπὸ γνώμης μόνης καὶ μεταστάσεως. Chrysostom paints a horrible caricature of the elderly. His interest, of course, is in fuelling the decision to change. All we need to is say: “I will return to my Father’s house.” What we must do is “leave the strange and foreign land – for this is what sin is:” μόνον ἀφῶμεν τὴν ξένην καὶ τὴν ἄλλοτριαν τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία.

⁵⁹ *Homily 5 on the Statues*, PG 49 71D: διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδειξόν μοι τὴν πίστιν. This is just one example of many.

⁶⁰ *Homily 11 on Romans*, PG 60 489C: ὅπερ ἐλευθερίας ἀπάσης ἁμεινόν ἐστι.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² *Homily 11 on Romans*, comment on verse 14.

⁶³ *Homily 10 on Romans*, PG 60 478D.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, PG 60 477B. Chrysostom points to God’s over abundance many times. For example, commenting on τῷ αἵματι ἐρρᾶντισεν in Hebrews 9:21, he says that the cleansing water is not simply sprinkled over us, but springs up like a fountain in our souls (*Homily 16 on Hebrews*, PG 63 125B).

⁶⁵ *Homily 16 on Hebrews* (PG 63 127B).

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, Βούλεται τις γενέσθαι κυβερνήτης· οὐ λέγει, Θέλω, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἀρκεῖται,

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἄπτεται. Chrysostom says much the same in *Homily 8 on Hebrews* (PG 63 74C-D) about the interpretation of scripture. "If you want to become a pilot or a carpenter, you have to learn the principles of the art (τέχνη). In the case of scripture, people will do nothing of the kind, despite the fact that it is a science (ἐπιστήμη) which needs careful attention. Yet it is an art (craft) as well, which requires teaching ..."

⁶⁷ *Homily 20 on Hebrews* (PG 63 146B): Μάθωμεν τοίνυν ὠφελεῖσθαι, μάθωμεν ἐπιρρεάξεσθαι· τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστιανοῦ.

⁶⁸ *Homily 6 on Repentance*, section 1: PG 49 315B. Some of Chrysostom's finest invective is reserved for the theatre. He pleads with his people to avoid it, to stop polluting their imaginations: cf. *Homily 8 on Repentance*, at the end of section 1 and beginning of section 2, PG 49 338.

⁶⁹ *Homily 8 on Repentance*, section 2.

⁷⁰ Possibly a group of professional applauders at the theatre, though they are referred to by Chrysostom as 'strangers and foreigners', 'men of mixed race' (*Homilies on the Statues* 2.3 and 3.1).

⁷¹ *Homily 1 on Repentance*, section 2 (PG 49 280B and following).

⁷² cf. for example, *Homily 16 on Hebrews* ("Ἐχομεν γὰρ συνεργοῦντα καὶ συμπράττοντα τὸν Θεόν· ... μόνον ὡς ἔργῳ προσενηχθῶμεν τῷ πράγματι) PG 63 128A/B.

⁷³ "὘ν τῇ βουλῇ κείσθω τῇ σῇ, κύριος ἔσο τῆς γνώμης (*Homily 6 on Repentance*, PG 49 318D). Exactly the same point is made in *Homily 2* and *Homily 2 on Repentance* (section 2). The prophet Nathan did not immediately censure David, but allowed him to draw his own conclusions. The latter part of the quotation is, of course, reminiscent of the ethics of Karl Barth. God did not say, "Thou shalt live," but "Thou mayest live." "The command of God is based on his grace. He summons man to the freedom in which he may live instead of having to live," *Church Dogmatics* volume III, part 4, §55 Freedom for Life, p.418 (English translation edited by G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1961).

⁷⁴ *Homily 5 on the Statues*, section 3 (PG 49 73C).

⁷⁵ For Judas, see *Homily 1 on Repentance*, at the end of section 3.

⁷⁶ *Homily 3 on Repentance* (Concerning Almsgiving and the Ten Virgins): Περὶ μετανόιας τὸν λόγον ἐγγυμνάζομεν... (PG 49 292B/C).

⁷⁷ This is section 3 of *Homily 3 on Repentance*.

⁷⁸ For example, in *Homily 11 on Romans*, he castigates his hearers for urinating in silver chamber pots (PG 60 492B).

⁷⁹ *Homily 11 on Romans* (PG 60 492A).

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 492B.

⁸² Precisely how Chrysostom understood the solidarity and inter-relation of human beings would repay further study. Graham Gould, in *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), suggests that fear of God in the Desert Fathers was "generally a positive quality, a means to the attainment of virtue" (page 91). Thus, the fear of God was not merely inward, as it were, but was associated with the virtues belonging to a monk's relationship with his neighbors, love, humility and not judging. The ascetic virtue not to complain was linked outwardly to the restraint of the impulse to retribution and anger (cf. page 92).

⁸³ *Homily 2 on the Statues* (PG 49 40A/B).

⁸⁴ On the link between idolatry and wealth, see *Homily 15 on Hebrews* (PG 63 121D).

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Greek Patristics in Russia of the 17th - 18th Centuries

DR. VLADISLAV ARZHANUKHIN

There cannot be any doubt that Greek patristics should be considered as the basis of different tendencies in Russian Orthodoxy, as all aspects of Russian Orthodox life have always been under the influence of the Byzantine Church's doctrines. The history of Greek patristics in Russia has been long as well as complicated; and it cannot be separated from the history of the Russian Church itself.

What differences, or oppositions, can be traced during the period of more than one thousand years of relationship between the Russian Church and the Byzantine theological heritage? To answer this question, it is not enough to divide the material into chronological order, although such a division is convenient for practical purposes and, to some extent, reflects the situation.

It seems much more important to consider the history of patristics in Russia from the point of a mutual influence of two elements that sometimes harmonize with each other but very often contradict each other. These elements are: the intellectual-theological and the ascetic-mystical. Nowadays, there are very few people who would agree with Gregory of Nazianzus who claimed that Christianity is a life filled with spirit rather than a system of ideas. This comparison, therefore, could be especially significant for contemporary Christian consciousness that attempts to understand Christianity in general and patristics in particular within a global theory that explains this world.

Mount Athos played the most important part in introducing Greek religious principles into Russia. Most of Orthodox literature came into Russia from the Holy Mountain. It is a well-known fact now that it was in the fourteenth century when Byzantine ideals were fully

and profoundly incorporated into Russian religious life: in arranging the monasteries, theology, liturgy, church art, Orthodox literature.

During the first six centuries of Russian Orthodox history, the Russian understanding of patristics did not reflect any significant inner division between the Greek Father's theory and their ascetic practice. Russian Orthodoxy of the eleventh to sixteenth centuries considered patristics not as a theory that explained life, but as a way of life. The truth of patristics did not require any explanation or intellectual proof. It could not be perceived only by a logical examination. The Church Fathers were able to discover the truth only because they possessed a unique gift: the gift of contemplation and spiritual vision.

We know that both the fall of the Byzantine Empire, and earlier the Union of Florence-Ferrara, deprived the Russian Church of its main partner in Church dialogue. It was a tremendous loss for Russian religious consciousness. To overcome and compensate for it, the Russian Church began to appropriate the place which had belonged to Byzantine Orthodoxy. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a confidence in the belief in Russia that Russian Orthodoxy was the only true Orthodox Church led to a loss of interest in the Greek tradition. Of course, in the seventeenth century, the Byzantine ascetic literature still remained the most important literature in the libraries of the Russian monasteries, despite the unfavourable attitude towards the Greeks. The Russian people continued to consider the *Hexaemeron* by St. Basil the Great, *Palea* by Dionysius the Areopagite with its version of the creation of the world, and *Melissa* by St. Maximus the Confessor, as the main sources of their religious education. However, we have to mention that the heritage from the Greek fathers lost its importance as the only criteria for theology. Sometimes the situation became no less than comical. Thus, "Prophecies of Hellenic Sages" appeared in the *Chronografe* (1512). In this work we find ancient Greek philosophers and even pagan Gods who utter prophecies in the defense of the Incarnation and Holy Trinity. Such materials were quite popular in Russia in the seventeenth century. At the same time, in Russian churches the depiction of ancient Greek philosophers with their prophecies of Christ began to appear.

There was another reason which caused the loss of the prestige of Byzantine patristics in Russia, and that was the compromise between Constantinople and Western Christianity. The Russians began to think that their Greek teachers could not be relied upon any longer. Many

of them were coming to Moscow from the West — from Venice, Rome, Geneva. They had received their education in Eastern Patristics in Western universities and schools. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Russian Church believed that the Greeks had lost the true faith, and that now it was the Russian people who obtained true piety. The consequences were dramatic; for example, Greek merchants were not allowed to enter Russian churches. We can find the most comprehensive reflection of Russian ideas on the problem in *Controversy on Faith* written by Arsenii Sukhanov. The main point of this work is the following: Moscow had replaced Constantinople in all respects. Arsenii claimed that Russian Orthodox believers surpassed the Greeks of the sixteenth century and were themselves now on the level of the period when the Byzantine theology had flourished.

Nevertheless in the first half of the seventeenth century a new tendency, representing the interests of the new historical era, was growing in the official Russian consciousness. Representatives of this tendency were searching for support in Greek religiosity. At the same time, indications of a crisis in traditional religious unity began to be evident in Russian spiritual life. The two main forms of Greek patristics — the intellectual-theological and the ascetic-mystical — were separated in the Russian environment with the development of the secular culture among Russian intelligentsia and the public ideals of enlightened absolutism. The subsequent history of Russian Orthodoxy reflects the antithesis of these two forms, at times being supportive of each other, at times being in opposition to each other, during different periods. We think that the mutual support, the cooperation, between these two forms determined the place of Russian Orthodoxy in Eastern Christianity and characterized its scale and value in the seventeenth to twentieth centuries.

It is clear that during the seventeenth century, the new church and state authorities were aware of the danger of religious stagnation and intended to break the national isolation of the Russian Church. It was the Moscow Patriarch Iosif (1642-1652) who initiated the rapprochement between Moscow and the Greeks. He promoted the publication of the didactic patristic work *Margarit* by St. John Chrysostom as well as the saint's biography; and the homilies by Abba Dorofei. From 1643 to 1653 in Moscow, there were three editions of the works by St. Ephraem the Syrian. In 1647, the *Ladder* by St. John Climacus was published.

People who collaborated and supported Patriarch Nikon were the most eager proponents of the revival of everything connected with Greece. Fedor Rtyshchev, Ivan Neverov, Vonifatyev were among them. They published the *Book on the Faith*, insisting that in spite of the Turkish yoke the Greeks had preserved the true faith. Moscow Grecophiles were obviously people of the New Time. They considered Orthodoxy not only as a confession, but also as a cultural phenomenon. Their urge to the Byzantine was of a cultural and social character, rather than or as well as a religious one. Church and state leaders were aware of the necessity to overcome the tremendous contradiction within a tradition of "dark, ignorant ritual;" and they were looking for support of their corrective plans in Greek Orthodoxy. Patriarch Nikon expressed his attitude towards Greek Orthodoxy in the following way: "I am Russian, but my faith is Greek."

Where could Greek samples be obtained to test Russian Church books? At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were only thirty-two manuscripts in the Greek language in Russia. Among them only one was patristic, and that was *Praise of St. Cyprian* written by St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Novgorod, sixteenth century). That was obviously not enough for carrying out the reforms. In 1649, Patriarch Nikon sent Arsenii Sukhanov to Athos to find and collect Greek manuscripts. Between 1653 and 1655, Sukhanov brought to Moscow about 500 manuscripts and books in Greek. These books comprised the first major collection of Greek manuscripts in Moscow.

The liturgical life of the Church was the main concern of those who supported the reforms. *Interpretations on the Liturgy* by St. Dionysius the Areopagite and St. Maximus the Confessor, brought to Russia in 1371, and texts by Cyril of Jerusalem were the only sources for the Russian Liturgy, other than scattered articles and essays. Due to Patriarch Nikon's efforts, the Russian Church obtained a comprehensive systematic collection of rules concerning the Divine Liturgy. This great work was called *Nikonova Skrizhal*. It was compiled by the Greek priest Nafanail, and at Nikon's request it was sent to Moscow by Patriarch Paisius in 1653. For those times, *Nikonova Skrizhal* was a profound source giving explanations of the church service. It contained information about architecture, church ceremony and liturgy, compiled from works by Germanus, Simeon Solunskii and Nicolas Cabasilas. Besides this, some parts of the works by Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Maximus the Confessor and Nicephorus Callist

were included into the *Skrizhal*. Thus, the book in general covered not only the Liturgy, but also the exegetics.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Kiev's theology made a great impact on the development of Russian patristics. Developing absolutely separately from Moscow's theological school, Kiev's theology had been greatly influenced by West-European Christian traditions. Since 1635, when Metropolitan Mohila founded the Academy, the Latin-Polish school of theology had become firmly established; and it was the Kievo-Mohilyanskaya Academy that had been the main source for Russian education there since the middle of the seventeenth century. Kiev's understanding of patristics differed dramatically from Moscow's. To follow the patristic principles meant for Kiev to act within the epistemological field, the latter being intermediate between theoretical theology and ascetic contemplative experience. Religious truth within this field was of gnosiological rather than ontological character.

The rise of the Kievan influence in Moscow was connected with the establishment of the Ukranian monastic brotherhood at Andreevskii Monastery in 1647. Thirty scholar-monks worked in the Monastery correcting church books. They were invited by the Tsar's government. The interpreters of this monastery translated from Greek into Russian *Homilies* and *Adversus Eunomium* by St. Basil the Great, *Fifty Words* by St. Gregory of Nazianzus, homilies of St. John Chrysostom on Pentecost, works by St. John Damascus, St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Ephrem the Syrian, *On Heavenly Hierarchy* by Dionysius the Areopagite, *On Prayer* by St. Symeon the New Theologian, *On Silence* by Gregory of Sinai. This was the first time in Russian Church history that interpreters were translating the works of Eastern Church Fathers from Latin Western editions into the Russian language. The greatest contribution was made by Epifanii Slavinetskii who translated *Questions* by St. Justin the Philosopher from the Paris edition of 1636, *Debates* of St. Athanasius the Great with Arius from the Latin edition of 1482, and *On Psalms* by St. Athanasius the Great also from Latin.

It may seem that Kiev's efforts in introducing and spreading patristics should have been supported. However, Western-Russian theologians were received rather coldly by Moscow Orthodox circles. Moscow people were suspicious, if not afraid, of Kiev's orientation to the traditions of Latin university theology and attitude towards

research in patristics. Actually, there were extremely tense relationships between two differing traditions. In the 1680s after the union of the Ukraine and Russia, those strained relations took the form of the open conflict between "Grecophiles" and "Latinophiles" in the Russian Church.

The theological question about trans-substantiation became the stumbling block for the two Orthodox traditions at that time. Along with theologians from both the Ukraine and Russia, the Russian authorities as well as Patriarchs of other Orthodox Churches became involved in the debate. From the 1680s, the position of the Grecophiles' party was represented by two Greek scholars-monks, the Leichudes brothers, who had arrived in Moscow from Constantinople. Although those two Greeks had been educated in Padua and were Latin-oriented to some extent, their contribution in developing the traditional understanding of Byzantine theology can hardly be overrated. In 1685 they founded the Greek School in Moscow. Two years later the school was transformed into the Hellenic-Greek School. The Leichudes became involved in the conflict between the Moscovite and Ukrainian theologians when it emerged that this conflict was a global confrontation between two world-outlooks.

Influential Church leaders and statesmen supported Kiev's representatives. Metropolitan Paul from Ryazan, Metropolitan Markell from Pskov and Gavriil Dometskii were among them, to name a few. At the Tsar's Court such people as Fedor Shelkovitii, Duke Vasilii Golitsyn, the Dukes Romodanovskiye, Princess Sofia, regarded themselves as the supporters of the Latinophiles. However, in spite of such powerful backing the Moscow Council of 1690 anathematized Kiev theology, accusing it of a worshipping of bread but not of the body. The same decision was taken by Constantinople's Council of 1691. And Jerusalem's Patriarch Dositheos and the brothers Leichudes placed the ideas of St. Gregory Palamas and hesychasm in opposition to Kiev's attitude.

It is necessary to point out that although the Western-Russian theology of the seventeenth century was trying to reduce the importance of the ascetic-mystical experience in religious life, it did not reject patristics in general; moreover, the latter was introduced on a more general scale. The contradiction between an ontological, theocentric Orthodox world-outlook and a more rationalized, humanized theology formed the basis of the conflict, rather than any contradiction

between the older and newer understandings of the Byzantine heritage, between the followers of the Eastern traditions and the followers of the Western modernists.

The aspiration of the Grecophiles to consolidate themselves against the Kiev theological school represents, obviously, one of the most interesting episodes in the history of Russian Orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. The decisions taken by the Moscow and Constantinople Councils show that in the conflict between the Grecophiles and Latinophiles the former bore the palm. However, their victory in the theoretical sphere influenced neither Church practice nor state politics. In 1701, after the death of Patriarch Adrian, Tsar Peter the Great banned the elections of a new Patriarch; instead Stefan Yavorskii, who was one of the leaders of the Latinophiles' party, was appointed the administrative head of the Church. In 1711, in the course of the dispute with Yavorskii, Sofronii Leichude wrote an essay, "Answer to the Question about the Soul." This work proved to be the most significant apology for Palamism in the Russian Orthodox tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It also demonstrates the theoretical superiority of the author over the concepts of the Latinophiles' party. But this essay was only a private manifestation of the Grecophiles, through which they were trying to justify themselves in their own eyes. The essay remained practically unknown in Russia, and was published only in 1994. The chances of the Grecophiles to control the situation in both the Church and theological schools were minimal. A new theological classicism with traits of European rationality began to force out the theology of Russian theological schools and Church hierarchy.

The Grecophiles were evidently predisposed to such a defeat, their basis both in the Church and in society being extremely weak. On the one hand, many Russian Orthodox parishes did not trust the Greeks, because at the end of the seventeenth century in Greece itself there were no manifest traditions of theological research and education. The schools which enjoyed the highest authority among the Orthodox Greeks were situated in Venice, Rome and Padua. On the other hand, the Grecophiles were eager to make patristics an intermediary between Russian society and science, but they failed. And then at the beginning of the 1790s, there was dissent among the Grecophiles themselves when Jerusalem's Patriarch Dositheos insisted on the brothers Leichudes being dismissed from their work in Moscow.

The victory of Kiev's representatives led to the closing down of contacts between the Russian Church and the Orthodox East, and the cutting down of publications of the works by Church Fathers; it also resulted in a profoundly influential re-estimation of the role of patristics in Russia's Orthodox life. It would be wrong to say that the patristic texts disappeared from the Church. However, their interpretation in the Russian theology of the eighteenth century was of an absolutely different character. Patristics as an intellectual theological activity broke away from the principles of spiritual contemplation, the latter involving patristics in the form of ascetic life. We may say that patristic ideas became secularized without being separated from the Church.

The ascendancy of the Western-Russian party caused the development of Russian theological education to be oriented now towards the Catholic and Protestant theological systems. The European spirit of classical culture in general and the rational theology of Western Christianity in particular informed the Russian style of the eighteenth century. Western university theology became the type to be followed. In 1777, the Tsar's court began to discuss a project for a Theological Faculty in the Moscow University; but it was not fulfilled. Taking into consideration the absence of traditions and resources, the authorities came to a decision to send Russian students to the West. So, in 1765, Catherine the Great sent fourteen young people to the Western universities. Among them five men (Prokhor Suvorov, Alexei Levshinskii, Semen Matvievskii, Michail Bykov, Vasilii Nikitin) were sent to Oxford. In the eighteenth century, the works of the Church Fathers were being studied in the theological schools, but the students read them in Latin.

Those texts and interpretations were considered at the time to be a source to substantiate the system that was in place in the Russian theological curriculum by then. The success of the Latin theological systems in Russia in the eighteenth century therefore became a victory for that type of curriculum, by which reality (societal, epistemological, moral) was meant to be objectified for study. Such a system could be more easily found in the works of Thomas Aquinas than in the ideas of the Church Fathers. This explains the fact that the future Orthodox priests came to study theology by reading the Latin texts of Bonaventura and Bernard rather than the Church Fathers; and these types, taken from old Western theology, made Russian

school theology a monotonous study. All this "theology" at its worst simply repeated the rise and fall from Aquinas and second scholasticism to the German Protestantism of Christian Wolf.

In Russian theoretical theology, patristics were considered to belong to the past. From the eighteenth century, Russian authors regarded patristics as a part of Church history.

What constituted seminary theology at the turn of the nineteenth century, for example the theology in the Irkutsk seminary where Innokentii Veniaminov received his education? The school theological curriculum included Church history, the latter covering the study of patristics, hermeneutics, polemics and dogmatic theology, as compiled by Theofan Prokopovich on the basis of the Protestant theological courses of the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as moral theology based on the *Buddei (Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae et moralis)*.

Theofan Prokopovich was one of the most influential persons in Russian Orthodox Theology in the 1720s -1750s; and this makes his attitude towards patristics very revealing for us. In his system of theology, he spoke very critically about Church Fathers' works. He regarded the patristic ascetic ideal as groundless, and its practical realization in Russia impossible, because it did not answer the demands of a civilized and centralized state.

Of course, it was not the end of patristics: they cannot disappear. However, this stopped them from playing the significant role in Orthodoxy in Russia for a very long time.

An outstanding Russian theologian Metropolitan Platon Levshin (1737-1811) considered patristics to be only an optional means in explaining the Holy Bible. From his point of view, real and actual theology could be found only in the Bible; and patristics ought not to be a source for Christian theology. It was important, he thought, to attempt to explain the Scriptures for oneself through a comparison of scriptural texts. Only if one encountered difficulties in carrying out this process, would he then take recourse to the Holy Fathers. We should recognize, however, that at the same time Metropolitan Platon did much to protect the patristic norms in Orthodoxy. The Orthodox society of the time used to adopt Greek patristic principles in religious life rather than in theological theory. This explains why Platon, while being so critical against patristics in theoretical theology, initiated the revival of the Optina Pustyn Monastery, the latter becoming

the national centre for Orthodox monasticism within the traditions of Athos-Moldavian mysticism.

The patristic methodology of contemplation and spiritual vision did not lose its influence in the Russian Church. On the contrary, it was obtaining new supporters. Tikhon Zadonskii (1724-1784) was the key person in Russian Orthodox mysticism in the second half of the eighteenth century. His works greatly influenced Russian religious literature, and they are so full of social pathos that they bring the author close to St. John Chrysostom. The latter was highly estimated by Tikhon, who liked to quote him as well as St. Macarius of Egypt and St. Augustine. Tikhon's works represent mystic ethics and ascetics on the basis of patristic ideas. In this sense, Tikhon shared an attitude in common with Paisii Velichkovskii (1722 -1782).

In Russia, Paisii's name is associated with the revival of asceticism in the form of the Byzantine-Bulgarian hesychasm of the fourteenth century. He had spent several years on Athos. In 1750-1755, a group of people who held the same views as himself gathered round him; and with them he settled in Moldova. There according to the code of Basil the Great and the Holy Mountain, they revived the Dragomirna Monastery. In this monastery, Paisii organized work for the translation of ascetic literature. From 1779, this work was continued in the Nyametskii Monastery in the Carpathians. Middle-Bulgarian texts from the Nyametskii Monastery were taken as the basic texts for translation, as well as texts brought from Athos. At the same time, Paisii's disciples were correcting the old translations of patristic literature. By the end of the eighteenth century, the monastery had become the centre of patristic Christianity. Such a position was reinforced by the translation carried out by Paisii and his disciples of the *Philocalia*, a five-volume anthology of the ascetic texts. The Greek edition of the book was published by Nikodim in 1782. The translation, mentioned above, was published in St. Petersburg in 1793. Thanks to Paisii and his disciples, monasticism was revived in Russia.

Based on Greek patristic principles, the mystic-ascetic movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries introduced a general standard according to which various forms of practical activity and cognition were assessed as different types of religious experience. Being close to hesychasm this standard, to a large extent, defined the pattern of development of Russian Orthodox missionary activity.

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are presented thoroughly and pertinently. The first distortion of the Gnostic sect together with the orthodox ecclesiastical refutation of it is also presented. Then Professor Scouteris presents the Alexandrian theology with a special emphasis on Clement and Origen. The Book concludes with Latin theologians and most notably St. Cyprian of Carthage.

I must say that the reader of this book is immediately struck by the magnitude of Professor Scouteris' *work*. One is struck, however, not only by the large size of the book but also the far-reaching probing into primary and secondary sources and the clarity and precision with which Professor Scouteris discusses the theological issues of this early period of Christianity. We must congratulate Professor Scouteris for his profound contribution to Greek Orthodox Theology. This is not an easy book, and I presume that it is not a textbook for young students because it requires much maturity and experience in scholarship for reading and digesting its outstanding and exceptional contents. I do hope that every good theological library should cherish this excellent book.

Prof. George S. Bebis

Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium, edited by Linda Safran. Penn State University Press, 1998. ISBN 0-271-01669-8, cloth, \$75.00; 0-271-01670-1, paper, \$27.50.

There are plenty of multi-authored introductions to Byzantium, but they mostly concentrate on political history, and sometimes manage to ignore theology altogether. This is something quite different, for theology is central and from that foundation the book explores the way in which the art of Byzantium served its religious ideals. After an introduction on religious imagery and its importance for Byzantium by the editor, an initial chapter sets the scene: in this Joseph Alcheres discusses the city of Constantinople, New Rome, and the Empire that centered on it. There follows a lucid chapter by Eric Perl which expounds the central doctrine of deification, showing it is central to an Eastern Orthodox understanding of Christology, apophatic theology and revelation, and the Divine Liturgy; in each case he brings out the theological significance of Byzantine religious art, as the final entailment of an Orthodox Christology, the counterpart to the apophatic, and one of the primary means of expressing the meaning of the Liturgy. This chapter is a model of precise exposi-

tion. Perl's chapter is followed by an introduction to the Byzantine icon (not limited to panel paintings) by Anna Kartsonis, which revolves round the communication between the icon and those who, in prayer and worship, respond to the icon: in this way Kartsonis brings to the centre of her exposition the religious significance of the icon.

Robert Ousterhout then discusses the way in which architecture creates the sacred space in which the Divine Liturgy is celebrated. He starts with the Great Church of Hagia Sophia, but quickly makes the important point that, though this church with its domed interior became a model for many later Byzantine churches, its vast size is quite exceptional, and in fact speaks in quite a different way about the use of space than was normal in Byzantine churches, which, with their much smaller scale, spoke of the worship of a real community.

Henry Maguire, in the next chapter, elucidates the pattern of iconographic decoration found in Byzantine churches after iconoclasm. He introduces here several of the themes of his more recent book, *The Icons of their Bodies, Saints and their Images in Byzantium*, and shows how, despite the confines of the traditional, Byzantine art developed a subtle and expressive language. He also makes deft use of liturgical poetry in his interpretation of visual imagery.

Susan A. Boyd, in her chapter, opens up the whole world of metalwork in the interior decoration of Byzantine churches and in the celebration of the liturgy: candelabra and other ways of providing light, chalices, patens, censers, book covers and the flabella carried by the deacons. Nancy Patterson Sevckenko looks at the decoration inside the sacred books, and introduces the reader to the different ways in which such decoration often relates to the liturgical event celebrated by the readings, rather than the subject of the readings themselves (the Anastasis illustrating the prologue of the Fourth Gospel being a good example). A final chapter, by Gary Vikan, discusses Byzantine pilgrims' art, principally the art of the tokens pilgrims took with them from the destination of their pilgrimage, *proskynemata*.

This is a unique introduction of the Byzantine world that takes us inside the experience of the people who lived in that world. It is, of course, precisely that experience that was not destroyed, when the political structures of the Byzantine Empire succumbed to the Turks. This fact is disguised in this book by descriptions in the past tense of what is, in fact, current Orthodox experience and practice. This fas-

cinating introduction to the religious world of Byzantium is enormously enhanced by many well-chosen and well-photographed illustrations, with sixteen pages in colour (though some of the descriptions are a little odd: the 'plump cushion' on which various archangels and emperors are said to stand looks more like a semi-circular dais to me). All in all, this volume is thoroughly to be recommended.

Prof. Andrew Louth

Vlasios I. Phidas, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, Β' Ἀπὸ τὴν Εἰκονομαχία μέχρι τὴν Μεταρρύθμιση* (*Ecclesiastical History II: From the Iconoclastic Dispute to the Reformation*, 2nd edition, Athens (1998), pp. 766.

The reviewer had the good fortune to present the first volume of this magnificent Manual of Vlasios I. Phidas, *Church History I*, Athens 1992, in an extended form in the periodicals, *Theologia* [64 (1993) 335-341] and *Kleronomia* [28 (1996) 369-379]. What is written here is a continuation of the previous reviews. The first volume is much more extensive (969 pages) than the second. Our purpose here is to give a general account of the wealth of contents, which this author has offered through great labor. The page references we supply in our presentation are not exhaustive but indicative.

According to the first volume of his Manual, the author had initially designed two volumes, one on "The First Period: From the Foundation of the Church to the End of the Iconoclastic Dispute (1st - 9th century)," and another on "The Second Period: From the End of the Iconoclastic Dispute to Modern Times (10th - 20th century)" (see vol. I, pp. 20-21, 19-23). Nevertheless, this second volume is subtitled: "Second Period: From the Iconoclastic Dispute to the Reformation," and not to the Capture of Constantinople (1453). This is indicative of the author's return to his initial teaching textbook of three volumes. We can only wish him a speedy completion of his endeavor with the appearance of the third volume of his history.

It is interesting to note Phidas' reference to the third millennium, which is already dawning as 1998 marks one of the last steps for the completion of the second millennium. This provides him with the occasion to comment on the first two Christian millennia comparing them to each other. "If the first millennium," he writes, "promoted the well balanced and mutual co-inherence of local particularity

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Hebrews: Paul's Fifth Epistle From Prison*

PROF. CHRISTOS SP. VOULGARIS

One of the few points where a unanimous consensus exists among New Testament scholars is that Paul's "prison epistles" are four, i.e., Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians and Philemon. But when it comes to the place and time of their composition they spread out, some of them proposing Rome, others Ephesus and others Caesarea in Palestine.

In what follows I will try to show that the prison epistles are not four but five, because conclusive evidence, as I believe, includes also Hebrews in this category, and that all of them were written by Paul in Rome, during his two-year imprisonment there, according to Acts 28:30. In doing so, however, I will not open up here a dialogue with opposite views and cite bibliography, but, rather, I will lay out the new evidence and elaborate on it so that it will speak for itself. And the evidence in question is: Hebr. 13:23 = Phil. 2:19-24 = Philm. 22 (cf. also Eph. 6:19-22; Col. 4:3-4; 7-9).

Indeed, of a fundamental importance here is Paul's reference to Timothy, his trustful and dedicated companion, in Heb. 13:23, where, writing to the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, he informs them "Τινώσκετε (in a transitive sense. i.e. learn, be informed) τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον, μεθ' οὗ ἔὰν τάχιον ἔρχηται, ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς." The key word here is the perfect tense passive participle "ἀπολελυμένον" which almost all interpreters, past

* For issues concerning authorship, date, place and circumstances of the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews, cf. my books (all in Greek): 1) *Commentary on the Epistle of the Hebrews*, Athens 1993, especially the Introduction. 2) *The Epistle of the Hebrews*, Athens 1986. 3) *The Perfection of the Divine Economy in Christ according to the Epistle of the Hebrews*, Athens 1988. 4) *Chronology of Paul's life*, Athens, 1993.

and present, translate in the sense of having been released from prison, even though some admit that the verb “ἀπολύειν” is used in Acts 13:3 and 15:30-33, and also in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g. Matth. 14:15; 15:22,39. Mk. 6:36,45; 8:9. Lk. 9: 12), in the sense of sending someone out to a specific task or mission. If we take it as meaning to release from prison, there comes the question as to the place and time of Timothy’s imprisonment and subsequent release, about which we know nothing from the New Testament. This question forced some scholars even to suggest that Timothy’s supposed imprisonment and release took place after Paul’s two-year house-confinement in Rome (A.D. 60-62), or even after the Christians’ persecution by Nero (A.D. 65-68), during which, they maintain, several of Paul’s companions, including Timothy, were arrested and put in prison after the apostle’s martyrdom.

These scholars’ insistence in the meaning of a release from prison, for “ἀπολελυμένον,” and their persistent inquiry to locate a jail for Timothy at any rate, and a subsequent release from it is indeed inconceivable. If such an event had really taken place, it would have most certainly been mentioned, or implied at least, in one of the two letters to Timothy which were written much later and if not in any of them, it would have most certainly been reported by subsequent church tradition. Therefore, release from prison, for “ἀπολελυμένον,” is out of question.

If, on the other hand, as is really the case, we take the participle in the sense of having been sent, as in Acts 13:3 and 15:30-33 (c.f. Mt. 14:15; 15:22, 39. Mk. 6:36, 45 8:9. Lk. 9:12), then in Heb. 13:23 we have Paul informing the Christians of Jerusalem about Timothy’s recent departure to a mission which he himself had entrusted him. In this case, the translation of the text goes as follows: “*Be informed (or I want you know) that our brother Timothy as already departed or has been dispatched) with whom if he returns soon enough. I will come to see you.*” The apostle does not mention here either the kind of Timothy’s mission, or his destination, for security reasons. We must bear in mind that Hebrews was sent to the church of Jerusalem and that it always ran the risk of falling into the hands of the Jewish authorities, who were constantly after Paul, as Acts repeatedly reports. If this happened, then the Jews would have first hand information about his and his companions’ plans and movements. The readers of Hebrews were to hear the detail about Timothy’s mis-

sion by the person who handed the epistle to them. The reason why Paul mentioned Timothy's departure at all, is to stress that he is eager to go and see the readers as soon as his companion returns to the place from which he had left. In other words, as the text stands, the emphasis is not so much on Timothy's departure to his mission, as to Paul's plans to visit the church of Jerusalem. We must remember that his relations to the Jerusalem Christians, who were "zealous for the law," were not friendly at all and during his last visit to Jerusalem they even became hostile, as James explained to him because of his preaching to the Jews of the Diaspora and to the Gentiles not to circumcise themselves and their children and not to keep the customs of Moses (Acts 21:18ff). So, Paul wanted to make it up and restore his relations with them (Heb. 13:19b).

This meaning for "ἀπολελυμένον" is further supported by evidence elsewhere in the New Testament. So, the last time we meet Timothy, according to Acts, was in Philippi and Troy, taking part in the delegations of the churches of Macedonia and Achaia, headed by Paul, on their way to Jerusalem, carrying the collection of these churches for the Jerusalem Christians (Acts 20:1-6). With them were also Paul's other close companions, Titus and Luke, the first one because he was charged with carrying 2 Corinthians to Corinth and with the collection of that church, and the second because the narrative from Acts 20:6ff. is in first person plural ("we sections"). And since they all as a group left Troy for Jerusalem, we must assume that they all also arrived there and remained afterwards with the apostle, after his arrest, to the end of the Acts narrative, i.e. all through the end of his two-year house-confinement in Rome.

That Timothy was in Rome with Paul is evident from the "prison epistles" (Philip. 1:1; 2:19-24; Col. 1:1; Philemon 1). That these epistles were not written from Ephesus is evident from very simple reasons. First of all we have not the slightest evidence whatsoever about Paul's imprisonment there, while his overall activity during his three years in Ephesus leaves no room for a possible imprisonment, because the three years (A.D. 53-56) coincided with the crisis in the churches of Galatia and the writing of the epistle bearing that name, and the events in the church of Corinth which also involve Paul's short, intermediate visit, the sending of Timothy and the writing of First Corinthians (cf. 1 Cor. 4:18-19; 16:5f; 2 Cor. 2:1; 12:4; 13:1), as well as the sending of Titus and the appointment to meet in

Troy and eventually in Philippi. Therefore, Paul's statement in 1 Cor. 15:32 can in no way refer to an imprisonment of him in Ephesus, but to a different situation, most probably the riot of the Ephesian silver-smiths, mentioned in Acts 19:23-40 when the apostle's life was put at stake.

But the conclusive evidence, in my judgement, against Ephesus as the place of writing the "prison epistles" is the existence of the epistles themselves and especially Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon. That is to say, if Paul was indeed imprisoned in Ephesus, why should he have to address himself to the church of that city by a letter? We know as a fact that when he was in the prisons of Caesarea and Rome, his companions and many others could easily visit him and he could easily communicate with the churches he had founded through them. As a matter of fact, in Rome he could even preach the Gospel to the Jews living in the city. Why, then, couldn't he do the same in the case of Ephesus? He could very well ask the leaders of the Ephesian church to come to his prison and give them the instructions he had in mind, orally. He could do this even if Ephesians is an encyclical epistle addressed to all the churches of the nearby Lycus valley. And even if he wanted the Ephesians to have his views on all the subjects he touches upon in his epistle to them, why was it necessary for him to commission Tychicus to hand them the epistle? Furthermore, if Paul was imprisoned in Ephesus, what was there that the Ephesian church did not know about him, so that it was necessary for Tychicus to inform them (Eph. 6:21-22)?

What is true about Ephesians is also true about Colossians and Philemon. The readers could easily come to nearby Ephesus and visit the apostle in his prison, especially his close friend Philemon, whom he could ask to receive Onesimus back, instead of writing a letter to him. We could go on asking many other questions, like, for example, why Paul put Timothy's name also as co-author of the epistles to nearby Colossians and to Philemon, and many others which cross out Ephesus as Paul's place of imprisonment and of writing his "prison epistles." That Paul had to communicate by letters with Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon, presupposes a place for him far away from the area, so far away that it was absolutely impossible for him and his readers to have a personal contact.

Caesarea, on the other hand, cannot be the place of the writing of the epistles of prison, for the simple reason that the events in Jerusa-

lem, which led to his arrest by the Roman authorities and his subsequent transportation to the prison of Caesarea, were so recent that he could not even think about writing an epistle (Hebrews) to the Jerusalem church. Furthermore, while in the Caesarean prison his case went through a great uncertainty due to repeated hearings, both during Felix's term of office and Phestus' as well, till he finally pleaded Caesar. Practically, the apostle did not have a peace of mind that time to start writing epistles to the churches of Ephesus, Colossae, Philippi, and Jerusalem and to his friend Philemon. These conditions existed in his house arrest in Rome, when waiting for his hearing before the imperial court, he could receive many visitors and even preach the gospel to them.

Now, going back to Timothy we observe that he was with the apostle in Rome. And after things turned out to look favorable for his case, he started writing this letter. When he was writing to the Philippians, however, he expressed his intention and hope to be able to send to Philippi soon his "ἰσόψυχον" ("like him") companion, Timothy (Phi 2:19 - 24). That, in addition to the epistle, Paul is forced to send also Timothy to Philip, indicates that the situation in that church was critical. Jews coming from outside, who the apostle calls "dogs," "evil workers" (κακοὶ ἐργάται), "mutilators of the flesh" (κατατομή) and "enemies of the cross of Christ" (Phil. 3:2ff.; 3:18), words which describe the origin and give the identity of these people, threatened the Philippians' faith in Christ and their unity in the church. Therefore, Timothy's task was to handle the situation on the spot. Paul even says that he waits for Timothy to return with good news "ἵνα καὶ γὰρ εὐψυχῶ γνοῦς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν" ("so that I may be cheered by news of you," Phil. 2:19b). He elucidates, however, that he will send Timothy as soon as he discerns a favorable turn to his own case: "ὥς ἂν ἀπιδῶ τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ ἐξαυτῆς" (i.e. "just as soon as I see how it will go with me," Phil. 2,23). Here we can detect an air of optimism in the text, which indicates that Philippians was written sometime during the last months of Paul's imprisonment.

Besides his promise to send Timothy to Philippi, Paul also states clearly that I himself plans to visit Philippi "ταχέως" (very soon; 2:24), obviously accompanied by Timothy after the latter's return to Rome. A similar visit Paul plans also to his close friend Philemon in Colossae, writing to him "ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐτοιμαζέ μοι ξενίαν, ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν" ("at the

same time, prepare a guest room for me, for I am hoping through your prayers to be granted to you," Philemon 22). Here Paul's hope for his imminent release from prison runs high. Therefore, he plans to take a wide tour to all the churches he had founded in the East, in the near future. Needless to say that from this expression is evident that Philemon was written after Philippians.

When we compare the above information, given to us in Philippians and Philemon with Heb. 13:23, we see that they are identical. Indeed, according to Heb. 13:23, Paul informs ("γινώσκετε," in a transitive sense: know, be informed) the Jerusalem Christians that "our brother Timothy" has already departed ("ἀπολελυμένον") to a mission specified here for security reasons, to which he himself had commissioned him. As said, the person who carried it to them would give details about Timothy's mission to the readers of the epistle. This means that this person could not have been Timothy as some church Fathers suggested, but another of Paul's companions, most probably, in judgement, Mark (also in Rome with Paul), who as a Jerusalemite would certainly like to go and visit his mother and his uncle Barnabas, among other relatives. Therefore what in Phil. 2:19-24 is forthcoming, here it is already on the way: Timothy has already left for Philippi. Furthermore, as in Phil. 2:24, so also in Heb. 13:23, Paul expects Tim back to him very soon ("ταχέως") and states that he has decided to take him along and go to visit the Christians of Jerusalem. Obviously, this visit in Jerusalem would be part of the apostle's wide tour in the East, which would also include Philippi and Philemon in Colossae.

Now, in view of the identical evidence in all three-prison epistles (Philippians Philemon and Hebrews), we may reconstruct the events of their composition. All prison epistles (including Hebrews) were written in Rome by Paul during his house arrest in A.D. 60-62 (Acts 28:17-31; cf. Phil. 1:13-14; Col. 1:28-29). Of these, Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon were sent to their respective destination by Tychicus accompanied by Onesimus, Philemon's slave (Eph. 6:21-22; Col. 4:7-9; Philemon 10), while Philippians was sent by Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25). Sometime in A.D. 61, the church of Philippi faced a big risk from Jews coming from outside. This forced Paul to announce to the Philippians that soon he will send Timothy to them to handle the crisis and return to Rome hopefully with good news to relieve him. At the same time Paul tells the Philippians that he plans

to visit them soon after Timothy's return to Rome, obviously having positive information that the resolution of his own case is going well. Soon after the writing of Philippians, Paul writes the epistle to his friend Philemon in Colossae, telling him at end to prepare a place for hospitality for him, which means that his own case is developing rapidly to his favor.

After Timothy left for Philippi, Paul decided to write an epistle to the church of Jerusalem (Hebrews), among the members of which there was a great number of persons zealous for the law (Acts 21:20 ft).¹ The reasons, for which Paul decided to write to the Jerusalem Christians were mainly two. On the one hand, he wanted to strengthen their faith in Christ and so prevent them from falling back into Judaism. So he stressed the end of the validity of the Old Testament and its institutions, established by Moses, its mediator, because they have already been replaced by the New Testament and its own institutions, established by Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God made man, its mediator. The superiority of the mediator over the former, due to his divinity, marks also the superiority of the Covenant and its institutions over the former ones. Therefore, this is the last chance the readers have for salvation, because Jesus Christ is not going to be crucified again and give them another opportunity. On the other hand, through this epistle Paul wanted to make it up with those Christians zealous for the law and to improve his relations with them (Heb. 13:18-19), which were greatly damaged during his last visit to Jerusalem (A.D. 57). That was the occasion when these zealous persons had protested to James the Lord's brother that the apostle "teaches all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs" (Acts 21:21). At the end of the epistle (Heb. 13: 23), Paul informs Jerusalem Christians that Timothy "*our brother*" (for they knew him) is on his way to a mission (in Philippi) and as soon as he returns to him in Rome, they will both go and see them in Jerusalem. This visit would be in line with Paul's visit promised a little earlier to the Philippians and to Philemon in Colossae. Thus, Hebrews was the last of Paul's epistle written during his house arrest in Rome. That he writes nothing in it about himself being in bondage, as he does in his other prison epistles, is due to his certainty about his imminent release, which obviously was expected to take place before Hebrews could reach Jerusalem.

Unfortunately, however, Paul never made it back to Jerusalem.

The time of his release from prison in Rome coincided with the sudden death of the Roman Governor of Judaea Porcius Festus in the first half of A.D. 62. This event was followed by riots of the Jews so that when Festus' successor Albinos arrived in Judaea in the summer of the same year he found the country in anarchy. It was at this time that the Jews killed James the Lord's brother. So, when Paul returned to Rome from Spain he cancelled his trip to Jerusalem and proceeded instead to Crete, Asia Minor, Philippi, Nikopolis and Illyricum, until he was finally arrested again in Troy and carried to Rome where he eventually was executed at the beginning of A.D. 65.

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Illness, Cure and the Therapist according to St. John of the Ladder

**METROPOLITAN HIEROTHEOS (VLAHOS) OF NAFPAKTOS
AND ST. VLASIOS**

Today, there is a lot of talk about the cure of man, since we have realized that, by living an individualistic way of life, separated from community and reality, obliged to live in a tradition that has lost its communal character, where there is no communion and preservation of the person, man is sick. Naturally, when we talk of illness we do not mean its neurological and psychological aspect, but we mean illness as the loss of the true meaning of life. It is an illness that is first and foremost ontological (i.e. to do with our very being).

The Orthodox Church seeks to heal the sick personality of man and indeed this is the work of Orthodox theology. In the Patristic texts we see the truth that Orthodox theology is a therapeutic science and method: on the one hand, because theologians are those who have acquired personal knowledge of God, within the context of revelation, and thus all the powers of their soul have been already cured by the Grace of God; on the other hand because these theologians, who have found the meaning of life, the true meaning of their existence, go on to help others in their journey along this way, the way of *theosis*.

In attempting to study human problems we come to the realization that at their very depth these problems are theological, since man was created according to the Image and Likeness of God. This means that man was created by God to have and to maintain a relationship with God, a relationship with other people, and a relationship with the whole of creation. This relationship was successful for the

first-formed human beings, Adam and Eve, precisely because they possessed God's Grace. When, however, man's inner world became sick, when human beings lost their orientation towards God and consequently God's Grace, then this living and life-giving relationship ceased to exist. The result of this was that all his relationships with God, with his fellow man, with creation and with his own self were upset. All his internal and external strength was disorganized. He ceased to have God as his focus, and instead he replaced him with his own self. A self, however that was cut off from those other parameters became autonomous, resulting in him becoming sick in both essence and reality. Therefore, in all that follows health is understood as a real and true relationship, and illness, as the interruption of that relationship, when man falls away from his essential dialogue with God, his fellow men and creation, and sinks into a tragic monologue.

To use an example, we could say that before the Fall man's center was God. His soul was nourished by God's Grace and his body by his grace-filled soul. This was something that had consequences for all creation, and in this sense man was the king of all creation. However, all this balance was disturbed by sin. The soul, having ceased to be nourished by God's Grace, now sucks at the body, and thus the passions of the soul come into being (egotism, pride, hate etc.). The body, having ceased to be nourished by the soul, now sucks at material creation; hence the bodily passions (gluttony, possessiveness, desires of the flesh etc.) are created. In this situation nature both suffers and is violated, since, instead of receiving God's Grace through the pure looking-glass that is man's *nous*, it is exposed to violence by man, because what man wants from it is to satisfy his passions. Hence, ecological problems are created. After the Fall, a complete reversal is noted in man's relationship with God, with other people, and with creation. This is and is called an illness, a serious sickness. The cure for this, as seen within the Orthodox Tradition, is the proper reorientation of those relationships, the rebuilding of human existence in a way that man's center is God once again and that man's soul is again nourished by God. When this happens the Divine Grace is transmitted to the body and from there it is conveyed to the whole of irrational creation.

In light of this, man's problems are not simply psychological, social and ecological, but problems of relationships and universal

responsibility. They are ontological problems, i.e. problems pertaining to man's being and existence. It is within this framework that we have spoken about the illness and cure of man in the Orthodox Church and about theology as therapeutic science. The Orthodox Church does not reject medical science. On the contrary she accepts and uses medicine in many instances. At the same time she looks at the ontological dimension of man's problems and tries to bring man back to his right perspective and to his original ontological orientation. Hence, we can talk of spiritual psychotherapy and of essential psychosynthesis but not of psychoanalysis. From this standpoint, even someone who is healthy from a psychiatric point of view can be sick from a theological one.

The saints of the Church also worked within this framework. Amongst them is St. John of Sinai, the author of the well-known book *The Ladder*, which has this title because it has to do with the ladder of man's ascent to God. This ascent is in reality a reorientation of man's true relationships with God, with his fellow man, with creation and, naturally, with his very self. All that follows must be placed within this essential framework.

1. THE PERSONALITY OF ST. JOHN OF SINAI

St. John of Sinai lived in the area of Mt. Sinai in the sixth century. He became a monk at the age of 16 and thereafter lived the strict ascetic-hesychastic life. Towards the end of his life he also became the Abbot of the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, but he finally withdrew to the desert, which he had loved so much throughout his life.

St. John's biographer gives us some information about his life. He mainly presents us, however, with how he proved to be a second Moses who led the new Israelites from the land of slavery to the land of promise. By eating only a little food he crushed the horns of arrogance and vainglory, i.e. of those passions which are difficult to be discerned by men who are wrapped up in worldly occupations. By cultivating stillness of both *nous* and body, he extinguished the flame of the furnace of fleshly desire. With God's Grace and his own struggle he was freed from slavery to idols. He resurrected his soul from the death that threatened it. By mortifying all attachments and by fixing his perception on the immaterial and heavenly realities, he was able to cut off the bonds of sorrow. He was completely cured of vainglory and pride.

It is evident here that St. John of Sinai made a great personal effort to gain the freedom of his soul and his emancipation from the tyranny of the senses and the sensible, so that all his faculties would function according to nature and even stretch beyond nature. His *nous* was freed not only from the mastery of passion, but also from the fear of death.

Indeed, he demonstrated that stillness of *nous* purifies the *nous* from various external influences, and then man becomes clairvoyant and foresighted and can perceive the problems that exist in other people and in the world. When this is achieved, then the purified *nous* finds itself in another dimension and sees things clearly. Just as various medical instruments can diagnose the illnesses that exist in the body, so the pure *nous* of a Saint can see the state that exists in the innermost part of the soul. He possesses great penetrative perception, but also tenderness. Although he probes and sees the depths of being, by the Grace of God, he still embraces man with tenderness and love. On this point, the saying of the Old Testament, "*The earth was without form and void and darkness was on the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved over the water,*" could have been put into practice, in one way or another. The deep, or the abyss, is the heart of the sick man, yet the Spirit of God moves over it, with tenderness and love in order to form a new creation.

The greatest obstacle to man's cure is the confusion of man's *nous* with the idols of the passions and with external forms. In this condition, man sees things through a divided prism and, of course, he fails to help people who are wounded and search for truth and freedom.

St. John of the Ladder acquired such a pure *nous*, not by studying at the great centers of learning of his day, but by learning from the stillness of the desert, where the passions particularly howl and seek to accomplish man's destruction. His *nous* became godly and God-like. Thus, St. John became the pre-eminent man formed by God and renewed by the Holy Spirit in Christ Jesus. He did not impart human knowledge to us, and wise ideas, with all that he wrote, but his very being and for this reason his words are disarming and therapeutic, but also contemporary.

St. John's *Ladder* is in continuity with the hesychastic texts of the great Fathers of the Church, the first systematic analysis of the illness of the human soul and of man's restoration to spiritual health. He constructs an admirable and successful psycho-synthesis of man's

personality. Likewise, this essential work is continued later by other Fathers of the Church, such as St. Maximos the Confessor and St. Gregory Palamas. Centuries before the psychoanalytic theories of various psychiatrists, psychoanalysts and psychologists had been formed, the Fathers of the Church and St. John Climacus in particular incised man's soul in order to reunite it. Their research was limited to the depth of the self, since, truly, when someone understands the problem of evil within his own being, without trying to hide it, then this person realizes all the power of evil that exists throughout creation.

We will go on to study some extracts, but not make a complete analysis, of his well-known words "*to the Shepherd*."¹

2. THE PRIEST AS THERAPIST

In an earlier book of mine, in which I wrote about Orthodox Psychotherapy,² I first tried to explain that Christianity and especially Orthodox Theology is a therapeutic science. I did this before examining what sickness is and before analyzing the sickness and cure of the soul, the *nous*, the intelligence, the passions etc. Indeed I prefaced it all with a chapter on the priest as therapist. Some of the readers said that I should have written first of all about cure and then go on to write about those who cure.

Giving first place to the priest as therapist had its own importance, since only a clergyman who has obtained the necessary capacity of knowledge, of experience and especially of his own existential health, can put to correct practice the teaching of the holy Fathers and cure the people. If a priest is not a therapist, as required by Holy Tradition, then he can prove himself to be hard and senseless, even if he uses the teachings of the Holy Fathers of the Church. This means that in the name of therapy, or salvation, or stillness (*hesychia*), such a priest can actually lead man to a spiritual dead end. In other words, when an incapable and inept priest uses biblical and patristic texts, he makes them mere ideological or even moralistic texts with terrible consequences for man's soul and higher calling. Such a bad use does not transfigure impassioned man and does not lead him to discover the original proper relationship.

According to St. John of Sinai, a priest who undertakes the therapy of a man must be capable of that work. He must possess the appropri-

ate qualities and must have acquired a living experience of God within the boundaries of his own personal life, beforehand. Indeed, examining first the work of a good priest St John uses many terms, employing images from his own time. A clergyman who guides other people is a "Shepherd," a "Pilot," a "Physician," a "Teacher" (2, 3, 4, 5). These four attributes are closely linked to each other, since they are related to different duties that a priest must undertake. There is, therefore, a mutual 'intercommunion,' as it were, between these four attributes.

The Shepherd presupposes a rational sheep, which must be suitably fed; the Pilot presupposes a ship, sailors and the sea, a Physician presupposes patients and a Teacher presupposes the unlearned who must learn. Thus, the Shepherd is simultaneously a pilot, a physician, and a teacher; the Pilot is a shepherd, doctor and teacher; the Physician is a shepherd, pilot and teacher and the Teacher is all the aforementioned.

In using these images, however, St. John of Sinai also compares the corresponding virtues that should distinguish the Priest. The Shepherd must seek out and heal his sheep "*by guilelessness, zeal and prayer.*" (2) The Pilot is the man who "*has received noetic strength from God and from his own toil.*" (3) The Physician is the man who has no sickness of body and soul and needs no medicine for his health (4). The Teacher is the one who has received a "*noetic tablet of knowledge,*" a light whereby he has "*no need of other books,*" because, according to St. John, it is unseemly for a teacher to teach from copies and manuscripts, just as it is unseemly for painters to teach from old paintings (5).

These images, as well as the attributes linked to the images used, show that the Priest-therapist must himself be cured, to the extent that this is possible. That is to say, he must have a proper orientation, to have personally acquired the living experience and knowledge of God, so that he can help people by means of his own experience. It is not a matter of human faculty and action, but of a theanthropic action, of a help that comes from God, which acts through the particular therapist priest.

In any case, it must be underlined that, of all these images, the one that prevails throughout the whole text of the book the Ladder, but also in the particular chapter that we are studying, is the image of the physician. The Priest must heal sick people, and that does not happen with human knowledge, but through the energy of God and

the priest's synergy with him. For this reason St. John of Sinai says: "*A good pilot saves the ship and a good shepherd quickens and cures his ailing sheep.*"(7) Some men "*have undertaken unreasonably to shepherd souls*" (56), without considering the responsibility of this work and certainly without having their own personal experience. It is throughout the whole of St. John of Sinai's text that we find the qualities and gifts that should adorn the priest-therapist. We will refer to some of them.

First of all, it is stressed that therapy is not a human but a divine task, which, of course, operates with the consent given freely to this work by the priest himself. He says that there are some who "*have perhaps even received the power to take spiritual responsibility for other men,*" yet despite this they do not gratefully undertake this work for the salvation of their brother (59). Nevertheless, only the person who has experienced God's mercy is able "*to benefit the sick in an unobserved and hidden manner*" (53). Since the cure of man does not occur by human means, but by the Grace of God, for this reason the cure very often occurs hidden and unobserved. From God, the Priest becomes the spiritual steward of the souls. (71)

The arrival of God within man's heart, and particularly that of the priest-therapist, has evident signs, since man is spiritually reborn. An expression of this rebirth is to be seen in the spiritual gifts, which are truly "*gifts*" from the Holy Spirit. These include: *humility*, which, however, if excessive can create problems for those undergoing therapy (85); *patience*, exempting, of course the case of disobedience (84); *fearlessness in face of death*, for "*it is a disgrace for a shepherd to fear death*" (67); *submission to labor* and deprivations on behalf of those being healed (76); *inner stillness* (88), for then he will have the ability to see sickness and to cure it.

The spiritual gift which is above all other gifts is that of *love*, because "*a true Shepherd shows love, for by reason of love the Great Shepherd was crucified*"(24). Moreover, all of this is necessary, precisely because those being educated and healed see the Shepherd as their physician, "*as an archetypal image*" and all that is said and done by him "*is considered to be a standard and law*" (23).

In his texts St. John of Sinai often talks of *dispassion*, which should distinguish the therapist. "*Blessed is freedom from nausea among physicians, and dispassion amongst superiors*"(13). It is terrible for a physician of the body to feel a tendency to be sick when healing

bodily wounds, but it is even more terrible for a spiritual doctor to try and heal wounds of the soul while having the passion himself. Truly, the person who is completely purified of the passions will judge people as a divine judge (96). A clergyman should be dispassionate, since “*it is not safe for a man still subject to passions to rule over passionate men,*” just as it is not right for a lion to graze sheep (47). Of course, St. John of Sinai maintains, precisely because he knows that therapy is not simply a work of man, but the result of God’s energy and man’s synergy, that for this reason God often works miracles through simple and impassioned elders (41-51).

When St. John of the Ladder talks about dispassion, he does not mean the deadening of the passionate part of the soul, which is a doctrine of Stoic philosophy as well as other eastern religions, but rather the transfiguration of the powers of the soul. That is to say, in the state of dispassion, the powers of the soul, i.e. the intelligent, the incentive and the appetitive powers, move towards God, and in God they love the whole of creation. Therefore, it is not a matter of inertia, but a movement of all the psychosomatic powers.

Dispassion is necessary for the therapist, because, in this way, he is given the ability to judge and to heal, with discernment and good sense, and because the senses of his soul are disciplined “*to discern the good, and the bad, and the median*” (14). That is to say, he knows when an energy comes from God and when it comes from the devil, because he can make a distinction between the created and the uncreated with great therapeutic results for his patients. A clergyman also knows when to be humble before the person who is being healed and when not to be, for “*the superior should not always humble himself unreasonably, nor should he always exalt himself senselessly*” (38). This, of course, depends on the disposition and the condition of the patient. Some get benefit from the Shepherd’s humility, others are harmed by it. We shall see the value of the virtue of discernment further down, when we examine the ways of treatment that the discerning therapist employs.

St. John adapts the situation and position of the Priest-Therapist to that of the position and situation of Moses. Just as Moses saw God, rose up to the heights of *theoria* (vision), conversed with God and then went on to lead the people of Israel from the land of Egypt to the land of promise, facing a whole variety of problems and manifold temptations, so also does the therapist. He must have the spiritual

condition of Moses and with his own outlook lead the people of God to the Promised Land (100).

This image and adaptation reminds us of the fact that the aim of Orthodox therapy is man's *theosis* and not some psychological balance. This work then is done by a clergyman whose soul has been united with God and therefore "*stands in need of no other word of instruction, bearing the everlasting Word within herself as her Initiator, Guide, Illumination*" (100). The whole of St. John's text does not operate on the human level, but on the divine. It does not refer to cases of psychological and neurological illness, but to people who want to satisfy their own inner actuality, which is the fulfillment of the aim of their creation, i.e. *theosis*. It is precisely this aim that constitutes man's greatest hunger and thirst.

3. MAN AS A SUFFERER OF SICKNESS

The illness of body and soul and the existence of a therapist priest undoubtedly presupposes a sick patient. Earlier on we defined somewhat the illness of the soul, by turning to St. John's book *The Ladder* and more particularly to the chapter entitled "*to the Shepherd*." St. John discusses this matter extensively and we should look at some of the characteristic attributes of a sick person.

As we said earlier, spiritual illness presupposes the loss of communion with God, the disturbance of man's relationship with God, with other people, and with the whole of creation, and certainly the distortion and ailment of man's spiritual and bodily powers. Therefore, the sick man sees his illness in his relationship with God and with others when he identifies God with an idea or his imagination, when he uses others for his own gain, when he violates nature and thus displays his own spiritual sickness.

In referring to man here we mean of course his whole composition, the whole substance of the human constitution, soul and body, since man is made up of both, not just soul, nor just body. This means that there is a mutual interaction and influence between soul and body. The illnesses of the soul are also reflected in the body which is joined to it, just as physical illnesses also have or can have consequences for man's psychological world. Therefore, when man cannot satisfy his existential hunger, which is to fulfill the deepest aim of his existence, then his whole being, even the body itself, suffers and is

wounded. Complaints, dissatisfaction, anguish, anxiety, despair are related to the lack of fulfillment of man's spiritual quest.

St. John refers first to man's spiritual slavery. God formed him free and yet he fell into slavery, a spiritual slavery to the devil, sin and death. This is like the case of the Israelites who were ruled by Pharaoh and were in need of liberation. In his excellent comparison of the situation of a wounded man to the situation of the Israelites who were in the land of Egypt he talks of man's "*mortal sheath*." Indeed man hides in himself a deadening passion, a "*pollution of brick-making clay*," for man fell from the high things for which he was created into earthly and humble things. He also mentions the red and burning sea of fleshly heat and focuses on "*every manner of darkness and gloom and tempest*," on the "*thrice-gloomy darkness of ignorance*," on the "*dead and barren sea*," and also on the adventures of the desert (100). Quite often during the course of his life man finds himself before tragic circumstances, which keep him captive, and in terrible despair and all of this comes from his existential emptiness, his remorse and the problem of death in every sense of the word.

All this makes man suffer torments and feel very hurt. He senses a sickness simmering within his being. Also looking at this through the image of the sheep, man considers himself to be an "*ailing sheep*" (7). It is a matter of "*defiled souls, and especially defiled bodies*" (72) which need cleansing, of people who have fallen to the earth instead of rising up towards that which is above. These people are not satisfied with mere human teaching but need one that is much more heavenly. Indeed "*lowly instructions cannot heal the base*" (6). There are many teachers and psychotherapists with a human perspective who cannot relieve a psychosomatically wounded man who is called "*rust*" (53), because he suffers and remains "*in distress*" (76). People see "*their own cowardliness and infirmity*" (41) within themselves, feel that they are like "*small children*" and "*very weak*" and so become sorrowful and distressed (93).

All these descriptions display a man who is tortured and tormented, who is completely traumatized. St. John of Sinai is not referring here to cases of neurosis or psychosis, but to cases of people who feel that they are failures in life. These are people who did not satisfy their earthly goal for they did not fulfill their deeper existential aim, i.e. their relationship and communion with God, which is the ulterior motive of his creation.

Nevertheless St. John of Sinai does not limit himself only to general descriptions, but goes on to make other deeper diagnoses. He sees man suffering in the inner most parts of his soul. These are not skin-deep, physical illnesses, but internal ones that occur within the depths of the soul. Thus he calls man a "*sickly of soul*" (80), infected with spiritual drowsiness (8). Man feels a terrible burden of thoughts within his soul (93) torturing him and desperately seeks his deliverance.

Again, we must say that this is not about external and abstract states but about internal and specific impurities. Man has full knowledge of these states but cannot free himself. He needs God's intervention, with the help of an experienced spiritual therapist. Thus St. John writes somewhere: "*Those who are ashamed to consult a physician cause their wounds to fester, and often many have died.*" (36) People in this category are embarrassed to reveal the wounds of their soul and because of this they reach the point where their wounds become rotten and lead them to spiritual death. For this reason the patients must reach the point of revealing their wounds to an experienced physician they trust (36). It is a fact that within the soul there is an "*invisible uncleanness*" which cannot be seen by the naked eye. This is an internal impurity consisting of putrid members that need healing and cleansing (12).

This means that man does not need his therapist for psychological support and for a skin-deep cure. He does not need his priest in order to satisfy his religious needs, but he needs him to intervene in his own internal world, with discretion and love, with the Grace of God and his own freedom, and to cure man's uncleanness, through his own lack of nausea. This therapist, who through his purity is familiar in his own personal life "*with wiping away the filth of others and cleansing them by the purity granted from God, and from things defiled offering unblemished gifts to God,*" proves himself to be a fellow worker with the spiritual and bodiless powers (78). The spiritual therapist approaches traumatized man with care, sensitivity and tenderness, fullness of love, knowledge, but mainly with the Grace of God. He does not toy with the salvation of another, nor does he mock the person who comes to him seeking purification from inner passion.

It is truly awful if one approaches a priest in order to satisfy all this internal hunger, to cleanse the sores of his soul, to get rid of all

that inner filth, and yet continues to see afterwards a growth of his inner passions, an accumulation of his existential emptiness and anguish and a spiritual death which envelops him even more. Then he is wounded more deeply and agonizes much more.

4. MEANS OF THERAPY

Having seen who the therapist should be, and who the sick man is, we will go on to study the means of therapy that are employed by God through the experienced and able therapist.

In the above section we briefly mentioned the need for an able and experienced priest-therapist, who has previously been cured himself. Since therapy, the therapists and methods of therapy overlap, we will inevitably return to some points we have already made.

Firstly, a genuine and unadulterated spiritual father-therapist is needed so that a suitable therapeutic method can be employed and put into practice. The therapist himself must know his own self very well and must have boundless love for the person undergoing therapy, the Christian. The Christian should be glad even at the simple presence of his spiritual physician. Ultimately, the very existence of the therapist benefits the person who is spiritually sick. St. John writes, "*when a sick man sees his physician he rejoices, even though he may perhaps gain nothing from him*"(10). Certainly, this means that the therapist must have clear knowledge that "*the sin that the superior may commit in his mind*" is worse than the sin committed in actual deed by the disciple (60). This knowledge will make him very discerning and therapeutic, otherwise he will impose unbearable burdens.

It is not easy to cure the sick. It needs love, spiritual courage, because in the course of therapy many problems arise and require delicate handling, precisely because one is dealing with the delicate, sensitive realm of man's soul, with its very fine touches. For this very reason the therapist must show "*zeal, love, fervor, care and supplication to God, towards the very misled and broken*" (79). Here the sick man is called "*broken*" and this is why delicate intervention is needed. The therapist must have the ability not only to expose external wounds and traumas, but also the cause of the sickness of his soul that does not show on the outside (22). Moreover he should discern those who approach him in accordance with their desires, i.e. what they want from the doctor. The spiritual therapy should be under-

taken once he has distinguished between “*genuine children*,” “*children from a second marriage*” and “*children by slave girls*” and “*others that are castaways*.” This is because they are not equally sick people all that come forward to seek the same thing. Consequently, this discernment is absolutely necessary for this intervention that takes place within the realm of the soul. Furthermore, as St. John underlines, the complete self-offering of the spiritual father-therapist is required for this highly responsible task, namely, “*a laying down of one’s soul on behalf of the soul of one’s neighbor in all matters*.” This responsibility is sometimes connected with sins of the past and sometimes with the sins of the future (57). Therefore, from this task alone it can be seen that the therapist must have great spiritual strength. “*Before all things, O venerable father, we have need of spiritual strength*” because it will be necessary “*sometimes to hold the children by their hand and to lead them in the right way and sometimes to raise up the very small and very weak children upon our shoulders*” (93). Thus, the work of spiritual fatherhood is weighty, delicate, definitive, responsible, and sacrificial.

Certainly, we should also recall here that the work of the spiritual father and therapist is not centered on man and does not take place independently in a vacuum. It requires the coordination of Divine Grace with the patient’s free submission. The healing of man’s spiritual wounds is not effected by human counsel and laboratory methods but by God’s energy and the synergy of the spiritual father-therapist. Throughout the whole of St. John of Sinai’s text there is discourse on prayer, on God’s intervention and on the fact that the real therapist is God Himself since all human beings are God’s children. The archetype of men is God and not man. Nevertheless, God cannot act, nor can he help the able and experienced spiritual father if the sick person does not cooperate. In Orthodox therapeutic science, everything happens with free consent, never by force and constraint.

Throughout his whole text St. John of Sinai gives great weight to the sick person and to his coming forward completely willingly and without being coerced and indeed to his complete cooperation in his own therapy. Man’s freedom is inviolate. He points out somewhere that as a pilot cannot save the ship without the cooperation of the sailors, so a physician cannot cure a sick person “*unless the patient first entreats him and urges him on by laying bare his wound with complete confidence*” (36). That is to say, the following elements are

needed for the cure: the patient's confidence in his therapist, his free consent to his assistance and, of course, his voluntary uncovering of his wounds. There is absolute need of free movement in all this activity. Since, the salvation of those "*patients who do not cooperate*" themselves is really impossible (64). At the same time there is a situation where a sick man feels his timidity and his weakness and therefore wholly submits his will to the experienced therapist, but in this case his free self-offering must be laid down as precondition. People in this category seek to be "*cured by voluntary constraint*" and, naturally, in this situation St. John of Sinai advises the physicians to obey the free offering of the patients (31). It is clearly understood, however, that therapy cannot be achieved without the free consent and self-willingness of the spiritual children and for this reason "*a genuine son is known in the absence of his father*" (58). Besides, when we talk about cure in the Orthodox tradition, we mean the proper regulation of man's spiritual organic structure so that frequent intervention and dependency is unnecessary. Man, freed from the slavery which created things and the world of passions impose on him, travels on the road of continual ascent and progress.

Another consequence of the free consent that a sick patient should have has to do with his manner of confession. In other words, an important means of therapy is the Sacrament of Confession, according to which the sick person reveals his internal wounds by his completely free submission. St. John of Sinai is particularly insistent on this topic. We know very well, of course, that there are two kinds of confession, namely the revelation of the soul's wounds, so that therapeutic intervention can take place, but also the disclosure of inner thoughts, so that man can gain spiritual direction.

St. John submits some very important information about confession. Firstly, confession should occur with the absolute honesty and freedom of the patients, since effective help can then be offered. "*For they receive no little forgiveness by their confession to us.*" This is because, as the Saint counsels, even if the spiritual father-therapist has the gift of clairvoyance and therefore recognizes the wounds of the soul, he should refrain from revealing them and should let the person who has come forward confess them himself. In such a case, says St. John, "*urge them to confession by means of enigmatic sayings (i.e. in an indirect way).*" Furthermore there should be continual interest after the confession since, as St. John teaches, we must allow

them to have greater openness after confession too. However, the spiritual father-therapist must prove himself to be an example of humility to the patients, except, of course, in the case of disobedience when he must teach them to be respectful towards him (84). The text clearly shows that confession is not an easy thing, but it properly takes place within the framework of freedom, love, humility, respect and patience. This happens because the revelation of the inner world demands delicate conducts and constitutes a very difficult and onerous task.

St. John gives other detailed instructions about this perspicacious and responsible mission. The sick person should be exhorted to reveal precisely the kind of sinful act that has been committed. This is required for two reasons: firstly, so that he will not become too bold before his therapist and secondly, so that his therapist's love may be aroused through his knowing of the sins that have been taken on (45). Here it is clear that the relationship between therapist and patient is quite delicate and there is a chance that the potential for open dialogue between the two could be lost either through much boldness on the part of patient or through lack of love on the part of the therapist. Therefore, much care is needed in order to guarantee both the respect of the person who is being cured and the great love of the therapist towards this person.

Yet, even this confession of inner wounds "*according to kind*" has its own limitations. The therapist should not violently and forcibly intrude into the inner state of a patient's personality. There is no need for a detailed examination of the patient's personality. St. John says: "*See that you are not an exacting investigator of trifling sins, thus showing yourself not to be an imitator of God*" (49). God does not abolish man's freedom and does not examine the details of one's life. Consequently, the therapist should also work within this framework, otherwise he runs the risk of losing his imitation of God, and failing to do his work according to the will of God. Furthermore, the spiritually sick man should not give detailed descriptions of his carnal transgressions, as he should do in other cases. In other words, for other sins full descriptions are required because only then the internal causes of actions could be comprehended. For carnal sins, however, one should not be as explicit: "*Instruct those who are under you not to confess in detail sins relating to the body and to lust; but as for all other sins, teach them to bring them to mind in detail,*

both day and night" (61). St. John says this because when a sick person gives a detailed explanation he is somehow indulged and gratified with the recollection, so fine processes and changes are aroused in his inner world.

The therapist naturally underlines the confidentiality of confession, since he is not allowed to divulge to others the contents of a person's confession. The therapist must not disclose the revelations of the soul that others have given to him. He places this on a theological and a soteriological basis. In other words, he explains that on the one hand, God does not reveal the confession He heard, and on the other, because the prospect of divulging this confession creates enormous problems for the salvation of those involved, because in such a case it would "*make them incurably sick*" (83).

We should go on to examine the ways that a good therapist uses, since there is a difference in those who come to confession, from the standpoint of spiritual age, lifestyle, illnesses of the soul and so on. The experienced spiritual physician should know all that, for otherwise the manner and method of therapy is distorted, man's freedom is abolished.

The therapist must know, "*for whom, and in what manner, and when*" all the various commandments of Holy Scripture are to be applied (29). The time and way of life of people play an important role in their method of treatment. The Shepherd should be like a general who knows "*precisely the ability and rank of every man under his command*," because there is a difference in spiritual age and some need milk whereas others need solids, or because this is "*a time of consolation*" (54). People have many differences among themselves, "*for there is much variety and difference between them*." For this reason those responsible for this martyr-like service, the cure of men, must also take into consideration "*their location, their degree of spiritual renewal, and their habits*" (46). The origin of people is different and therefore each person needs to be handled in his own way (44).

A remark by St. John where he says that the therapist should not always work with justice, nor should he take care always to do justice, is important, because not all people can bear the same thing. He presents the way in which a wise and discerning Elder handled the case of two brothers who had apparently quarreled between themselves. One of them was guilty, but was much weaker, and this spiritual father declared him to be innocent. The other brother was innocent,

but because he was strong and brave, he condemned him as guilty and this "*lest by judging according to what is just the breach between them should become greater.*" He certainly spoke accordingly to each one in private, especially to the one who was spiritually guilty (80). One sees here that man's treatment does not occur on the basis of courtrooms and the handing out of justice, but on the basis of curative science, i.e. the abilities that each man has.

The knowledge that the therapist should have in order to cure the illnesses of the souls of those who come to him is necessary, because it is closely linked with the therapeutic methods and the medicine that he will prescribe. It does not just require a correct diagnosis or just knowledge of the particular characteristics of each person, but rather requires the correct prescription of the remedies. We will take a look at some of the therapeutic methods an experienced director of souls uses, e.g. as St. John introduces these to us.

The prescription of spiritual medication is closely linked to the suffering fellow heart of the therapist. That is to say the spiritual father and therapist participates in the pain and the spiritual state of his brother. The Abbot should clearly "*be disposed and compassionate to each according to his merit.*" Effective treatment only occurs within the "*suffering fellow heart.*" The other person's pain becomes his pain and he himself suffers with the sick man's condition. It is not a case of objective medicine, but one of personalized medicine. The spiritual intervention occurs in such a way, so that it transforms the deceitful monks into simple ones and not the simple and honest monks into deceitful ones with complex thoughts (95). It demands prudence and discrimination.

In a wonderful text, St. John adapts the instruments used by physicians of his time to treat bodily illnesses to the means of operating on wounds and illnesses of the soul. The spiritual therapist must use a variety of means corresponding to the variety of the people's illnesses. For visible bodily passions he uses a plaster. For the treatment of inner passions which cannot be seen and to purge the internal realm he uses a medical elixir. To clean the eye of the soul he uses an eye salve, and for surgical intervention where he has to clean something putrid he uses a razor or scalpel and knife. He is not content, however, with just surgery and the use of the proper instruments and therefore also uses various instruments and remedies during and after the operation. He uses a sponge, as it were, in refreshing a patient

with sweet, gentle and simple words. Again he uses a caustic substance in stipulating a rule and penance of love for a short length of time. Yet again he uses an ointment in supplying words of comfort that relieve the patient, and a sedative in taking up the burden of his disciple so that the disciple will have "*holy blindness*" and will not see his good works. Certainly there are also cases when the therapist ought to use a knife to cut off a rotten member for the benefit of the other brothers (12).

It is quite clear from St. John's description that there is a variety of medicines and instruments. It sometimes requires treatment, sometimes the discharge of the stench, sometimes it needs surgery and at other times amputation. However, the surgical operation should take place with discretion without hurting the patient.

The medication given to those sick souls should correspond with their spiritual state. He advises that the therapist "*should examine the case of each one and prescribe medicines which are suitable.*" For those who have sinned a great deal he should give comfort so that they do not fall into despair, for the proud and selfish the way that is straight and narrow (32).

For some the therapist should pray with great vigilance (8,9), to others he should offer his words and teaching (6), while he will reprimand others and cause them a little pain, "*lest from accursed silence his sickness be prolonged or he should die*" (26, 27). Others gain benefit from "*remembrance of one's departure*" (81), others benefit from other things, and the community benefits from "*dishonor*" that is the humiliation of the patient (82), while some others need heavier penance (58). The therapist gives to each according to what will benefit him spiritually. The manner of prayer that he determines for each person is different. Even the prescribed diet is different. Indeed, using the conduct of an experienced Abbot as an example, he says that he preferred to drive a man out of the monastery, because in that way he would benefit more, rather than let him remain in the Monastery and keep to his own will, in the name of charity and condescension (94).

Each person is helped and benefits differently. In one person when divine love has been ignited fear of harsh words no longer hold sway. In another, the presence of the fear of hell created patience in all labors, and in others the hope for the Reign of God has led them to the disdain of all earthly things (34).

It is clear from all the aforementioned that the way of therapy is a diakonia or service of crucifixion and not a superficial activity. The distinctive particularity of each person, but also of their disposition and make up require different approaches. They mainly need a perceptive, sensitive, experienced spiritual physician who will not only make a correct diagnosis and give correct treatment, but above all is ready to suffer with the patient, to feel the hurt and the patient's pain not only within his own soul but also upon his body. He should surely be ready and willing to take up the cross of spiritual direction. Spiritual curative science is not a cerebral duty but a life of martyrdom and witness, according to the example of Christ and of all saints, like the Prophet Moses who painstakingly led a stiff-necked people.

5. PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THERAPY

So far we have spoken about what spiritual sickness is, who a suitable therapist is, what cure is and, of course, how it is achieved. We have yet to underline that man's cure is found not just in some psychological support and some individualistic practice, but first and foremost in man's journey from isolated individuality towards a personal relationship. This is a journey from self-love to love of both God and man, from self-seeking love to self-denying love. It is precisely for this reason that cure takes place within a particular spiritual climate.

The Church, which is understood not only as a family, but also as a spiritual hospital, is the most suitable place to practice therapeutic treatment. We have already underscored that illnesses of the soul are a result of the loss of man's relationship with God, his fellow human being, his own self and the whole of creation. This is accomplished within the Church.

The whole of the text by St. John of Sinai that we are examining presupposes a *coenobium*, a monastery. It is addressed to an abbot, who is the Shepherd, and whose work is the cure of the physical and spiritual passions of the monks. We do not need to spend long studying this point because a simple reading of the text "*to the Shepherd*" confirms this.

I would just like to point out that St. John talks about taking care in the reception of the "*sheep*" (89), so that they will take their place in the flock with predilection and zeal for their salvation. It is also

necessary for the entrant to be of a suitable age, so that he will not regret it later, after receiving the monastic habit. However, even though the monks live in a specific community, the possibility for freedom should still exist in accordance with age. The superior should be careful about this matter because "*the conditions and dwelling places of all of those under us differ depending on their years*" (69). Additionally, special care is needed, because when the fighters live with the indolent many different problems arise (63).

Therefore, the community, i.e. the *coenobium* or the Monastery, is understood as a therapeutic community into which a man enters in order to be cured and to become a person but also to acquire essential communion with others. In this therapeutic community there is a specialist therapist, but also other spiritual brothers, who help the brethren living there.

The epicenter of the community, however, is not man, since the community is not constructed on just a man-centered basis. Its center is God, since that Shepherd-Abbot carries out his mission with the strength and energy of God. Thus, the community that St. John of Sinai has in mind is the monastery. Its center is the church building, the Holy Temple, where the Divine Eucharist is served. It is the most important act, because by it we attain unity with God and with our brethren even with the whole of creation and, of course, with the whole act of worship taking place in the church. At some point St. John mentions that a certain man beloved of God told him that, "*God always rewards His servants with gifts, yet He does so especially on the annual festivals and the feasts of the Master*" (17). Here it is clear that it is not a case of humanistic cure, some psychological balance, but of gifts that come from God and indeed during the great feasts of Christ the Master. A presupposition of this is the worshipping assembly of the members of the Church. Indeed, man's journey towards his union with God is acknowledged through the image of the Divine Eucharist (93).

The existence of the community, the serving of the Divine Eucharist and of worship are inseparably linked with another necessary element of man's cure and that is the doctrinal truth of the Church, the doctrines and what is called the faith. St. John would advise the Shepherd "*Before all else, leave the inheritance of dispassionate faith and the doctrines of piety to your sons*" (97). Orthodoxy is made up and composed of dispassionate faith and pious doctrine. By this Or-

thodox faith one leads not only his own spiritual children to the Lord, but also his spiritual grandchildren. Indeed, this is the greatest spiritual inheritance.

Consequently, these three factors are the requisite preconditions for man's cure, namely the Community-Church, the Eucharist-Worship and Orthodoxy (dispassionate faith, pious doctrine). Even the hesychast and hermit is not separated from the community, because either he has lived in a community beforehand, or, indeed, is inspired by one. This is because he lives with community spirit, inasmuch as he loves God and is having communion with Him, with the whole world, and of course with the Eucharistic Body and Blood of Christ which he receives at the Church. The fact is that when man manages to appreciate the depth of his being and the evil found within him, indeed, when by God's Grace and the aid of an experienced spiritual physician man's soul is cured, then he comes to know the depths of evil but also the heights of redemption. It is enough if someone comes to the point of realizing the fall and the resurrection within the bowels of his being. Then he knows what the whole world is all about.

CONCLUSION

Man's cure is the most important work that can be accomplished on the earth. St. John would say: "*Therefore, O blest man, do not call blessed those who make financial offering, but rather those who offer rational sheep to Christ.*" There is no gift more acceptable to Christ than bringing to Him "*rational souls through repentance.*" This is because the whole world is not worth as much as one soul, since "*one passes away while the other is incorrupt and exists and abides*" (90).

The therapist with his purity, which is not his own doing, but a gift from God, soaks up the filth of others, proving himself to be "*a fellow laborer of the bodiless and spiritual powers*" since that is their work (78).

Today people ultimately seek out their cure as described and presented by St. John of Sinai and as offered by the Orthodox Church. Moreover, when man pursues justice, peace, equality amongst people, within his very depths he seeks cure, that is the correct relationship with God, with others, with himself and with creation. Grievances, complaints, continual grumbling and gripes arise because at his very

core man is not living his potential fullness. Certainly what is necessary for this work is the presence of a sensitive, patient, spiritual father, who is a free soul himself, has absolute respect for fellow man's freedom and can truly lead to freedom of spirit and not to self serving aspirations.

NOTES

¹ English quotes are from the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by St. John Climacus, transl. by Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Brookline MA, 1979, with some adaptations.

² Archim. Hierotheos Vlahos: *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, trans. Esther Williams, published by The Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, Greece 1994.

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Innokenti Veniaminov and the Concise Grammar of the Yakut Language Compiled by the Archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov

VICTORIA POPOVA

In the seventeenth century, Yakutia joined the Russian federation; and the Christianization of the indigenous population — the Yakuts, the Evenks, the Evens, the Yukaghirs, the Chukchis — commenced. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, they had already been baptized. However, the newly baptized mainly did not keep strictly to the rules and ceremonies of the Christian religion. Thus, the Russian Orthodox Church and clergy had a great task, to convince the baptized indigenous population of the Christian truth.

In 1852, the vast Yakut region was attached to the Kamchatka eparchy. Using the experience of his missionary activity, St. Innokentii assumed the task of the translation of divine literature from Russian and Slavonic into the Yakut language and the compilation of its grammar. This causes a question: Why exactly the Yakut language?

The answer is straightforward: The Yakuts were the most numerous indigenous nation in northeast Asia, and moreover their language was the language of international communication in such an extensive territory. The renowned Polish ethnographer and writer, V. Seroshevsky, author of an illustrious ethnographical work of this region, called the Yakut language "the French language of northeastern Siberia." Despite the popularity of this language, it did not have its own written grammar.

The archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov took on that colossal labour of compiling the Yakut grammar with the close help and support of St. Innokentii. In 1853, in Yakutsk city, Innokentii Veniaminov established a committee for the translation of church literature. He

appointed Khitrov as the chairman of this committee, just for the reason that during twelve years of service in the Yakut region Dmitrii Khitrov had examined this land, the native inhabitants, their language, culture, daily routines, traditions and customs so perfectly that he even conducted the services in the Yakut language. Dmitrii Khitrov was a remarkable expert in the Yakut language, and he should be considered by everyone primarily as a linguist.

The committee under the guidance of Khitrov worked hard at the translation of church books into Yakut. Indubitably, initially there was a lack of experience and skills for the translation of written literature into the Yakut language, especially as the missionaries were mainly concentrating on the absolutely literal translation of canonical texts, carefully following the originals. The same concern about the quality of the Yakut texts was applied to the development of the system of writing worked out by the missionaries, the essence of which was not merely the alphabet. It is worthwhile mentioning that the system of writing was adjusted for the purpose of studying the Yakut language by the missionaries in order to disseminate the dogmas of Holy Scripture among the Yakut speaking population. The grammar of the Yakut language (especially syntax) was deliberately adapted to the Russian. That was a fact of no small importance. Hence, the missionary system of Yakut writing was intended for those who possessed Russian reading and writing.

The transition of divine literature was accurate enough so that, at the beginning of 1857, St. Innokentii sent Dmitrii Khitrov to Moscow and St. Petersburg for the purpose of printing the first edition of sacred and divine books and the concise grammar of the Yakut language. His nearly biennial mission to Moscow and St. Petersburg completed, Dmitrii Khitrov returned to Yakutsk city.

This opened a real new epoch in the history of the Yakut nation. The concise grammar of the Yakut language, compiled by Dm. Khitrov was extremely significant in the sphere of studies of the Yakut language and the enlightenment of the Yakuts. The grammar was admitted as an official textbook, according to which people learned right up to the Great October Revolution of 1917. The prominent researcher, Professor Elizaveta Ivanovna Ubriatova, has written fairly: "Beyond all question, this grammar played an important role in the dissemination of Yakut reading and writing. Not only future priests and future teachers but even political convicts learned by this textbook."

It is important to consider Dmitrii Khitrov to be the first linguist, excellent expert and investigator of the Yakut language.

The archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov was awarded the Order of St. Anne of the Second Degree, and the pectoral cross, for completing the concise grammar and for outstanding public service.



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use of this expression, although, he realizes with sadness that there is no full agreement in the faith that will lead us to share our communion.

I salute the publication of this book by Metropolitan Maximos. He presents to us his profound theological preparation, as well as his deep theological experience as a bishop and scholar. I believe that all those who speak English, and are interested in the illuminating theology and practice of the Orthodox Church, should read this book. They will profit both academically and spiritually.

Prof. George S. Bebis

Constantine B Scouteris, *Ἱστορία Δογμάτων (History of Dogmas)*. Vol. I, The Orthodox Doctrinal Traditions and Distortion during the First Three Christian Centuries, Athens 1998. Pp 732.

Professor Constantine Scouteris is one of the most outstanding teachers of the celebrated and much respected School of Theology of the University of Athens. For three decades he has taught numerous future clergymen and theologians the History of Dogma, as well as amid all of the vicissitudes which the Church faced in defining and defending it. In this new volume, Professor Scouteris in an admirable way describes the struggles and efforts of the Church to secure the unity of the faith and the integrity of her theological ethos. From the very beginning of this volume Professor Scouteris makes clear that the Church has to deal with four basic indispensable issues for her existence.

First the absolute security, safety and insuring of the unity of the Church. The New Testament and the Fathers of the early Church, especially the Apostolic Fathers, as well as Irenaeus and Cyprian manifested the Catholic foundation, and the Eucharistic unity of the Church's existence. They realized that Christ was the head of the Church and those who are baptized in his name are members of the Church. Professor Scouteris correctly emphasizes the importance which the early Fathers placed on the Canon of truth or of faith as the only way for preserving the inner and outer unity of the Church. In addition he successfully shows the Churches' effort to secure that Canon of faith and truth through the office of the Bishop and the local and Ecumenical Councils.

The Second point which Professor Scouteris makes is that the Church, having established her ecclesiastical theology on the basis

of Jewish categories, had also to face, plainly and squarely, the ancient Greek philosophy. Professor Scouteris correctly stresses that especially among the second-century apologists this meeting was unavoidable, although not obvious and easy, because misunderstanding could intrude to both sides. But the genius of the great Alexandrian theologians like Clement and Origen lies in the fact that they wisely considered Greek philosophy as a preparatory stage and as a pedagogical instrument for the Christian faith itself.

Thirdly Professor Scouteris thoroughly examines the attempts of the Church to clarify her faith as far as God in Trinity is concerned. The task of the fathers was awesome. They faced pagan charges of polytheism, the Jewish accusation of abolition of monotheism as well as the strange Gnostic dualistic theories. They established with much pious and fearsome exactitude the fundamental truth of the Christian doctrine that God is One according to essence and three according to *hypostases*.

Fourthly and finally Professor Scouteris presents all the discussion and debates which took place during the first three Christian centuries concerning the person of Jesus Christ. The fundamental truth for the Fathers was that Christ is both perfect God and perfect Man at the same time. Professor Scouteris does not hesitate to present in an exhaustive and precise way the assaults of the various Gnostic sects and the "Docetic" superficial teachings against the Person of Jesus Christ. The early Fathers clearly understood the danger emerging from these heretical teachings and therefore made every effort to establish that we have a complete union of the divine and the human nature in the person of Jesus Christ with neither confusion nor division. Moreover, they did not fail to point out the soteriological character of the life and work of Christ. In other words the incarnation of the Word is the very basis of our own salvation and deification.

The enormity of this first volume of Professor Scouteris' *History of Dogmas* should be noted as indicative of his profound erudition. The wholesomeness, the expansiveness of the research undertaken and the beautiful linguistic style are deeply appreciated. It is also worthy of note that Professor Scouteris begins with a selected but most valuable bibliography, which is followed by a most outstanding introduction, under the stylistic title "The Cradle of Christianity." The preaching of Christ and the Apostles, the theology of the Apostolic Fathers, the theology of the Greek Apologists of the second century,

are presented thoroughly and pertinently. The first distortion of the Gnostic sect together with the orthodox ecclesiastical refutation of it is also presented. Then Professor Scouteris presents the Alexandrian theology with a special emphasis on Clement and Origen. The Book concludes with Latin theologians and most notably St. Cyprian of Carthage.

I must say that the reader of this book is immediately struck by the magnitude of Professor Scouteris' *work*. One is struck, however, not only by the large size of the book but also the far-reaching probing into primary and secondary sources and the clarity and precision with which Professor Scouteris discusses the theological issues of this early period of Christianity. We must congratulate Professor Scouteris for his profound contribution to Greek Orthodox Theology. This is not an easy book, and I presume that it is not a textbook for young students because it requires much maturity and experience in scholarship for reading and digesting its outstanding and exceptional contents. I do hope that every good theological library should cherish this excellent book.

Prof. George S. Bebis

Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium, edited by Linda Safran. Penn State University Press, 1998. ISBN 0-271-01669-8, cloth, \$75.00; 0-271-01670-1, paper, \$27.50.

There are plenty of multi-authored introductions to Byzantium, but they mostly concentrate on political history, and sometimes manage to ignore theology altogether. This is something quite different, for theology is central and from that foundation the book explores the way in which the art of Byzantium served its religious ideals. After an introduction on religious imagery and its importance for Byzantium by the editor, an initial chapter sets the scene: in this Joseph Alcheres discusses the city of Constantinople, New Rome, and the Empire that centered on it. There follows a lucid chapter by Eric Perl which expounds the central doctrine of deification, showing it is central to an Eastern Orthodox understanding of Christology, apophatic theology and revelation, and the Divine Liturgy; in each case he brings out the theological significance of Byzantine religious art, as the final entailment of an Orthodox Christology, the counterpart to the apophatic, and one of the primary means of expressing the meaning of the Liturgy. This chapter is a model of precise exposi-

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Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov as a Valuable Source for Aleut Culture and History

TATIANA SARANA

The priest Ioann Veniaminov served in Alaska for fifteen years, October 1823 to November 1838. From the very beginning, in addition to the performance of his normal duties as an Orthodox parish priest, he was spreading literacy among the natives, studying their way of life and customs, constructing church buildings, inaugurating schools, compiling a grammar and a dictionary. His research works in the fields of ethnography and linguistics, geography, hydrography and even meteorology are of great cultural value. So, his Journals have particular importance as "a vital firsthand source" of history.¹

The Journals are formal reports and accounts from the priest Ioann Veniaminov to the diocesan office in Irkutsk. They contain "all actions, all main thoughts and words"² of the missionary during the time when he served in the Unalaska parish, then in the Novo-Arkhangel'sk parish at Sitka Island, including his journey to California, to Fort Ross. There are twelve complete Journals, and a small volume of Excerpts from Journals.

The original manuscripts, written in Russian, are located in the Alaska State Historical Library in Juneau, Alaska: microfilm copies in other repositories such as the Library of Congress (the USA) and the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Describing carefully nearly every day of his life during thirteen years, from October 1823 to October 1836, Ioann Veniaminov gave consideration not only to his service and missionary activity, that is

undoubtedly of great historical interest, but also dealt with the way of life, morals and manners, culture of the natives, natural conditions of this land, and geography. In a word, his Journals are a valuable historical document, containing authentic information on the Islands in whole, the inner and outer world of the Aleuts.

Veniaminov was the first parish priest on Unalaska Island. Although the Aleuts had already begun to be baptized from 1762, missionaries and priests before him had visited Unalaska Island just in transit, performing several services. Among his first records, he described the Aleuts as "exemplary Christians:" "It is impossible to remain silent about the zeal, devotion, and affectionate manner of all of the local Aleuts, [who] receive the blessing with great joy...,³ "the inhabitants of the islands ... are very zealous and fervent in their desire for God's word, and grateful for their instruction."⁴

It is seen from the Journals that Veniaminov used the local language during his ministry. He was interested in the preservation of the national culture of the Aleuts, and first of all of their language, with the purpose of the preservation of spiritual wealth of the natives. Veniaminov spoke the Aleut language fluently on Unalaska Island. He could have chosen not to embark on this course, because he was aware that many Aleuts knew Russian (even before Veniaminov's arrival mixed marriages were widely spread and bilingualism was developing). At the same time however, he noticed that "they [Aleuts] know Russian, but not all know it, and those who do, know it quite poorly."⁵

As a result of thorough study of the Aleuts, Veniaminov became a connoisseur of their language, culture, and national traditions. One of his main concerns, as it is seen from the Journals, was the creation of Aleut orthography and the translation of Orthodox literature into the Aleut language. His Journals reflect the whole process of the realization of this task. So, by January 1826, Veniaminov had progressed to his first work of translation of a catechism. It is also mentioned that the *toion* Ivan Pan'kov, bilingual, literate and knowledgeable in the faith, helped Veniaminov with translations. During September 1829, the priest was busy with the translation of the Gospel according to Matthew. Ioann Veniaminov and Ivan Pan'kov worked together on the translation from morning till evening, and in the evening they read what they had translated to the group of literate and interested Aleuts, after that they made the final corrections.⁶ The translation of

the Gospel was finished in August 1830, and from this moment, as Veniaminov wrote, every Easter included the reading of the Gospel in Aleut.

The work of the priest on the creation of the Aleut orthography can be followed through his records: the perfection of orthography, the adaptation of the translations, the compilation of an Unalaskan Aleut grammar and of an Unalaskan Aleut-Russian dictionary, and other works are reflected in the Journals.

According to the evidence of eyewitnesses, even in our present days services in the Alaska Orthodox Churches are performed in Aleut, using the translations made by the priest Ioann Veniaminov.

The main value of the Journals is that they provide immediate insights into the activity and the character of Innokentii (Veniaminov) as a great enlightener and humanitarian, who left a deep impression on the history of Alaska and its peoples, not only by Christian sermons, but also by the creation of the Aleut orthography, spreading literacy and European culture, i.e. by giving the Aleuts access to world civilization.

So, from the point of view of the President of the Aleut Foundation, Alice Petrivelli, through these Journals "we may read Aleut history as it was taking place at the time."⁷ Naturally, the Journals of the priest Ioann Veniaminov have always attracted the interest of researchers, especially in the last decade.

For the first time the Journals were published in English by the University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks, in 1993, in the translation of Jerome Kisslinger. An introduction and commentary were made by Dr S.A. Mousalimas (Oxford University). The introduction of the book presents detailed research into the Journals, careful analysis and explanation. It consists of five sections:

1. The Journals' General Content. This section contains information on what period of time is covered in the Journals, also indications of places where Veniaminov lived and visited during this period of time. Here generalized information on the character of the exposition of the Journals and their contents is given.

- 2 An Explanation of Terms and Concepts. As the journals are the reports and accounts to the diocesan office, it is natural that the text contains plenty of church terms and concepts, not quite accessible for the modern reader and consequently requiring additional explanation. Thus, this section contains necessary information, which makes

the text more accessible, and the reading more intelligible.

3. The Formation of the Unalaska Parish prior to Veniaminov's Arrival. This section throws light upon the general historical situation on the Aleutian Islands before the priest's arrival. Here the reader can find the chronology of the missionary work and internal development of the Aleut society at that time.

4. The Journals as a source for Aleut History. In this section there is an analysis of the work of Veniaminov as a person, who played an important role in the development and formation of Aleut orthography and literature, and the Journals are analyzed here as the detailed description of this process.

5. A Source for Veniaminov's Ministry and Character. Here, Dr Mousalimas especially emphasizes the outstanding personal qualities of the priest, and the value of the Journals as an important scientific source revealing the essence of the work and character of Ioann Veniaminov.

As a whole, the introduction contains very valuable information for the interested reader, it prepares him for reading this serious historical document

Beyond the introduction, the book is supplied with an index that makes the Journals convenient to use, and also an illustration of the plan of the church on Unalaska made by Veniaminov. It is important to note that the book contains the complete, not reduced, text of all twelve Journals with the Excerpts from the Journals.

In Russia, the Journals were published for the first time in 1996. This can be explained by the fact that in the history of Soviet Russia, and even in the last decade, the materials relating to the activity of the Russian Orthodox Church and even its great hierarchs were not, from the point of view of the authorities, considered to be of any historical or scientific value.

In 1995, during one of the trips of the Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor of Yakutsk State University, O.D. Yakimov to the USA, a copy from the original Journals in Russian was handed to him. And in 1996, in Yakutsk the works of Veniaminov were published for the first time in the language of the original. The publication was made in the magazine *Polar Star* (no. 2).

Unfortunately, the volume of the magazine is not large enough to publish the full text of the Journals, so only numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11 and the Excerpts from the Journals were issued. It should be men-

tioned that these published texts have omissions, that were caused by two circumstances: firstly, those parts of the records were omitted which are valuable mainly for experts only; and secondly, many parts were omitted which can be understood properly only with the extensive scientific comment (as in the English edition), which was impossible to place in this magazine.

These publications, undoubtedly, have excited great interest in the scientific legacy of the priest Ioann Veniaminov in his mother land — in Russia. So, we may expect the edition of his works in near future.

NOTES

¹ Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, Foreword, *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov*, Fairbanks (1993).

² O.D. Yakimov, Foreword, "Journals of the priest Ioann Veniaminov," *Polar Star*, no.2, Yakutsk (1996), p.9.

³ I. Veniaminov, Journal entry, 4 May 1825, note, *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov*, Fairbanks (1993), p.36.

⁴ Ibid., 24 April 1828, p.78.

⁵ Ibid., 24 October 1823, p.3.

⁶ S.A. Mousalimas, Introduction, *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov*, Fairbanks (1993).

⁷ Alice Petrivelli, Foreword, *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov*, Fairbanks (1993).

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Late Byzantine Canonical Views on the Dissolution of Marriage

FR. PATRICK VISCUSO

Canon law often affirms the ideal of lifelong marriage and fidelity. Regulations prohibiting or justifying the dissolution of marital unions reflect underlying viewpoints concerning gender and sexual behavior. This study will treat the views of late Byzantine canonists concerning the dissolution of marriage. These canonists will include Matthew Blastares (ca. 1335), whose nomokanon, *The Alphabetical Collection*, enjoyed great popularity during the fourteenth century; as well as Theodore Balsamon (c. 1140 - c. 1195), John Zonaras (death after 1189), and Alexios Aristenos (twelfth century), whose commentaries and works remain canonical references for the Orthodox church.

THE GROUNDS FOR DIVORCE

The *Alphabetical Collection* was a popular legal work of the fourteenth century surviving in a large number of manuscripts and translated contemporaneously for use in the Serbian Empire of Stephen Dushan.¹ Divorce legislation occupies a large section constituting an entire chapter and including citations of imperial law.² Dissolution of marriage occurs legally for causes that have arisen from actions by one or both of the parties to the union. According to these causes, the divorce is either penalized or unpenalized.

At the outset of his discussion, Blastares states that divorce by mutual consent was formerly blameless according to "ancient laws and long-held custom." Such dissolutions took the form of the husband saying to his spouse, "Wife, manage your own affairs," and the wife, "Husband, manage your own affairs." This type of divorce was

“abolished by Christians” through the enumeration by “the pious emperors” of causes for the dissolution of marriage, without which “it is illicit to separate.” According to Blastares, “the civil law,” and especially “the novel of Justinian which expressly sets forth the causes for which the husband or the wife sends a libellus of repudiation, i.e., a bill of divorce, to the spouse,” treats divorce “most completely.”³

There are six main causes listed for divorce that arises from the actions of the wife. Each is taken from imperial legislation and, with the exception of the last cause, also listed in another legal work important for the study of canon and civil law, the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles*.⁴ They are cited as follows:

- 1.) If the wife is implicated in any plotting against the Empire, and did not reveal this to her own husband.⁵
- 2.) If an accusation of adultery were to be made against the wife, and she were to be convicted as an adulteress according to the law.⁶
- 3.) If she plotted against the life of her husband in any manner whatsoever, or consented for others to do this, and did not reveal it.⁷
- 4.) If she attends banquets or bathes with strange men, against the will of the husband.⁸
- 5.) If she stays outside of the home against the will of the husband, unless she happens to be with her own parents, or he drives her out without the aforesaid causes, and parents not existing for her, she spends the night outside.⁹
- 6.) If she attends horse races, theatres, or hunts, in order to be seen, without her husband’s knowledge or against his prohibition.¹⁰

For these causes, the husband is able to repudiate the wife and gain the dowry. The wife can be accepted back by the husband during the two-year period after the repudiation, although this would mean that he “condones the crime.”

In turn, there are five causes that arise from the husband’s actions, for which the wife is able to send a *libellus* of repudiation. Likewise, these are also based on imperial legislation, and are as follows:

- 1.) If the husband himself conspires against the Empire, or after be-

coming aware of others that conspire, he does not reveal this to the emperor either in person or by any other persons.¹¹

2.) If the husband plots against the life of the wife in any manner whatsoever.¹²

3.) If the husband plots against the chastity of the wife by endeavoring to deliver her up to other men in order to be debauched.¹³

4.) If, after the husband accuses her of adultery, he does not prove it.¹⁴

5.) If the husband has carnal relations with another woman in the same house, or in the same city, and after being warned by the wife, her parents, or any other person, he does not wish to abstain.¹⁵

These causes are listed in the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* as well.¹⁶ On account of them, the wife is able to send a bill of repudiation, obtain her dowry, and gain "the husband's gift on account of the marriage," the antenuptial gift. Ownership of the gift is held on behalf of the children, or if there are no offspring from the marriage, it is kept by the wife.

Unpenalized dissolution of marriage arises from three main causes, which are also derived from imperial legislation. These causes are: impotence of the husband for three years, entrance by either spouse into religious life, and the capture and uncertain fate of either spouse for five years.¹⁷ In the first case, the antenuptial gift remains with the husband and no loss of property occurs for either party. Entrance into the religious life is treated with regard to property relations in the same way as the death of a spouse. On this point, Blastares cites from the fifth chapter of Justinian's twenty-second novel:

Wherefore, the one contracting would fix by agreement a benefit to occur in case of the other's death. This benefit is necessary for the party left behind by the other (either husband or wife can establish it), since he that chooses one mode of life instead of another is thought to be dead for his spouse.¹⁸

However, remarriage of the spouse left in the world is not discussed. Although, if both husband and wife enter religious life, and one remarries or fornicates, the children receive all of that partner's property, and in lieu of offspring, the state treasury.¹⁹

Finally, Blastares covers the penalties for a divorce that occurs illegally, without any of the causes set forth by the law. These penalties include confinement of both spouses to a monastery with loss of all property, which in turn is given to either the family or the monastery depending on whether the ascendants or descendants acquiesced to the illegal repudiation. If reconciliation takes place before the confinement, no penalties apply. Likewise, if one of the parties "wishes the marriage to be restored, and if the other were to not consent, the punishments prevail against the one that does not assent." This discussion appears to be a synopsis of eleventh chapter of Justinian's one hundred thirty-fourth novel.²⁰

The author discusses remarriage of the divorced only once when he states:

Neither can the wife separate from her husband by her own free will, nor he from her, without the judgment and vote of judges, as this is decreed by various Justinianian novels. Thus, he that marries the woman who was not so separated, is an adulterer.²¹

Separation and successive marriage without such a decision results in adultery.

In accordance with the novels of Justinian, actions for divorce take place in civil courts, although some provision is made for the intervention of episcopal authority. If Blastares' statement is taken literally, divorce decrees would fall within the jurisdiction of the state, unless a bishop and the episcopal court became involved under certain circumstances. For example, such instances might have occurred if both parties agreed to submit their differences to the latter's judgment, or suspicions arose regarding the decision rendered by the magistrate, or a clergyman was involved as a defendant.²²

This is not to say that the Church before or during Blastares' period did not issue decrees of divorce, or claim jurisdiction over matrimonial matters. The decisions of Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Ochrida, provide evidence that in the thirteenth century, episcopal courts granted decrees of divorce based on certain of the causes listed above.²³

However, Blastares does not refer to any decree of divorce being granted by an episcopal authority based on the listed causes. No explicit mention is made of ecclesiastical or civil jurisdiction over matrimonial matters. In addition, his entire discussion of divorce is

placed under the heading of “law,” which throughout the work indicates a legal source taken from imperial as opposed to ecclesiastical legislation. Dissolution is treated entirely from the point of view of civil legislation, and no citation is made of any ecclesiastical canon.²⁴

AN INCONSISTENCY WITH THE UNIQUENESS OF MARRIAGE.

Despite the fact that there is provision for divorce, the marital union is considered a “consortium for an entire lifetime,” according to the definition of marriage framed by the jurist Herennius Modestinus (third century) and cited as such by Blastares.²⁵ The unique nature of this lifelong relationship is affirmed in Blastares’ synopsis of St. Gregory of Nyssa’s fourth canon:

For God gave one helper to man, and has fitted one head onto woman...
For each man, any vessel which is not his own belongs to another,
even if it does not have acknowledged ownership.²⁶

The question of second and third marriages is treated by paraphrasing a passage from St. Gregory the Theologian’s *Homily thirty-seven*:

Gregory the Great who is surnamed the Theologian, stated, ‘The first marriage is legal, the second is a concession, the third is a transgression of law, and one beyond this, the life of a swine, which does not even have many examples of its evil.’²⁷

The headship of the husband is portrayed as unique to the wife in same way as that of Christ is to the Church. The mystery of marital union is based on its likeness to the union between the only Bridegroom and the Church, his Body. The nature of this mystery is viewed as precluding a second marriage.²⁸

In spite of this, a second union is permitted as a “concession” (συγγώγησις) for the widowed:

However, the Divine Apostle Paul, who perceived the instability of nature, permitted young widows, if they wished, to enter upon marriages again.²⁹ The Divine Fathers who were not ignorant concerning the arising of the fleshly spirit, did not deem it fitting to impede those men who choose to marry a second time. However, they did not allow them to have second marriages without criticism.³⁰

Given the concerns expressed for “instability of nature” and “the

arising of the fleshly spirit," the concession appears to have been made in order to satiate the passions, and thus avoid the greater evils of fornication or adultery.³¹

The third union is a concession similar to that in the case of the second, an indulgence made to fleshly desire, but motivated by a higher degree of licentiousness as a "fornication which has been tempered, i.e., not dissolved, but reduced, limited to one woman," and as entailing canonical penalties.³² Although in the case of a childless man, procreation is presented as a worthy reason for such matrimony.³³ The application of a shorter penance in such a case appears to indicate that the licentiousness thought to be involved is perhaps to a lesser degree or for an ultimately better end; the begetting of offspring.³⁴ Unions beyond the third are not given the name of marriage, but are regarded as polygamy, the "life of a swine" (χοιρώδης βίος).

According to the synopsis of Basil's ninth canon in the *Alphabetical Collection*, it is regarded as "consistent with the Lord's decision" that a cause of adultery would "equally dissolve a marriage for both men and women."³⁵ Nevertheless, this is not the case since, "the Church's practice commands that husbands who commit adultery or fornicate be kept by their wives." This alludes to the classification of an extramarital affair of the wife as adultery (*adulterium*) and that of the husband with a single woman as fornication (*stuprum*), a distinction adopted from pagan Roman civil law.³⁶

The ninth canon concentrates on the obligations of the wife. They are enjoined to remain with their husbands even when their spouses are unfaithful:

Indeed, if a husband was angry with the wife, and were to beat her, she must be patient. Or if she were to suffer a loss in property, even see her dowry spent, or even become jealous because her husband was fornicating with other women, it is not permissible for her to be separated from the husband because of these things. Certainly if when one of the cohabitants happens to be an unbeliever, it has not been allowed for the other to be separated, according to the blessed Paul, on account of the uncertainty of the outcome...how would she that dissolves the union because of another reason, be free from blame? Therefore, she that illegally abandons her husband, if she cohabits with another man, is reckoned an adulteress.³⁷

This is almost identical to Zonaras' version of the same legislation.³⁸ Blastares' synopsis accurately reports Basil as stating that on

basis of prevailing custom, the wife must endure the fornication and even the adultery of her husband. The acceptance of this discrimination is described in Blastares' synopsis of Nyssa, as a "concession" to the "weaker."³⁹

Within this section of the work, adultery is presented as the only grounds for divorce granted by the Lord Himself. In considering the circumstances of its use, the focus is on the maintenance of purity. Consequently, Blastares states that the defilement of a clergyman or a candidate for ordination results from intercourse with a wife who has been unfaithful. The prevention of further impurity underlies Blastares' recommendation that the separation of such couples take place if the clergyman is to retain his *schema*.⁴⁰ The avoidance of such pollution also provides the canonist's justification for recommending that laymen divorce their unfaithful spouses:

He that does not divorce his own adulterous wife is a brothel-keeper.⁴¹

The pollution of the marriage union by an adulterous wife is regarded by Blastares as a dishonoring of marriage, and consequently divorce is recommended in order to uphold the honor of the marriage bed.

Divorce in the case of adultery is thus justified on the basis of the Lord's commandment in Scripture and on reverence for the marital bond. Other grounds by extension may have been viewed theologically as situations leading to adultery, and thus consistent with the exception granted in Scripture. This would not be true for the civil grounds of treason and attempted murder taken directly from imperial law. It may be argued that these are instances in which the marital union is dishonored. However, the concept of honor in Blastares' thought is identified with the purity of the marriage bed. Defilement is presented in terms of impure sexual activity.

The allowing of divorce for reasons other than adultery is inconsistent with Blastares' theological thought concerning the lifelong and unique nature of each marital union, according to which, God has "fitted" one man as one head onto each woman. Separation in the case of unfaithfulness may be seen as in conformity with the Lord's commandment, but if the uniqueness of marriage is consistently affirmed the possibility of remarriage even in these cases would not be allowed. The contracting of additional marriages even by the widowed is viewed as an increase of licentiousness and indulgence of

passions.

The classification of adultery as a civil grounds of divorce in the *Alphabetical Collection* would in fact allow remarriage in such cases, a contingency not provided for in the older church legislation dealing with dissolution, namely, St. Basil's canons.⁴² In fact, provisions of any grounds for divorce and subsequent remarriage would represent an inconsistency with the Cappadocian legislation.

Several explanations may be suggested for this incongruity. The first is that divorce legislation was purely a civil matter, and that such laws were listed either as a convenience for clergy serving in the civil courts or merely as a matter of information, in order to present the imperial laws in force but unaccepted by the Church. The fact that the legislation appears under the heading of "Law" in Blastares' work might be brought forward to support this position. The case could be made that the heading indicates that these laws were derived from a civil source and hence not necessarily accepted by the Church.

However, Blastares never introduces a disclaimer in any section before these laws. In the preface to the *Alphabetical Collection*, he states that the civil legislation included in the collection will be consistent with the Church's teaching.⁴³ While it is conceivable that perhaps a few laws may have been added which were inconsistent with the Church's practice or teaching, divorce is an important question and forms a major section of the *Alphabetical Collection*. It seems unlikely that such legislation would be included if the author did not consider it in conformity with the Church's teaching.

Perhaps a second explanation is revealed in the discussion of divorce that immediately follows the Cappadocian legislation:

So much then for Basil. According to the novel of Justinian published later, which comprises chapter thirteen of the present letter, the following also has been reckoned among the other causes on account of which it is permissible for women to dissolve their marriage; if the husband lies with another woman, clearly in the same house and city, and if after his own wife's kin censure and enjoin him, he was not persuaded to abstain from intercourse with her. Thus, under these circumstances, the novel permits wives to dissolve their marriages on account of jealousy.⁴⁴

The latter grounds of divorce are set forth in the emperor Justinian

the Great's one hundred seventeenth novel. Blastares presents the practice of his own age as contradicting the ecclesiastical custom recorded in canon nine. He indicates that since Basil's time, the following has occurred: causes of divorce were stipulated for both spouses, these causes include the extramarital affairs of the husband, and divorce also has become permitted for the wife. Ecclesiastical custom which existed in Basil's period was partly abrogated by new imperial legislation, more specifically, the novel of Justinian. In particular, with the stipulation of causes for divorce, the extramarital affairs of the husband formerly not a grounds for dissolution were made so under the provisions of the Justinianian legislation.⁴⁵

These points are presented in a similar and more explicit fashion by the commentaries of Zonaras, Balsamon and Aristenos. After recording the salient points of the ninth canon, Zonaras observes:

But this great Father states that these things prevail according to the ecclesiastical custom at that time. And from the novel of the Emperor Justinian promulgated later concerning the dissolution of marriage, which is situated in book twenty-eight, title seven of the *Basilika*, the following is reckoned amongst the causes by which it is permissible for women to dissolve marriage; if the husband lies with another woman in the same house or city, and after being warned on the part of the wife, he does not desist from sexual intercourse with that woman, it is permitted for wives to dissolve marriage on account of jealousy.⁴⁶

The citation of the *Basilika* indicates that the Justinianian legislation was adopted into practice by Zonaras' time and had replaced the "custom" or practice described by Basil.

Balsamon's commentary on the same canon makes this point clearer:

The Saint after being asked, what ought to happen to the spouses if one of them might enter another marriage, or even fornicate, made a reply from various writings and the custom held at that time. However, since the one hundred seventeenth Justinianian novel situated in the seventh title of the twenty-eighth book, all but transformed (σχεδὸν μετετύπωσεν) everything in such a canon, read ye this, and likewise the one hundred eleventh novel. And plainly from the first chapter of the same title up to also the sixth, learn ye by how many ways marriages are dissolved, and how presently the adulterous spouses or even fornicators are punished by the civil law.⁴⁷

Aristenos definitively summarizes this discussion:

And the canon contains these things because it was also permitted by the laws at that time, for the spouses to be separated from one another by formulas of words, without even a just cause. However, presently, neither a husband nor a wife is able to dissolve the marriage, unless a just cause exists, of which the novel of Justinian ordains by law.⁴⁸

The comments of these four canonists illustrate the Orthodox Church's acceptance of the civil legislation concerning the causes of divorce and the inclusion of the husband's fornication among these causes.

In turn, the Basilian legislation, which originally applied to all marital separations, is reinterpreted to apply to cases of expulsions. Consequently, this legislation is grouped in the *Alphabetical Collection* under the heading "Concerning expulsions..." rather than placed under divorce. In the light of the Justinianian legislation, these expulsions are, as Zonaras states above, "divorces without cause" and "without the decision of judges." Expulsions are separations which are caused through illegal abandonment and desertion.

In the same manner that the Orthodox church accepted the classification from pagan Roman law of an extramarital affair of the wife as adultery and that of the husband with a single woman as fornication, the acceptance of grounds for divorce and marriage was a concession to a practice deeply embedded in the legal institutions of the Empire as a result of "ancient laws and long-held custom." When Blastares speaks of the abolition of divorce by consent, this may be interpreted as meaning that faced with the existing legal and social conditions the Church attempted to implement its teachings by compromise.⁴⁹ According to this interpretation, divorce freely granted by the state prior to the Christian emperors became more restricted under the Church's influence.⁵⁰

This explanation is supported by the evidence of the canonical commentators that Blastares uses as sources. Both Balsamon and Zonaras explain the strictness of Basil's legislation in light of the ease of divorce that existed during his time.⁵¹ They also state that the same license no longer exists, and that the legislation of the Justinian on divorce was requested by the Church through the one hundred sixth canon of Carthage.⁵² In their canonical commentaries, both canonists include the civil grounds for divorce as legitimate causes

consistent with the teachings of the councils. They appear to imply that since Basil's time, the Church succeeded in having pagan divorce legislation replaced with laws which have her approval, and that given these stipulated causes, the stricter teaching of the Cappadocian is no longer necessary.⁵³

While Blastares does not state such things explicitly, the presence of imperial divorce legislation in the midst of his canonical treatment of marriage, his classification of the Basilian canons as dealing with expulsion, the contradiction of Basil's strictness concerning the wife's ability to divorce, and his heavy reliance on the work of both earlier canonists indicate that he also views imperial divorce legislation as acceptable to the Church.

At this point it should be emphasized that the legislation discussed above concerning the remarriage of the widowed and divorced is applied to dissolution cases involving the laity. In contrast, the discipline governing the clergy appears consistent with a theology of marriage that would emphasize the absolute uniqueness of the first marriage bond. While the laity are allowed to legally divorce and remarry without permanently losing their status in the Church, the same legislation is absolutely forbidden to the clergy.⁵⁴ The latter are held to the stricter standard of one marriage, even in the case of the spouse's death. Two marriages are absolutely forbidden, and consistent with Scripture and St. Basil's legislation the possibility of divorce is allowed only in cases of the wife's adultery. In the latter instance, remarriage is not allowed and further active ministry is limited.

This variance in Blastares' discipline of marriage appears to indicate that laity and clergy are governed by different standards and perhaps by extension different theologies of marriage concerning dissolution. Unlike the clergy, marriage for the layman is considered dissoluble, remarriage being permitted for the divorced and widowed. This appears to imply that each union is not unique, and that one wife has not been fitted with only one head. In contrast, the clergyman's union would be regarded as indissoluble except for adultery, and remarriage not permitted under any circumstances.⁵⁵ The canonist does not indicate whether the divorce of clergy would take place on the basis of a civil grounds of adultery. However, if such adultery was handled purely as a spiritual matter, it is very possible that such cases fell under the exclusive jurisdiction of an episcopal or ecclesiastical court.

There thus appears to be a major difference between laity and clergy in the treatment of divorce, widowhood, and remarriage. The laity appear to be governed by a theology of marriage in which concessions have been made to the legal and social conditions of the Empire, while the clergy are submitted to a theology consistent with the uniqueness of marriage affirmed in Blastares' synopsis of the Cappadocian legislation.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the canonical writings of the Byzantine canonist Matthew Blastares affirm the uniqueness of a marital union in which God had "fitted one head onto woman" on the basis of the fourth canon of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the canonical letters of St. Basil the Great, and the views of St. Gregory the Theologian. In accordance with this legislation, there was an implication that except in the case of adultery marriage is indissoluble consistent with divine law. Nevertheless, Blastares and other late canonists, such as John Zonaras, Alexios Aristenos, and Theodore Balsamon, also allowed grounds for divorce which permitted remarriage and were taken directly from imperial legislation.

Several explanations may be suggested for this inconsistency. One possibility might be that divorce legislation was purely a civil matter and that such laws were listed in late canonical sources either as a convenience for clergy serving in civil courts or merely as a matter of information. The most likely explanation is that the inclusion of such grounds was a concession made to Roman imperial legislation and the perceived spiritual weakness of the laity.

There existed a sharp division between what was expected of clergy and laity. This variance in the discipline reflected two different approaches to marriage, one representing an older patristic legislation in which the indissolubility of the nuptial union was affirmed, while the other reflecting a Roman legal tradition permitting dissolution; an apparent contradiction left unresolved.

NOTES

¹ The full title of this nomokanon is, *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον τῶν ἐμπεριελημμένων ἀπασῶν ὑποθέσεων τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θείοις κανόσι πονηθέν τε ἅμα καὶ συντεθέν τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ἐλαχίστῳ Ματθαίῳ* (An alphabetical collection of all subjects that are contained in the sacred and divine canons, prepared

and at the same time organized by Matthew the least amongst hieromonks). This handbook of theology and canon will be referred to as the *Alphabetical Collection* throughout this study. A text of this nomokanon occupies the sixth volume of the canonical collection, G.A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens: G. Chartophylax, 1852-1859). For basic secondary material on Blastares and his canonical work, see Patrick Viscuso, "A Late Byzantine Theology of Canon Law," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34 (1989): 203-219.

² G. 13.

³ This most probably refers to Justinian, *Novel 117*; the Hebrew practice of repudiation is also recalled, a reference most probably to Jeremiah 3: 1 (LXX).

⁴ Rhalles and Potles, 1: 295; for the significance of this nomokanon, see A. Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 3: 1491.

⁵ Code 5. 17. 8 §3; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §2; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 8. 1; *Epanagoge* 21. 5, I. Zepos and P. Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 8 vols. (1931, reprint, Darmstadt: Scientia Aalen, 1962), 2: 303; *Prochiron* 11. 6, Zepos, 2: 147; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, H.J. Scheltema and N. Van der Wal, *Basilicorum Libri LX*, Series A, vols (1953-88) 4: 1357.

⁶ Code 5. 17. 8 §3; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §2; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 8. 2; *Epanagoge* 21. 5, Zepos 2: 303-304; *Prochiron* 11. 7, Zepos, 2: 147; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1357-1358.

⁷ Code 5. 17. 8 §3; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §2; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 8. 3; *Epanagoge* 21. 5, Zepos 2: 304; *Prochiron* 11. 8, Zepos, 2: 147; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

⁸ Code 5. 17. 8 §3; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §2; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 8. 4; *Epanagoge* 21. 5, Zepos 2: 304; *Prochiron* 11. 9, Zepos, 2: 147; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

⁹ Code 5. 17. 8 §3; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §2; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 8. 5; *Epanagoge* 21. 5, Zepos 2: 304; *Prochiron* 11. 10, Zepos, 2: 147; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

¹⁰ Code 5. 17. 8 §3; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §2; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 8. 6; *Epanagoge* 21. 5, Zepos 2: 304; *Prochiron* 11. 11, Zepos, 2: 147-148; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

¹¹ Code 5. 17. 8 §2; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §1; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 9. 1; *Epanagoge* 21. 6, Zepos 2: 305; *Prochiron* 11. 14, Zepos, 2: 148; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

¹² Code 5. 17. 8 §2; Justinian, *Novel 22*. 15 §1; Justinian, *Novel 117*. 9. 2; *Epanagoge* 21. 6, Zepos 2: 305; *Prochiron* 11. 15, Zepos, 2: 148; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

¹³ Justinian, *Novel 117*. 9. 3; *Epanagoge* 21. 6, Zepos 2: 305; *Prochiron* 11. 16, Zepos, 2: 148; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

¹⁴ Justinian, *Novel 117*. 9. 4; *Epanagoge* 21. 6, Zepos 2: 305; *Prochiron* 11. 17, Zepos, 2: 148; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1359.

¹⁵ Justinian, *Novel 117*. 9. 5; *Epanagoge* 21. 6, Zepos 2: 305; *Prochiron* 11. 18, Zepos, 2: 149; *Basilika* 28. 7. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1360.

¹⁶ Rhalles and Potles, 1: 295.

¹⁷ Impotence (*Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* 13. 4, Rhalles and Potles, 1: 296; cf. Justinian, *Novel 22*. 6; *Epanagoge* 21. 2, Zepos, 2: 300-301; *Prochiron* 11. 2, Zepos, 2:

145-146; *Basilika* 28. 7. 4, Scheltema, A4: 1363; religious life (Justinian, *Novel* 22. 5; *Epanagoge* 21. 1, Zepos, 2: 300; *Basilika* 28. 7. 4, Scheltema, A4: 1362-1363; *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* 13. 4, Rhalles and Potles, 1: 297); capture (Justinian, *Novel* 22. 4; *Epanagoge* 21. 3, Zepos, 2: 301; *Prochiron* 11. 3, Zepos, 2: 146; *Basilika* 28. 7. 4, Scheltema, A4: 1363; *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* 13. 4, Rhalles and Potles, 1: 297).

¹⁸Justinian, *Novel* 22. 5; *Epanagoge* 21. 1, Zepos, 2: 300; *Basilika* 28. 7. 4, Scheltema, A4: 1362-1363; *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* 13. 4, Rhalles and Potles, 1: 297.

¹⁹Justinian, *Novel* 117. 10; *Prochiron* 11. 4, Zepos, 2: 146; *Prochiron auctum*, Zepos 7: 111; cf. *Epanagoge* 21. schol. 6, Zepos, 2: 301-302.

²⁰*Basilika* 28. 7. 6, Scheltema, A4: 1364-1365; the text is also discussed by Balsamon in Rhalles and Potles, 4: 200-202.

²¹*Alphabetical Collection* G. 13. Law, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 176.

²²This jurisdiction is particularly exemplified in Justinian, *Novel* 117. 8, where the civil judge hears cases dealing with divorce, and when appropriate, refers the guilty party to the local bishop for ecclesiastical punishment, cf. Justinian, *Code* l. 4. 7; Justinian, *Novel* 86. 7; Justinian, *Novel* 86. 2; Justinian, *Novel* 123.

²³In addition to grounds arising from adultery, other causes were also recognized, see J.B. Pitra, ed., *Analecta Sacra et Classica Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, 6 vols. (Paris: Roger et Chernowitz, 1891), 6: 511-514 (attempt on the life of the husband), 553-556 (the wife staying outside of the home), 557-558 (attempt on the life of the husband); for a variety of views, see also A. P. Christofilopoulos, "Η δικαιοδοσία τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαστηρίων κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν περίοδον," *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 18 (1948): 192-201; D. Simon, "Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 79 (1986): 310-343; Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081-1261*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

²⁴Several explanations may be suggested for the inclusion of a section consisting of the civil law's treatment of dissolution. The first is that Blastares recognized only the state's jurisdiction over matrimonial matters. This should be immediately discounted in view of the Church's involvement in all other aspects of marriage as revealed throughout the rest of the *Alphabetical Collection*. Consequently, the author's observation concerning the novels of Justinian, most likely, should not be taken literally since this would imply the state's exclusive control of these affairs. Rather, its meaning may lie in the main point that divorce must not take place by mutual consent, but by the causes listed in the Justinianian legislation. The establishment of cause would hence necessitate the decision of "judges" basing their opinion on these novels. The second explanation is that the Church accepted a great part of this legislation for her own treatment of dissolution, and this was reflected in Blastares' work. The acceptance of civil law appears to be supported by the inclusion of this legislation in the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles*, and its extensive citation by Balsamon and Zonaras in their commentaries on ecclesiastical canons. For example, Rhalles and Potles, 2: 7-8, 64-65, 506-510; 3: 548-549; 4: 121-123, 200-202. Finally, the extensive inclusion of civil law may lie in the use of the *Alphabetical Collection* as a legal manual for the civil courts of the fourteenth century, which were governed by both imperial and ecclesiastical legislation. This does not appear to be proven or disproven by anything Blastares states, and remains a possibility.

²⁵*Code* 9. 32. 4; *Digest* 23. 2. 1; cf. *Institutes* 1. 9. 1; *Epanagoge* 16. 1, Zepos, 2: 274;

Prochiron 4.1, Zepos, 2: 124; *Basilika* 28. 4. 1, Scheltema, A4: 1325; *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* 12. 13, Rhalles and Potles, 1: 271; cf. Balsamon's commentary on Trullo 72, Rhalles and Potles, 2: 472:

The civil law defines marriage as a sharing and consortium of both divine and human law. Accordingly therefore, the Holy Fathers determined that an Orthodox man is not legally joined to a heretical woman, or the contrariwise.

Cited by Blastares as a "Definition of Marriage," *Alphabetical Collection* G. 2. Definition of Marriage, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 153-154.

²⁶*Alphabetical Collection* M. 14. Gregory of Nyssa 4, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 374.

²⁷*Alphabetical Collection* G. 4. Gregory the Theologian, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 158.

²⁸For a closer examination of Blastares' thought on the nature of the marital union as well as remarriage of the widowed, see Patrick Viscuso, "Purity and Sexual Defilement in Late Byzantine Canon Law," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 57 (1991): 399-408; and *idem*, "The Formation of Marriage in Late Byzantium," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 35 (1991): 309-325.

²⁹1 Corinthians 7: 8-9; compare also 1 Timothy 5: 11-12.

³⁰*Alphabetical Collection* G. 4. Concerning digamist laity, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 156.

³¹In this particular case, the term "Fathers" is perhaps being identified with St. Gregory the Theologian.

³²*Alphabetical Collection* G. 4. Concerning Trigamists, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 158.

³³The restrictions on third marriage appear to reflect the view expressed by the Theologian concerning marriage in general, St. Gregory the Theologian, *Homily* 37. 9, Moreschini and Galloway, 290:

When marriage is only this; marriage, wedlock and a desire for a succession of children, marriage is good, for it brings into existence more of those that are pleasing to God. But when it inflames matter, surrounds us with thorns, and reveals itself as a path of vice, then I too proclaim, 'It is better not to marry' (Matthew 19: 10).

In comparing virginity to marriage, St. Gregory speaks of the former as better (*καλλίωρον*) than matrimony, but also characterizes the latter as good, since without it virgins and celibates would not be brought forth into the world, (St. Gregory Theologian, *Homily* 37. 10, Moreschini and Galloway, 292). Unlike St. Gregory the Theologian, Blastares does not make a general statement concerning procreation as a justification for all marriage. However, in speaking of marital relations with one's vessel or wife, he states that the "law of nature would allow its righteous use," (*Alphabetical Collection* M. 14. Gregory of Nyssa 4, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 374). The "law of nature" in this context may only refer to relations in general, with no other end in view than the "legal abatement" of "natural tyranny." In the case of third marriages, the worthiness ascribed to procreation does not prevent Blastares from forbidding such unions for men over forty who already have children, (*Alphabetical Collection* G. 4. Concerning the *Tomos of Union*, *Rhalles and Potles*, 6: 159). In the latter case, the prohibition is perhaps based on the interest of the offspring from previous unions, e.g., in regard to inheritance. This at least appears to be one of the main reasons that Blastares holds polygamy to be worse than fornication,

Alphabetical Collection G. 4, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 161:

For the one who fornicates only wrongs himself, willingly throwing himself into the pit of licentiousness. However, he that contracts perhaps a fourth or fifth marriage for himself, exults over what the canons forbid, and wrongs his legitimate children by sowing illegitimate ones among the latter.

Furthermore, although Blastares holds that the impotence of the husband is a grounds of divorce, the infertility of the wife is not made a cause for repudiation by her spouse. Procreation in this case does not appear to be made a condition nor thus provide a justification for the existence of a legal marriage. The justification of marriage as a "legal abatement" for sexual needs is similar to an opinion expressed by St. John Chrysostom that matrimony exists principally in order to remedy fornication, (see above, St. John Chrysostom, *On the Apostolic Saying, "But on account of fornication let each man have his own wife,"* P.G., 51. 213). According to the Saint, one of the earlier aims of marriage was to provide offspring who would then serve as a remnant and remembrance of their father's life, in this way furnishing a comfort for death. The Resurrection is said to have displaced childbearing as a purpose of marriage. See also Evelyne Patlagean, "Sur la limitation de la fécondité dans la haute époque byzantine," *Annales économies, sociétés, civilisations* 24 (1969): 1353-1369. Patlagean does not introduce the factor of the Resurrection in her theological analysis of early Byzantine thought concerning birth control and marriage. She states that prevailing thought in the fourth century Empire was the following (Patlagean, 1357):

"La procréation n'est donc pas la justification unique ou suffisante du mariage. L'état le plus élevé, le plus souhaitable est la virginité, libre des peines de la vie charnelle, et promise à une félicité spirituelle dont l'éloge hant la littérature du temps. Le mariage, institué après la chute, préserve du péché les êtres ordinaires qui n'en supporteraient pas l'ascèse, à condition toutefois de ne pas dégénérer à son tour en une licence qui, pour être légitime, n'en serait pas moins coupable. Sa véritable fin est là, et non dans une multiplication désormais superflue des êtres humains."

³⁴The use of means to prevent conception is not discussed by Blastares. However, it can be speculated that if the canonist had the opportunity to comment, the question might be framed in terms of the promotion of passions, sin, and defilement, rather than the prevention of procreation. Given Blastares' attitudes regarding the unchaste nature of otherwise legal marital relations before the reception of the Eucharist or after consecration to the episcopate, and the implication that celibacy is more chaste than marriage, the promotion of pleasure in sexual activity by spouses would probably be seen by him as a licentious and "evil" use of the "reciprocal members" in "a scheme for sensual pleasure," (*Alphabetical Collection* G. 20. Laodicea 30, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 196). On this basis, Blastares very possibly might have condemned contraceptives. See also Patlagean, 1356-1358. Birth control methods such as abortion are treated by the canonist. Both those performing and receiving abortions are condemned as murderers, (*Alphabetical Collection* G. 28, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 199-200).

³⁵Matthew 5: 31-32; 19: 9; Mark 10: 11-12; Luke 16: 18; I Corinthians 7: 10-11.

³⁶For a discussion, see Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage, Iusti Coniuges From the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 262-319.

³⁷*Alphabetical Collection* G. 16. Basil 9, 21, 35, 77, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 186-188; St. Basil *Letter 188*, Roy J. Deferrari, ed. and trans., Saint Basil, *The Letters*, 4 vols. (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1926-34), 3: 34. In contrast, St. Gregory the Theologian rejects this custom, and appears to consider the extramarital affair of either husband or wife to be adultery, (St. Gregory the Theologian, *Homily 37*. 6, Moreschini and Galloway, 282-284):

For why then did they punish the woman, but leave the man unpunished? And a woman who conducts herself in a foul manner with regard to her husband's bed is an adulteress, and therefore the penalties of the law are harsh. However, is a husband that treats his wife as a prostitute, free from censure? I do not accept this legislation, nor do I approve the custom. They that made the law were men, and the legislation is against women on account of this...God does not so legislate...

While the Theologian does not explicitly state that divorce is allowed for the wife of an adulterous husband, such a grounds appears implied in his position. St. John Chrysostom also rejects the practice, see his *Homily 5 on 1 Thessalonians*. 2, PG, 62: 424-426.

³⁸Rhalles and Potles, 4: 121.

³⁹*Alphabetical Collection* M. 14. Gregory of Nyssa 4, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 374.

⁴⁰*Alphabetical Collection* M. 14. Neocaesarea 8, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 375-6:

"The eighth canon of the synod in Neocaesarea...orders him who is a priest, whose wife committed adultery, either to be divorced from her or if he does not wish to separate to withdraw from the priesthood. Thus, being defiled by the intercourse of a woman who has incurred pollution, the man would not be worthy since he is impure...Although it is possible for a man to receive his adulterous wife without blame and to pardon the sin, this has not been allowed for those in the priesthood..."

In Blastares' writings, the word, *schema*, is used to refer to outward appearance as well as way of life.

⁴¹*Alphabetical Collection* M. 14. Laws, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 377; cf. Justinian, *Code* 9. 9. 2; *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* 1. 32, Rhalles and Potles, 1: 73.

⁴²Blastares is not clear concerning the number of divorces and remarriages permitted. His quotation of St. Gregory the Theologian regarding second and third marriages, could be interpreted as applicable to the divorced as well as the widowed. Although, in the context of Gregory's homily, and the section of the *Alphabetical Collection* in which it appears, discussion of plural marriage is confined to the widowed. Without further treatment of this issue by Blastares, it is difficult to determine if the canonist would allow third marriage of the divorced.

⁴³*Alphabetical Collection* Preface, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 5;

Next I have considered it worthwhile to also join to related chapters of the canons both brief and abridged ones of civil legislation that aid and agree with the sacred canons, and witness superabundantly to their soundness.

⁴⁴*Alphabetical Collection* G. 16. Basil 9, 21, 35, 77, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 187.

⁴⁵However, these affairs continued to be regarded as fornications and not adultery. The Roman definition of adultery as the illegal sexual relationship of a married woman with a third party continued under law.

⁴⁶Rhalles and Potles, 4: 122.

⁴⁷Rhalles and Potles, 4: 122.

⁴⁸Rhalles and Potles, 4: 123.

⁴⁹The Church's acceptance of divorce in the Eastern Empire is also considered a compromise by J. Gaudemet, "Droit romain et principes canoniques en matière de mariage au Bas-Empire," in Jean Gaudemet, *Sociétés et Mariage* (Strasbourg, Cerdic Publications, 1980), 139:

"Sur le point fondamental, le seul où la doctrine nouvelle fut profondément novatrice, l'indissolubilité, l'Eglise n'obtint qu'une sorte de compromis, le principe païen subsistant, bien qu'affaibli."

⁵⁰As summarized in the discussion above (*Alphabetical Collection* G. 13. Law, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 176):

Indeed, in the past, it was possible for people both by ancient laws and long-held custom to dissolve cohabitations blamelessly, so that the husband could say to the wife, 'Wife, manage your own affairs,' and she to her husband, 'Husband, manage your own affairs' ...But at present, this has been done away with by Christians. However, the pious emperors enumerated causes by name, alone for which it is possible to dissolve marriages; and it is illicit to separate without one of these.

⁵¹Rhalles and Potles, 4: 121-123.

⁵²Rhalles and Potles, 3: 548-549.

⁵³Rhalles and Potles, 4: 121-123.

⁵⁴This assumes that laity who marry after widowhood or divorce also comply with the stipulated penances.

⁵⁵Indeed, the wife of a priest is not permitted to remarry, *Alphabetical Collection* G. 17. That it is necessary for the bishop's separated wife to be tonsured, Rhalles and Potles, 6: 190-191.

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Orthodox Theology and Science

METROPOLITAN HIEROTHEOS (VLAHOS) OF NAFFAKTOS
AND ST. VLASIOS

There are clear and distinct boundaries between Theology and Science. Theology, as the Greek origin of the word suggests, is concerned with God – what God is and how one can attain communion with Him – whereas Science is concerned with the created world and is interested mainly in the use of the world.

In examining this simple sentence we realize that both Theology and Science move on different levels and, consequently, there can be no conflict between them or between theologians and scientists. A conflict developed and reached historic proportions in the West, when Metaphysics was identified with Theology. It is well known that the content of Metaphysics is one thing and the content of revealed Theology quite another. For example, according to Metaphysics there is an ungenerated world of ideas from which this world is derived either by a fall or an emanation. Therefore, when the West identified Metaphysics with Theology and indeed, when the advance of natural Science resulted in the shaking off of the foundations of Metaphysics, then the Theology which had been identified with Metaphysics was also questioned. Thus, an Athonite monk once jokingly referred to the conflict between Faith and Science as the “*puns and riddles*” of the West.

In the Orthodox Church, as expressed by the Holy Fathers, we see that the content of Theology is one thing and that of Science another. Theology talks about God, about the Creator of the world being God, about the fall and sickness of the human personality and about its

cure so that man can attain communion with God. Science concerns itself with what can be known scientifically, those things that can be examined by the senses and it tries to make man's life bearable within his fallen state.

Unfortunately, however, we often notice that a great deal of confusion prevails between these two bounds and spheres. The problem is created when Science is made sacrosanct and mythological and when Theology is secularized.

Science is made sacrosanct when various scientists use scientific data and some discoveries to demolish teaching about God or even to be identified with God, something that constitutes hubris in the ancient sense of the word. Moreover, it is also made sacrosanct when they try to find a system, which will solve all man's problems even his existential ones. Typical of such a case is the statement made recently by a geneticist who proposed the cloning of human beings: *"We are going to become one with God. We are going to have almost as much knowledge and almost as much power as God ... Cloning and the reprogramming of DNA is the first serious step in becoming one with God - very simple philosophy."*¹

Theology is secularized when it rejects its essence, which is to lead man to purification, illumination and deification (*theosis*), when it loses its eschatological orientation, and when it is historicized and made part of society. Moreover, Theology is secularized when it is completely overwhelmed by anxiety and insecurity in the face of scientific argument or still yet when it uses the methodology of Science to talk about God. In such cases it creates problems in research. Indeed, if Theology does not have clear orthodox criteria and sure presuppositions then it has lost its mission.²

All that follows will show the confusion that is created, as well as the different bounds and frameworks in which both Theology and Science act respectively.

1. THE TWO KINDS OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE TWO KINDS OF TRUTH ACCORDING TO ST. GREGORY PALAMAS.

The dialogue that took place between St. Gregory Palamas and Barlaam, was also an occasion, among other things, for the boundaries of Orthodox Theology and of Science to be cleared up.

Barlaam, a representative of Medieval Scholastic Theology, pro-

fessed that the truth, be it human or divine, is one and singular. He accepted that the deifying words and the wisdom that is contained in them look to the same purpose as those of philosophy, which comes from worldly lessons, and aims at finding the truth. Thus, he argued that the truth is one, since this truth was given to the Apostles, whereas we uncover it through study. Philosophy lessons (where there is much talk about the creation of the world and the redemption of man) also participate in the lifting up of man to the level of *"the immaterial archetypes of the sacred symbols permanently."*³

St. Gregory Palamas, using many quotes from Holy Scripture and the Fathers, introduces the truth of two kinds of wisdom and of knowledge. Throughout his work we see this essential difference between divine and human knowledge underlined, something which demonstrates that the truth is not singular. Characteristically St. Gregory Palamas notes *"Whence it is shown that truth is of a double kind: one is the result of God-inspired teaching, whereas the other is neither necessary nor does it save, it seeks out secular wisdom, but achieves much less."*⁴ That means that one kind of truth, which is the vision of God, is the work and result of God-inspired teaching, whereas the other kind of wisdom, which is worldly wisdom, is neither necessary nor does it save, but neither is it fully accomplished. Saint Gregory Palamas asks *"What care does deifying wisdom have for all the truth in the stars?"*⁵ i.e. truth and knowledge about the stars does not interest and does not benefit deifying wisdom, that is the living experience of revelatory truth.

Certainly, St. Gregory Palamas does not reject worldly wisdom which looks to the knowledge of beings but argues that this human knowledge neither constitutes nor aids in any way the attainment of divine knowledge which is the result of purification of the heart and illumination of man's *nous*. With clarity of thought and revelatory wisdom St. Gregory Palamas would write: *"However the introduction of secular philosophy for the knowledge of beings is not entirely false, under some circumstances it could be true, but this is not the knowledge of beings and the wisdom that God gave to prophets and apostles. This is the Holy Spirit. That the Egyptians and the Chaldeans and the Hellenes are partakers of the Holy Spirit we have never heard up until today."*⁶ That is to say, the use of worldly philosophy to attain to the knowledge of beings is not totally amiss. Indeed, with certain preconditions it would also be true, but this is not the wisdom

and knowledge given by God to the Apostles and Prophets directly.

This difference between St. Gregory Palamas and Barlaam, in reality is the difference between the Scholastic Theology of the West and the Orthodox Theology of the East. Amongst the many distinguishing points we can say that Western Scholastic Theology, which was expressed by Barlaam, used a single method both for created things and for the uncreated God. This means that they tried to comprehend God with the same method that they used to investigate creation and natural phenomena, i.e. through reason. Illumination by Divine Grace simply assists human reason to comprehend concepts and objects. Whereas, taking the opposite view, Orthodox Theology, as expressed by all the Holy Fathers, including St. Gregory Palamas uses a double methodology for God and creation. That is to say it uses reason to investigate creation, the nature of beings, to examine natural phenomena, while with the *nous*, which is purified and illuminated it attains knowledge of God. Thus, the method of the Fathers used for the knowledge of God was experience.

We can define this difference and codify it as St. Gregory Palamas did with the phrases "*dialectic*" and "*demonstrative syllogisms*." This Saint developed the view that the dialectic method of Barlaam (and the Scholastics) refers to the search for possibilities and in general to all that concerns created reality. By contrast the demonstrative method of the hesychast Fathers, which bears a relationship to things and to experience, refers to man's journey towards deification (*theosis*).⁷

All this shows that education according to the world – and this includes Science – acts at one level, whereas knowledge of God, i.e. the aim and end of Theology, acts at another. A Science which tries to comprehend God with its own methodology (reason), and a Theology which leaves behind the hesychastic method, using reason for all matters including God, are equally bankrupt. This is especially the case with Theology, when it acts within the bounds of reasoning, i.e. dialectical elaboration.

2. THE THEOLOGIAN AND THE SCIENTIST IN RELATION TO GOD AND THE WORLD.

So that we can give fuller expression to this differentiation between Theology and Science, i.e. that they act on different levels and within different bounds, let us personalize the matter, that is to say,

let us look at the difference between the theologian and the scientist. I consider all that Fr. John Romanides has said on the matter to be significant and to the point. He sets down four theological statements.

First. There is an inextricable difference between God and creatures, since there is no similarity between uncreated and created nature. He writes that the Holy Fathers, who spoke from their experience, taught that “*between God and created things there is no likeness at all, even though created things were made by God and depend upon God. This means that the truth about God and the truth about the nature of the universe are not identified with one another, even though one of them is dependent on the other.*” It is for this precise reason that Theology cannot be identified with Science.

Second. Both the theologian and the scientist have different kind of knowledge. “*The beholder of God knows God, whereas the philosopher or the scientist investigates created things.*” This means that the philosopher and the scientist, in that they investigate the world through scientific method and philosophical imagination, cannot have the same knowledge about God that the beholders of God, the Prophets, Apostles and Saints do. The theologian, however, may have knowledge about scientific matter and become a scientist through scientific knowledge but not through the vision of God. Likewise, the scientist can also attain knowledge of God, not through his Science, but through the orthodox method of knowledge of God (*theognosia*) which is purification, illumination and deification (*theosis*).

Third. The purpose and work of the theologian and those of the scientist are different. “*The beholder of God knows how he will prepare people for the vision of God. The scientist knows how to teach his scientific method to his students.*” The theologian may also know the way to investigate natural phenomena, but within the knowledge of Science, as the Fathers of the Church did, just as a scientist can become a beholder of God, not through his Science, but through the vision of God.

Fourth. The theologian is God-inspired regarding God, not however regarding natural phenomena. “*The beholder of God is God-inspired and speaks steadfastly about God and leads straight towards God, but he is not infallible in matters concerning the applied and other Sciences, regarding which he can only know as much as his contemporary scientists.*” If someone is not a beholder of God

but a “*theologian*” in the academic sense of the word, then he “*can maintain scientific nonsense, but only of philosophers, in as much as he departs from the strict theological method of the beholders of God.*” Likewise, the scientist is also a specialist and is knowledgeable of natural phenomena. When, however, he departs from his strict scientific method and confuses his findings about the nature of the world with his views about God, then he says “*irresponsible things.*”⁸

I think the boundaries are clear and all that has been set down has spelt out the topic of the work and mission of both the scientist and the theologian respectively. Both are authentic when they work within their bounds, but when they depart from them and enter each other’s sphere without the necessary presuppositions and rules that presuppose each framework and each area, then they become ridiculous.

In general, the theologian may become a scientist, but through Science, and the scientist may become a theologian, but through Theology. The theologian cannot play the scientist through his Theology, nor can the scientist play the theologian through his Science.

The great Fathers of the Church were theologians through the experience of revelation and they even became scientists through conscientious study and learning of human Science. That is why they are whole.

3. THE POSITION OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT REGARDING THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE

After all that has been said, I think that it would be good to refer at some length to St. Basil the Great’s stance towards the Science of his time. This stance and how he faced the aspects of scientific data of his time in a theological manner can be clearly seen in his work “*Homilies on the Six Days of Creation*” known as the *Hexameron*. Indeed, in this book we can ascertain what that era’s scientific views about the world and all that exists in it were, as well as how this knowledge can be utilized by a theologian. St. Basil managed to collect all of the contemporary knowledge of Science back then on the subject of cosmology into a few speeches.

a) Firstly, we should point out that St. Basil had studied all the branches of Science of his time. From testimonies by St. Gregory the Theologian and from reports by Socrates and Sozomenos we know that he attained the best possible knowledge of Science of the time.

After receiving his general education first from his father, and then in Caesarea of Cappadocia, he went on to study under the significant pagan philosopher Libanios, most probably in Constantinople. Yet it was Athens that would be the principal city to initiate him into Science and philosophy. We are informed that four schools of philosophy operated in Athens during the fourth century, as well as many centers of rhetoric and some of medicine. There were many schools, and each school was directed by one teacher, who gathered around him a certain number of students, which did not exceed a couple of dozen or so, some of them stayed by their teachers for a longer period as associates or assistants.

In Athens, St. Basil received lessons from the teachers Himerios and Proairesios. In total he pursued all the Sciences of that era, such as rhetoric, which was considered to be the queen of Sciences, literature, history, philosophy in its four branches (namely ethics, theoretics, logic and dialectic), astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and medicine. Indeed, he knew each and every one of the Sciences so well that someone could spend his whole life studying just one of them and still not know it as well as he knew them all. All this knowledge of his clearly shows up in the commentary he makes on the *Hexameron*. He stayed in Athens for four or five years.⁹

b) In the *Hexameron* St. Basil continually refers to the views of the philosophers and the scientists on different cosmological subjects. Naturally, he never mentions their names but they become known through the views presented. For example in analyzing the phrase "*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth*," he refers to the views of Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Leucippus, Democritus and Aristotle.¹⁰

Amongst other things he writes "*The wise men of the Greeks have taken much trouble to explain nature, and not one of their reasons has remained firm and unshaken, each one being overturned by its successor. It is not our job to refute them; they are adequately able to overthrow one another by themselves.*"¹¹ Others accepted that a thinking cause presides for the generation of all things (Anaxagoras of Clazomenae). Again others held that the foundations of the world are *material elements* (Anaximander, Anaximenes, Empedocles, Heraclitus). Yet again others believed that all of visible nature was made up of "*atoms, and indivisible bodies, molecules and ducts,*"

and that the relationship between them contribute towards birth and corruption, but also in the sustenance of the world (Leucippus, Democritus and so on).¹²

It is significant that St. Basil refers to the views of the philosophers about the creation and sustenance of the world, but that he assesses them creatively both as a theologian and as a scientist. Sometimes he accepts them, sometimes he comments on them in a theological manner and sometimes he gives his own different interpretation. Thus, the work of St. Basil does not consist of a simple juxtaposition of scientists' views, but is a creative contribution. This, of course, is a consequence of the fact that St. Basil the Great knew the different opinions of his time very well, since he had spent long years in study, but also since he had had revelatory experience.

I would like to mention two characteristic examples:

The first example is on the matter of allegory, the method by which some, like Philo the Jew, interpreted the Pentateuch. St. Basil writes: "*I know the laws of allegory, though not so much from my own research, but rather from the works of others.*" He means Philo and others who, as he goes on to explain, did not accept the usual meaning of the text, but said that water is not water, but some other nature, and that the plant and the fish is interpreted according to their own theory and concepts. They did the same thing regarding reptiles and wild beasts. However, St. Basil does not pursue them in such fantasies. He writes: "*When I hear grass, I think of grass; and the plant, the fish, the wild beast and the domesticated animal, I accept all of them just as they are spoken.*" Also, based on revealed truth he argues that, "*although many have maintained much about the earth, whether it is a sphere or a cylinder, or if it resembles a disc and is equally rounded in all parts, or if it is in the form of a cradle and is hollow in the middle,*"¹³ despite this, "*it will not lead me to call our own creation account of the world more dishonorable, since the servant of God Moses never spoke about shapes.*"¹⁴

The second example comes from the interpretation of the verse "*Let the earth bring forth each living creature after its kind, cattle and creeping things, and beasts of the earth after their kind.*"¹⁵ Some people of St. Basil's era maintained that during the rainy season the earth produces grasshoppers, countless flying insects, as well as mice and frogs. St. Basil was prepared to accept this theory, that all these come from the earth, but he gives a theological interpretation, sup-

porting the view, (which we will see below) that all this is the result of the energy of God, which exists in creation and not the natural attributes of creation. He writes, "*This command has continued and earth does not cease to serve the Creator.*"¹⁶ Thus, it is this uncreated energy of God, which exists in creation that continually creates and produces animals and insects. Here we clearly see the creative and theological approach to the beliefs of that time.

But St. Basil does not only interpret the scientific views of his time according to theological presuppositions. He does something else which is equally important. He interprets the phrases of Holy Scripture, i.e. the experience of Revelation, *via* the views of Science. In analyzing the phrase "*God made the firmament,*" he makes broad observations, trying to give the correct interpretation. Having mentioned various verses from Scripture, at the end he says that by the expression "*firmament,*" with which God "*divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament,*" means a firm material, which is capable of retaining fluid and liquid water. He also makes further comments that we are unable to present here.¹⁷

c) We must, however, look at the theological approach to the Creation of the world. St. Basil is not a theoretical secular scientist, but a great theologian. Thus, he is not satisfied with a presentation of the views of Science, but often, as seen in his works, he speaks theologically. He sets down the necessary theological presuppositions of Christian cosmology, something that differentiates Christian cosmology from any other kind of cosmology.

The first theological principle is that there is a difference between the Creator and creation, between the uncreated God and created nature. When interpreting the phrase "*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth*" he makes some excellent observations.

Creation has a precise origin; i.e. it was created at a precise time and, indeed, was the result of a creative principle, God. He speaks about a "*principle of good order of visible things.*"¹⁸ Besides the world was "*not created spontaneously.*"¹⁹ Thus he talks of a precise origin "*so that some will not think that it is without a beginning.*"²⁰ The view that Creation has an exact origin leads us to the conclusion that visible things do have a cause. "*Do not imagine, O man! that the visible is without a beginning.*"²¹ Moreover, this infers that creation has a precise end. "*If there is a beginning in time, do not doubt of the*

end.”²²

The view that the world has an origin leads us to seek out what the origin of the world is. The creative origin of the world is God Who is without beginning. *“If then the world has a beginning, and if it has been created, ask who gave it this beginning, and who was the Creator.”*²³ Indeed, God the Creator of the World is *“fortunate nature, abundant goodness, the beloved of all endowed with reason, the most desirable beauty, the origin of beings, the source of life, the noetic light, unapproachable wisdom...”*²⁴ However, for man to know God he must purify his flesh from passions.²⁵

Hence, we see here that St. Basil makes the clear distinction between uncreated and created, between that which is without beginning and that which has a beginning, between God and the world. This is very important, so that there will be no confusion between the Creator and the creation.

The second theological principle is that the world was created from nothing, i.e. not from material that did exist. That God created the world from nothing, means that he did not create it from preexisting ideas, nor from pre-existing material. This position shakes all pagan cosmological principles; that is to say, it shakes the foundations of classical Metaphysics.

St. Basil says that all skills and arts are subsequent to matter, and were introduced into life for our needs. God, however, before making the visible things *“having formed in His mind (nous) and determining to bring non-beings into genesis, in the same way He conceived of the world as it ought to be.”* With this aim he created matter, fire, water and air and united these dissimilar things in an indissoluble bond of fellowship in one communion and harmony.²⁶ He adheres to this point in his other talks. *“Everything was brought from non-being into being at the command of God.”*²⁷

The third theological principle is that God manages the world with his uncreated energies. In other words, God did not just lay down a few natural laws and then abandon the world to its fate, but he manages it personally. This is important because it shows that the energies of God exist throughout creation, but, of course, creation can not partake of the essence of God.

The way in which God-beholding Moses presents the creation of the world, and the way in which St. Basil the Great interprets it, show the creative intervention of God through His energies. In interpreting

the verse "*And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*,"²⁸ he says that God with His Word warmed and quickened the nature of the water, just like a bird hatches its eggs. Interpreting the Psalm "*I bear up the pillars of it*" (Ps. 75:3/74:4 Sept.) he says that this means the cohesive power of the earth, i.e. the power that holds the earth and, of course, that means that all is held "*by the power of the Creator*."²⁹

Not only was everything created by the uncreated energy of God, but also everything is administered by the power of God. God's voice then, saying "*Let the earth bring forth grass*" shows that this command became a law of nature "*that left to the earth the power to generate and be fruitful from then on*."³⁰ St. Basil gives such great importance to the teaching that the energy of God exists throughout creation, so that he believes that the commandment of God fills everything and even reaches to the smallest details, since even "*a fish does not refute God's Law*."³¹

Interpreting the expression "*Let the earth bring forth each living soul (Septuagint) after its kind*" he objects to the Manichaeans who believed that the soul existed throughout the earth and taught that this living soul was the divine word which constituted the nature of things made.³²

The fourth theological principle set forth by St. Basil is that studying the world, creation, is not self-serving. Since, however, the world was created by God and is sustained by his uncreated energy, it is necessary for man to lift up his mind from the visible to the invisible, from creation to the Creator. In one of his homilies he says that God gave us intelligence so that "*from the smallest objects of creation we may learn the great wisdom of the artisan*."³³ Illumination from God is sought, so that from what we see we may apprehend the invisible, and from the greatness of the beauty of creation we may attain a suitable perception of the Creator.³⁴ Thus, through creation we can gain a sense of God's grandeur. If creation is idolized, i.e. if our mind goes no further than the admiration of created things, then that constitutes making creation into God, it means idolatry.

The fifth theological principle. When St. Basil the Great studies the various phenomena that occur in nature, even the behavior of various kinds of animals, birds and insects, he leads his thoughts to spiritual teachings which aim at benefiting man spiritually. For example, looking at the cases of the hedgehog and the ant, who take the

trouble to do different tasks which will be of benefit during difficult times, he says that this teaches man to provide for the future. "*So that we also should not attach ourselves to this present life, but give all our attention to the age that is to come.*" Therefore, living within time, we prepare for the eternal reward. With this teaching it becomes apparent that the saints do not confine their life within history, but they also extend it to eschatology or, to be precise, we should say that they let eschatology regulate history.

In general, we should note that St. Basil interprets the creation of the world mainly on the basis of the revelatory teaching of Moses and of his own tradition of interpretation, which is a fruit of his own experience. However, he also uses examples from pagan philosophers, and indeed sometimes he accepts these examples as they were formulated, sometimes giving them a different (wider) interpretation and sometimes rejecting them. This does not happen arbitrarily but on the basis of the theological principles, which we outlined above and which refer to the ontology of nature, i.e., to the One who is nature's creator, and to how he has created and sustained the world. He uses his basic theological principles on these matters without fail. In addition, he accepts everything that is related to scientific matters, provided that it does not disturb these principles. As we saw above, he is prepared to accept certain opinions of that time, according to which the earth produces frogs and cicadas. However, he gives them a theological interpretation in saying that they are not produced by the earth acting spontaneously on its own, but by the energy of God which is in earth, since the creation. This tactic of St. Basil indicates the way which should be followed today in relation to contemporary scientific matters.

4. A CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLE FROM THE FIELD OF GENETICS.

The way in which Orthodox Theology should operate, how it should judge Science and how it should interpose its own voice, can be seen from the examination of the case of cloning. I would like to continue with a brief account, to show how a scientist and a theologian operate in this case.

It is well known that when we talk about cloning, in reality we refer to the transplantation of genetic material (DNA) from a cell to an ovary that has already had its own genetic material removed. This

new material is then implanted into a third organism. It is a new discovery of scientific research that began with irrational animal and is intended to continue with rational animals endowed with souls, that is, to be introduced to human beings. It is a discovery that has terrorized many theologians, but it has also made scientists arrogant, filled with hubris, in the original Greek sense of the word.

The reaction to this new method of producing live organisms, especially of human beings, is varied. A theologian may moralize and an "atheist" may theologize. I am of the opinion that we theologians are given this opportunity to avoid moralizing and to face such cases theologically as the Holy Fathers of the Church did.

For example, I can mention that I read texts by "theologians" who in facing the challenge of contemporary Science on the matter of genetics and especially cloning, restrict the discussion solely to the subject of normative rules that must be put to scientists when they approach such a serious matter. There is no doubt, of course, that theologians must also do that; they must make scientists aware of their responsibilities. But that can be also done by scientists who today do not necessarily come from the "domain" of the Church, yet talk of "ethical-normative" rules, which must be placed within research, so that we do not end up with the birth of monstrosities and indeed with fascist and racist mentalities.

Moreover, while there are theologians and clerics who moralize, there are also intellectuals and thinkers who theologize. One such example is the famous Italian philosopher Umberto Eco, and it appears in an article of his in the Italian periodical *L'Espresso* with the title: "A crazy scientist has decided to clone me." I will cite certain opinions of this great contemporary philosopher, since they are expressive, and show how one can theologize and philosophize on this matter.

Eco writes: "*A human being is not just its genes, but something much greater. Upbringing, education, social and cultural environment all play a tremendous role.*" Referring to the hypothesis that some crazy scientist has decided to create his likeness he writes: "*It would have my hair, my eyes, the same tendencies toward sickness, but Umberto the second will have grown up on a farm in the Mid-West. I, on the other hand, grew up in a middle-class family, in a provincial Italian city in the thirties and forties. I had a Catholic upbringing in fascist Italy, and saw television for the first time when I was twenty*

years old. What will Umberto the second be like me at my age? Certainly something different from me." Having emphasized that cloning signifies a turn in Science and ethics, he points out that the human race must oppose "*the diligent attempts of scientific fantasy, which is ruled by a naive materialistic determinism, according to which man's fate is determined exclusively by his genetic inheritance ... As if upbringing, the environment, the misfortunes of probability, the caresses and the slaps from parents bore no relation at all.*"³⁵

In such opinions one sees an attempt to escape from the moral and deontological canons of behavior, which certain theologians have shut themselves into, in their attempt to say something about Science's new achievement.

In continuing, I would like to present seven *theological positions* on the subject of the prospect of human cloning.

1. Man, according to Orthodox teaching, is a psychosomatic being and, of course, he is formed according to the image and likeness of God. He is clearly distinct from animals, because he has a soul according to essence and according to energy. This means that the human being can in no way whatsoever be considered as a "*laboratory rat*" nor as a breathing factory of living organs ready for transplantation for the sake, indeed, of commercial gain. In such cases the pinnacle of creation, the recapitulation of the intelligent (*noetic*) and sensitive world, is turned into a living accessory, a manifestation of the theory that the human being is a "*tool with a soul!*"

2. Man is a creature, and, thus, is defined as created, whereas God is uncreated. There is a tremendous difference between created and uncreated. It means that God creates out of non-being out of non-existent material, while man can create something out of existing material that has already been created by God. Thus, even if there are scientists who would proceed to clone humans, with frightening results, they cannot be identified with God, for the precise reason that they will be working with already existent genetic material, and they would not create something out of non-being.

3. According to the teaching of the Holy Fathers of the Church, God's life-creating energy can be found within the whole of creation, and, we could even add, in cells and in DNA too. A wealth of information regarding this truth can be found in both St. Basil the Great's Homilies on the *Hexameron*, as well as in the works of St. Gregory of Nyssa. Therefore, whatever happens within creation, even when

man interferes in an arrogant manner, it happens with the approval or the concession of the will of God.

4. In the Orthodox Church we talk about man as a person. This means that he has uniqueness, freedom and love. The term person refers to man being according to God's likeness and image, and of course, is extended to the whole being. With cloning it is possible to form externally similar people, who will have the same kinds of reaction on certain points, something we can see in sibling twins. Yet we are unable to abolish the person – the hypostatic other-ness of a particular human being – with his own special mode of love and freedom. Each human being has a distinctive hypostatic mark, a variety of degrees of love, even up to self-sacrifice, as well as the ability to express itself in freedom positively or negatively.

5. Genetic Science, and of course, human cloning cannot free man from the mortality with which he is born. Science may cure certain hereditary diseases and can extend life, but it cannot help man overcome death. Man's basic problem, however, is not the extension of biological life, nor is it the delaying of death, but it is overcoming death. That is the work of Orthodox Theology.

6. These contemporary challenges give us the opportunity to determine exactly what life is and exactly what death is. It is a fact that man is greatly troubled by this existential question. However many similarities may exist, bodily, psychologically and so on, however many transplants take place, man will still feel the unconquerable need to answer these questions. Scientists cannot give exact answers. And even if they try to do so, even then their answers will be incomplete. Man asks, "*Why was I born? Why did they give birth to me without asking?*" This problem will become even greater when he gets informed that he was created by cloning and without the loving care of a mother and father. In addition man is concerned with the question of what is the point of his existence, why does he exist. The greatest question is found within the framework of death. Many young people ask, "*Why should death exist? Why do my loved ones die? Where do they go after death? Why should we come into life and then after a short while disappear, if there is no life after death? And if life does exist after death, then why should I die and where do I go to?*" Orthodox Theology answers these questions whereas Science cannot give any answers.

7. Even if a human being were to be cloned, it will still be created,

and would be endowed with a precise origin, corruptibility and freedom, which will not necessarily function positively as happens with uncreated nature, but will also function negatively, and it will have a biological end. It could of course, as something created, also have an end to its very existence, but that does not happen because God wants it to be immortal by grace. Within the Church however, we talk about another form of "*cloning*" which Science cannot give to man. With the incarnation of Christ, that which was created was united with that which was uncreated. Thus, each human being has been given the possibility of acquiring experience of the union by Grace of the created nature with the uncreated energy of God in Christ Jesus. The Saints acquired this experience, thus becoming uncreated and immortal by Grace. The Uncreated and Immortal was "*transplanted*" into them, and they gained experience of immortal life even from this biological life. The problem, then, is not bodily or genetic transplantation, but the "*transplantation*" of God within our hypostasis/person. It is such experience that gives meaning to man's life. Therefore, contemporary Science, and indeed genetics, gives us the opportunity to concern ourselves with the eternal questions which have concerned the human spirit, from ancient Greek philosophy until today; questions which were answered by the incarnation of Christ. We must look at anthropological problems through Theology, Divine Economy, Soteriology and Eschatology. It is an opportunity for us to guide man's search for the deeper and higher things of life.

The subject of the Orthodox Theology's encounter with Science is large enough and cannot be answered within the time limits of a lecture. Here we simply presented some problems. The fact remains that we must definitely set the boundaries between Science and Orthodox Theology. The scientists should not approach theological and existential questions using scientific methodology, because they will bring tremendous disappointment to man who is searching for something different. Neither should theologians approach scientific reality, leaving behind the higher things of spiritual life. It is impossible for the theological and existential message to be secularized and brought into society.

Science answers the question of what the world we see is. Theology answers the question of who the Creator of the world is. Science researches the subject of the behavior and function of created things. Theology sees the energy of God that enlivens the world. Science

tries to heal the sicknesses that make man suffer. Theology helps man transcend his creatureliness and mortality. Science answers the question of how beings and created things were made and created. Theology answers the question of what is the aim and end of creation. Anyway, in the Orthodox Church we look for “*new heavens and a new earth*” (II Peter 3:13). Let Science occupy itself with the aged earth and the aged heaven. We, as theologians and clerics, look for that “*blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ*” (Titus 2: 13).

NOTES

¹ BBC News - Wednesday January 7th, 1998 -reported in Greek in the “*Eleutherotypia*” Newspaper January 8th, 1998.

² See the Greek Magazine *Diabasi* (=Passage), Nov.-Dec. 1997, pp. 5-7.

³ Translated from the original Greek text published in *Gregory Palamas: Works* Vol. 2, in the series *Ellenes Pateres tes Ekklesias*, Thessaloniki 1987, p. 268.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 270.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 272.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ See Nikos Matsoukas: “The double methodology of Gregory Palamas,” in Greek, in the volume *Papers of the Theological Conference in honor and memory of our Father among the Saints Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessaloniki*, published by the Sacred Metropolis of Thessaloniki 1986, pp. 75 onwards. [in Greek]

⁸ John Romanides: *Romiosyni*, Published by Pournaras, Thessaloniki 1975, pp. 1 10-111.[in Greek]

⁹ See Panagiotis Christou, *O Megas Basileios*, Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki 1978, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰ Translated from the original Greek text of Basil the Great, *Homilies on the Hexameron*, published in the series *Ellenes Pateres tes Ekklesias*, Vol. 4, p. 28, footnote 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 338-340.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 240.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 344.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 112ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 24.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 30.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 32.

²² *Ibid.* p. 34.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 32.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 24.

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 70-72.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 326.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 86.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 52.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 172.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 280.

³² *Ibid.* p. 298.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 142.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 350.

³⁵ Reported in the Greek Daily "*Eleutheros Typos*," 8th March 1997.

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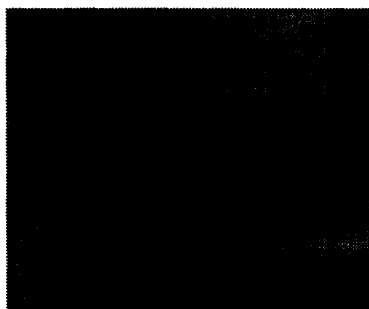
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**BISHOP GEORGE (PAPAIOANNOU)
OF NEW JERSEY (1933-1999)**



Bishop George of New Jersey and the Mid-Atlantic States died on November 22, 1999 at Suburban Hospital after a stroke.¹ He had been Bishop of the Diocese of New Jersey, consisting of 52 parishes in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, since April 1999. His last will and testament to his Diocese, as it were, was

delivered a few weeks earlier as an Address to the Clergy-Laity Assembly of his Diocese under the theme "A New Beginning,"² although nobody could predict on that occasion his untimely passing away. His Funeral, attended by 1,200 faithful, 100 priests and seven Hierarchs of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, was conducted by Archbishop Demetrios of America on Saturday November 27, 1999 at St. George's in Bethesda Md., and the burial took place at Gate of Heaven Cemetery, in Aspen Hill Md., near Washington.³

On hearing of Bishop George's passing while visiting at Hellenic College/Holy Cross in Brookline, MA, Archbishop Demetrios of America issued the following statement: "This is a tremendous loss for the Church. Bishop George has been an invaluable, dedicated worker in the Vineyard of the Lord giving everything that he had in the service of His people. In spite of the brevity of his hierarchical ministry, he achieved remarkable spiritual and pastoral results... I pray fervently for the rest of his soul among the saints and the righteous, and the hope and faith that God will raise in his place devoted brothers of the same faith and dedication. My special condolences and prayers are offered to his beloved family. May His Memory be Eternal."⁴

His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, who was Bishop George's Halki classmate and friend, stressed in his Message for the funeral, that "he was a tower of strength" and "the man for the job" in a Diocese that is "one of the most vibrant."⁵

Bishop George was born at Prodomos in Thebes, Greece, on April 23, 1933, the third of four children (two brothers and a sister). His first education was in his village school held at the parish church.⁶ When the Germans during the World War II burned his village, he fled to Corinth, but returned there a year later to complete his High School studies. On graduation he received a scholarship from Queen Frederica of Greece to study Theology at the renowned Theological School of Halki, in Turkey, from which he graduated in 1957.

In July 1957, he was married to Presbyteria Maria, a gifted and energetic partner with whom he raised three daughters, and in September of the same year he was ordained to the priesthood and served at the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in Istanbul.

In 1960 he was assigned to the parish of St. Demetrios in Hamilton Ontario, where he served for two years helping Greek immigrants who were arriving in Canada by the thousands to settle there and find suitable jobs.

In 1962 he was reassigned to the Orthodox Church of St. George in Manchester New Hampshire, where he worked to build the Cathedral and the Community Center. During this time he pursued doctoral studies at the University of Boston, which were concluded with the conferral on him of the Th.D. degree of the School of Theology in 1976. His doctoral thesis was entitled: "*Patriarch Athenagoras I and the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America.*"

In 1971 Fr. George was reassigned to St. George's in Bethesda, where he helped construct the permanent sanctuary, the educational building and the Grant Hall that was named in memory of his Presbyteria Maria. The parish grew from a core of 75 families in 1971 to 750 families from the Bethesda, Potomac and Gaithersburg areas, and has become especially known for its community philanthropy, religious education, Greek language and education and youth programs. When Fr. George left it, on his elevation to the episcopate, this parish Church had a new sanctuary, an extensive program for children and youths, a Greek school, where Greek language and culture were taught, a twelve room educational wing and social hall that doubles as a gymnasium. Additionally, over a twenty-five year period, the Church provided lodging on its property for more than one thousand Greek families that needed a place to stay while their children received treatment at the National Institutes of Health.⁷

Bishop George was named a Bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church, Archdiocese of America, in 1998, becoming the first Bishop to be

accepted from the ranks of married clergy. He had been widowed since 1993 when his Presbytera Maria died. The Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople elected him titular Bishop of Komana in Caucasus, Armenia (where St. John Chrysostom died in exile), on May 18, 1998 to assist Archbishop Spyridon of America.⁸

Following his election, Archbishop Spyridon elevated Fr. George to the rank of Archimandrite at the Vespereal service in the Archdiocese in New York on June 11 1998. He then proceeded to consecrate him as Bishop of Komana on June 13 and in November 1998 he appointed him Director of the Archdiocese Office of Public Affairs in Washington.⁹

In March 1999 Bishop George was elected Diocesan Bishop of New Jersey and was enthroned by Archbishop Spyridon in the Diocesan Cathedral of St. John the Theologian in Tenafly, New Jersey.¹⁰

In August of the same year, following the resignation of Archbishop Spyridon, he was appointed Archiepiscopal Vicar from August 26th to September 19th, 1999, and was responsible for all of the enthronement arrangements of Archbishop Demetrios of America. He had also been appointed chairman of the Clergy-Laity Congress scheduled to be held in Philadelphia in July 2000.

Bishop George has been described as a diminutive, energetic and flamboyant priest, especially known for an inexhaustible work ethic and ability to persuade members of his congregation to take on difficult tasks. He was also known as a skilled fund-raiser, not only for his Church but also for other charitable causes. It is reported that in 1985 he helped raise \$185,000 for a liver transplant for a young Greek boy. Also, in 1997 he helped raise \$265,000 for liver transplant for a monk from Mount Athos in Greece. He was witty and outspoken and was sometimes seen as critical for narrow interpretations of Church policy and dogma.

Bishop George was a distinguished writer. For twelve years, he wrote a column, "Tell Me Father," for the *Orthodox Observer*, the official publication of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, in which he urged compassion and common sense as guides to the enforcement of church policies. "I am outspoken. I am candid. I have compassion. I feel rather uncomfortable as a clergyman seeing abuses of wealth and power. Whenever I have said or written something that might be interpreted as criticism, it has been with some pain. I take no joy in disagreeing with my fellow clergy and more especially with

my superiors. But I have never sought acceptance or approval of my views," he said.¹¹ He also contributed important, often critical, articles in the Greek daily *National Herald*, in the Greek American publication *Hellenic Chronicle* and elsewhere.

The books he authored and published include:

1) *From Mars Hill to Manhattan: the Greek Orthodox in America under Patriarch Athenagoras I*, Light and Life Publishing Co, Minneapolis Minnesota 1976, which is based on his doctoral thesis.

2) *The Odyssey of Hellenism in America* [two separate volumes, one in Greek and another in English], Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki 1985 (winner of an award from the Academy of Athens 1983).¹²

3) *A Guide to Greek Traditions and Customs in America*, by Marilyn Rouvelas, with George Papaioannou as Religious Editor, Attica Press, Bethesda Maryland 1993.

4) *The Diamond Jubilee of the Greek Archdiocese of America 1922-1997*, 1997, which was submitted to, and is going to appear in the next volume of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

Among his important essays we may mention the following:

1) "The History of the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation," published in *American Congregations vol. 1*, ed. by James P. Wind and James W. Lewis, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1994, pp. 520-571.

2) "Ἡ Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀμερικῆς Ἰακώβου: Τὸ ὁδοιπορικὸ ἐνὸς δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ, *ΞΕΝΙΑ Ἰακώβω Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βορείου καὶ Νοτίου Ἀμερικῆς*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, σσ. 34-92.

3) "The Historical development of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America," in *A Companion to the Greek Orthodox Church*, ed. by Fotios K. Litsas, published by The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of N and S America, New York 1984, pp. 178-206.

4) "Damaskinos of Corinthos: His contributions to the development of the Archdiocese," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, compiled and edited by Melt. B. Efthimiou and George Christopoulos, published by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, New York 1984, pp. 121-144.

5) "Efforts toward Orthodox unity in America: an historical appraisal," in *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia: trends and prospects*

(*essays in honor of Archbishop Iakovos on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*), ed. by D. Constantelos, Hellenic College Press, Brookline Ma 1981, pp. 273-304.

His other essays give a picture of the wide-ranging interests, character and competence of the man. As far as I could ascertain, they are as follows:

1970

"English for the Liturgy: the history of its introduction to our Churches," *National Herald*, 19 Aug. 1970.

1977

"The New Archdiocesan Charter: Why not the best?" *Hellenic Chronicle*, (May 22 1977).

1978

"The restructuring of the Archdiocese," *Orthodox Observer*, June 21 1978.

1980

"The Exploitation of Religion," *Orthodox Observer*, 46:839 (9 Apr 1980), p. 7.

"The 25th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress: Analysis and Appraisal," *Orthodox Observer* (August 1980), pp. 2,13.

"The Exploitation of Religion," *Orthodox Observer* (August 1980), p. 7.

"The 25th Congress: Analysis and Appraisal," *Orthodox Observer*, 46:848 (10 Sept 1980), pp. 2f,

1984

"A Glorious Spiritual Odyssey: The 25th Anniversary of Archbishop Iakovos," *Orthodox Observer*, 50:925 (21 March 1984), p. 5A,

"The Sacred Journey of a Levite (Archbishop Iakovos)" (in Greek), *Orthodox Observer*, 50:925 (21 March 1984), pp. 14A-15A.

1985

"A Priest's view of his Bishop: On the Occasion of Metropolitan Silas' 25th Anniversary," *Orthodox Observer*, 51:956 (9 Oct 1985), p. 6.

1986

"The Odyssey of Hellenism in America," *Orthodox Observer*, 52:973 (2 July 1996), pp. 12 and 14.

"The Creation of the New Smyrna Colony," *Orthodox Observer*, 52:974 (10 Sept 1986), p. 19,

"After New Smyrna: The Bond between America and Greece," *Orthodox Observer*, 52:977 (22 Oct 1986), p. 13,

"The Greek Pilgrim Fathers and the 'Columbus' of Sparta," *Orthodox Observer*, 52:979 (19 Nov 1986), p. 7.

"The Odyssey of Hellenism in America: The causes of Greek Immigration," *Orthodox Observer*, 52:980 (3 Dec 1986), p. 7"

1987

"Donating Organs for Transplant," *Orthodox Observer*, 53:984 (11 Feb 1987), pp. 5,6.

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Bishop George is survived by his three daughters, Alexandra Moski, Eleni Spyrou, and Vasiliki Szczesny, two brothers, Elias Papaioannou of Brantford Ontario, Canada, and John Papaioannou of Greece, and six grandchildren. May the Lord grant him rest with his Presbytera in His eternal Kingdom and his memory be eternal.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

NOTES

¹ Cf. "Bishop George of New Jersey Dies from Stroke," *Orthodox Observer*, 64:1168 (Dec. 1999), pp. 1,6,20. Cf. Also "Our Church loses chief peacemaker, historian, Bishop George ..." *The Hellenic Chronicle*, lxxxviii No 21 (Nov. 24, 1999), pp.1,5.

² Cf. "A New Beginning, by Bishop George of New Jersey: delivered at the Diocese of NJ Clergy-Laity Assembly," *The Hellenic Chronicle*, lxxxviii No 18 (Nov. 3, 1999) pp. 1,2.

³ *Ibid.* *Orthodox Observer*, p. 6.

⁴ Cf. Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, *Press Release*, November 22, 1999.

⁵ Cf. *Op. cit.* *Orthodox Observer*, 64:1168 (Dec. 1999), p. 6.

⁶ For Bishop George's biography, besides the obituary in the *Orthodox Observer*, see also the article "Archbishop Spyridon in Washington for Fr. Papaioannou's 25th anniversary," *The Hellenic Chronicle*, lxxxii No 20 (Nov. 14, 1996), p. 12.

⁷ From Bart Barnes' obituary: "George Papaioannou Dies at 66: Greek Orthodox

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⁸ "Ecumenical Patriarchate Elects Two New Auxiliary Bishops," *Orthodox Observer*, 63:1145 (May 20, 1998) pp. 2,23.

⁹ Cf. "George Papaioannou ordained as Bishop," *Orthodox Observer*, 63:1147 (July-August 1998), pp. 1f. See also "Bishop George of Komanon ordained," *The Hellenic Chronicle*, lxxxv No. 25 (June 24, 1998), pp. 1,10.

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of a bishop or hierarch appears for the first time in the text it is immediately followed by the individual's last name in parenthesis thus avoiding the usual confusion that comes when one tries to identify hierarchs. FitzGerald did not base his work on extensive archival research and this fact makes the work less valuable for those interested in a more scholarly assessment of Orthodoxy. Nor can the work be considered a social history. Rather, its purpose is to present and interpret the main historical developments and movements of Orthodoxy in America. This, indeed is the great value of the work; it makes the history of Orthodoxy in America accessible to all readers. Fr. FitzGerald should be applauded for his work – a work which deserves to be on the shelf of every Orthodox parish library in the United States and in the homes of those interested in Orthodoxy in America.

Dr. James C. Skedros

Michael J. Buckley, *Papal Primacy and the Episcopate*, New York: The Crossroads Publishing company, 1988, pp. 95, \$12.95.

With the fall of communism in the Slavic countries, the demise of the Ottoman empire a transformation of the Western national states, the roles of patriarchal leadership in the Church hierarchical communion is challenged to adapt itself in the context of a eucharistic fellowship in service to the Christian mission to the modern world. Such internal issues as the appointment aps, transfer of bishops and corporate episcopal decision making, in both East and West, have taken on forms that are not totally consistent with the patristic Church.

This short volume deals with some of these issues in the context of the Western patriarchs Pope John Paul calls for advice as to how to reform his office to better serve the unity of the church in his 1995 encyclical *Ur Unum Sint*. The author, a Jesuit teaching at Boston College faced the core of the book as a paper presented at the 1995 conference in Rome on the *prima Peter*.

The future of the Roman patriarchate can only be discerned in the context not only of its ecumenical role among the churches and the internal working of institutional Catholicism. It must take account the common journey among the patriarchal churches of the East from which its has been separated for a millennium. It is only with full participation of all of the apostolic churches that a common future can be discerned for the Church.

The author develops his perspectives in eight chapters, focusing

on the Petrine role with episcopate rather than on the papacy as a free standing institution with its develop centralization. In the introduction he outlines four dimensions of the question: statement of the problem, language, method and ideology. He attempts to clear away some of the typical barriers objectivity in focusing on the theology and history of a particular institution in which the observer a personal and spiritual stake. He devotes a whole chapter to the spirituality that must accompany the theological and ecclesial exploration of these issues under the title "The Conditions to Inquiry: Towards Purity of Heart." The tone of this chapter provides a model for Christian exploration of sensitive ecclesial issues.

The key second chapter roots the communion among bishops and their eucharist communities in a metaphysics of relationship and its relevance to episcopate and primacy. The next six chapters with issues of the ministry of primacy, the ecclesiology of unity as communion, the episcopal character of the papal primacy, the functions of primacy: habitual and substitutional, and collegiality. The importance of seeing episcopal leadership in the context of a relational, collegial and eucharist understanding of the Church is a necessary counterweight to centralizing and authoritarian tendencies that burden any institution, especially during periods of transition and expansion.

The final chapter discusses primacy, episcopate and the local churches. It makes a case for renewing the local involvement in the episcopal appointment system of the Western Church and the permanence of the bishop in one local church, as a return to patristic values which have temporary pastoral relevance.

The author makes an important plea for more careful attention to the distinction between the primacies inherent in the role of the pope as patriarch of the West and his universal ministry. However, the latter can only be sorted out, as this Pope has acknowledged, with the input of fellow Christians, especially his fellow patriarchs of the East. This invitation can only be effective if other Christians approach this discussion with the same spirit of purity of heart and repentance emphasized by this author, and made explicit in Pope John Paul's encyclical.

It is Christ and the Church, finally, that any primacy must serve, so the role of our patriarchs must be formed by relations not only with fellow bishops and their needs, but by the whole people of God.

This volume is an important contribution to this discussion among Christians in all of the churches.

Br. Geoeffrey Gros, FSC

Augoustides Adamantios, *Ἡ ἀνθρώπινη ἐπιθετικότητα, ποιμαντική καί ψυχολογική προσέγγιση στήν Κλίμακα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σιναΐτου* (= *Human Aggression: A pastoral and psychological approach to the Ladder of St. John of Sinai*), Library of the Sacred Metropolis of Thebes and Levadeia No 8, Editions "Akritas," 2nd edition, Athens 1999., 336pp.

Fr. Augoustides is well known in Greece and beyond as a brilliant young scholar-priest, psychiatrist and psychotherapist, with a Doctorate of Theology in Pastoral Psychology *summa cum laude* from the University of Athens. He serves as a clergyman in the sacred Metropolis of Thebes and Levadeia and works as a psychiatrist in the Center of Psychical Health (in Levadeia) – the first such institution in Greece under the auspices of church and state to deal with the rehabilitation of chronic psychic sufferers – and as Director of the First Unit of Psychiatric and Pastoral Care in Greece. He is also a Lecturer in the Anotera (Higher) Ecclesiastical School of Athens and has been appointed representative of the Sacred Synod of the Church of Greece on matters relating to psychic health. He is very active internationally, both as participant of scientific societies and conferences in his field and as contributor to various academic periodicals.

Fr. Augoustides' present book is a second revised edition of his doctoral dissertation. It represents a pastoral and psychological study of the problem of human aggression according to patristic anthropology as this is defined in the renowned 6th century Patristic text *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* of St. John Climacus (or St. John of Sinai). It consists of Five well written and structured parts, which deal successively with the following topics: 1) The notion and meaning of aggression, 2) the *Ladder* as a source for the study of aggression, 3) the operation of aggression in the *Ladder*, 4) the pathological physiology of aggression in the *Ladder*, and 5) the therapy of aggression in the *Ladder*. These five parts are preceded by an excellent bibliography of sources and newest studies of Greek and Foreign authors, and is followed by a short chapter of Conclusions, and Indices to technical terms, foreign terms, and names and subjects.

The study focuses on the various forms of aggression, which are

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English translation, of Theodore Dukas Laskaris and Theodore Metochites, which follow the main text and include an introduction and exegetical commentaries. Similar *engomia* are found elsewhere in the book, particularly on pp. 20-22, 32-34, 52-54, 81-84, 105-107. They all constitute valuable sources for the study of the subject matter. There are several references to captivity under the Turks and to the residents of Nicaea of St. Gregory Palamas (pp. 85, 98, 117). This most valuable book is one of the best that has been written on Nicaea, and it would be greatly welcomed in Greek translation.

Professor Vasil Th. Stavridis (Halki)

(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Manuel I. Gedeon, *Patriarchal Indices, Historical and Biographical Notices Concerning the Patriarchs of Constantinople, from Andrew the Protokletos to Joachim III, formerly of Thessalonica: A.D. 36 to 1884*, 2nd edition, augmented and improved on the basis of the author's handwritten notes. Reconstruction of the text, philological supervision, indices by Nikolaos L. Phoropoulos, Athens, 1996, 914 pp. Photographs, pictures. (Editors: Society for the Propagation of Beneficial Books.)

The present edition of this classic work of Manuel Gedeon of eternal memory appeared for the first time in Constantinople between the years 1885 and 1890, with the brief title *Patriarchal Indices (36-1884)*, and consisted of 720 pages. This second edition includes 200 additional pages. Its contents include some new material: a letter of Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople (p. 6), a prologue to the second edition by Phoropoulos (pp. 7-10), a letter of Gregorios Photeinos (Dean of Halki) to Manuel Gedeon (pp. 11-12). Then follows the main body of the book (pp. 13-628). The introductory part (pp. 13-51) deals with the institution of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This is followed by biographies of the Patriarchs, beginning with Andrew the Protokletos, who was, according to the Tradition, the founder of the Church of Constantinople. The last Patriarch is Joachim III, whose first Patriarchal term of office was during 1878 to 1884. After this long section, the old list of subscribers to the first edition and published books is included (pp. 629-633), which is of special historic value, because it provides the names of persons and places that might become the object of special studies. There follows an appendix (pp. 635-914), which contains additions from the works of Gedeon and

from the editor of the present edition. These additions include Gedeon's: *Churches of the Orthodox in Constantinople* (in Greek), Constantinople, 1888 (pp. 637-688); *Monuments of Patriarchal History: Gregory V and Successors* (in Greek), Athens, 1922 (pp. 690-743); *Unpublished Letters, etc. from the Archives* (pp. 744-768). Then we get the following valuable indices: a) Patriarchs of Constantinople with the chronology of their Patriarchal office, on the basis of the *Patriarchal Indices* of Manuel Gedeon (pp. 769-778) and other editions from the work of V.Th. Stavrides *The Ecumenical Patriarchs: 1860 to Today*, Vols. 1-2, Thessaloniki, 1977; b) Patriarchs who abdicated (pp. 778-779); c) Patriarchs who were dethroned or removed (pp. 779-781); d) Patriarchs who were defrocked (p. 781); e) Patriarchs who died on the throne (pp. 781-782); f) Patriarchs who were assassinated (p. 782); g) Patriarchs who were exiled (p. 782); h) Contemporary Patriarchs (p. 683); and i) Feastdays of Patriarchs (pp. 783-784). The last index has to do with the common celebration of the Holy Patriarchs of Constantinople, which was established following a presentation by Bartholomew of Constantinople during the session of the Holy Synod of 19 November 1991 and is celebrated with a Patriarchal and Synodical Liturgy in the All-Sacred Patriarchal Church on the Sunday of the Good Samaritan. Finally, there are three further indices: a) of the Patriarchs whose biographies are supplied (pp. 785-788), including an index of pictures and signatures (p. 789); b) a general index of names and subjects (pp. 791-911).

Nikolaos Phoropoulos, who is responsible for this second edition, is a professor of philology, a historian, a graduate of theology, philology and political sciences, and nephew of one of the most illustrious hierarchs of the throne at the beginning of the twentieth century, Joachim Phoropoulos of Pelagoneia (1859-1902). Phoropoulos explains his method of work in his preface (pp. 7-10). He was greatly helped by Sophia Gedeon Karanikola, daughter of Manuel Gedeon, who placed at his disposal a multitude of Gedeon's unpublished notes, which, in turn, he classified and utilized in the appropriate places in the text. Phoropoulos acknowledges the primary work of Gedeon and states that his own contribution is only slightly complimentary. The fact is that Phoropoulos has placed at our disposal a much more complete volume on the Patriarchs of Constantinople, which is of extreme value to us. It would be a work of blessing if he could also undertake the publication of a new edition of the other classic work on the Pa-

triarchs of Constantinople, Germanos of Sardis' *Contribution to the Patriarchal Catalogues of Constantinople, from the Fall Onwards*, 2 vols., Constantinople, 1935-1938, a reprint from *Orthodoxia*. On Gedeon, we ought to mention the classic studies of Ch. G. Patinelis, *Publications of Manuel Gedeon, An Analytical Bibliography*, Athens, 1974 [see the review of V.Th. Stavrides in *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 410-412], and Stavros Th. Anestides, *The Ethnarchic Tradition of the Great Church and Manuel Gedeon, A Doctoral Dissertation Submitted to the University of Athens*, Athens, 1993 [see the review of V.Th. Stavrides in *Theologia* 66 (1995) 367-370].

Professor Vasil Th. Stavridis (Halki)
(Translated Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Manolis G. Peponakes, *Islamizations and Re-Christianizations in Crete (Εξισλαμισμοί και επανεκχριστιανισμοί στην Κρήτη)*, Doctoral Dissertation, "New Christian Crete," Appendix No. 2, Rethymnon 1997, 206p.

There are two periods in the later history of Crete, which have become the objects of research in depth: the Cretan Renaissance of the 16th – 17th century and the 50-year period of 1866-1913. Original studies, however, on the first two centuries of "Turkokratia" (Turkish domination) in Crete are limited due to the scarcity of primary sources and to their dispersion in Greek and foreign Archives, which have often been inaccessible until very recently at least.

Thus, the engagement of such a subject as religious abjuration by a young scholar, during the period of two and a half centuries (1645-1899), was an over-venturesome task. It demanded many years of hard research and repeated journeys to various parts of Greece and abroad. Nevertheless, the writer of the present dissertation, Dr. Peponakes, overcame all of these difficulties, thanks to his love for this research, as well as to his consistency, patience and persistence.

In the construction of his study Dr. Peponakes used Venetian, Patriarchal, English, Austrian, French and Greek Archives. It should be also stressed that he made special use of the Unclassified Cretan Archive of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the period 1834-1900 and of the Reminders of the Diplomatic Archives of Nante. The last ones were placed at the disposal of researchers since 1987 and are used for the first time in a study of Cretan history.

The content of this dissertation is as follows: There is first the list

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Patriarch Photios and the Conclusion of Iconoclasm

DR. DESPINA STRATOUDAKI-WHITE

In studying the life and the works of Patriarch Photios of Constantinople, one is struck by the insistence with which the patriarch dwelt on the issue of Iconoclasm throughout his long life. We know that the main reason for the summoning of the Synod of 861 by Emperor Michael III, during St. Photios' first patriarchate was to condemn Iconoclasm.¹ Again, at the Synod of 867, Patriarch Photios proposed that the Second Synod of Nicaea of 787, which condemned Iconoclasm, should be added to the other great six Synods and be numbered the Seventh Ecumenical Synod. Finally, the Synod of 879-880, which was called by Patriarch Photios during his second patriarchate, in its fifth session, recognized the Synod of 787, the Second of Nicaea, as the Seventh Ecumenical Synod by both the Church of Constantinople and the Church of Rome.²

The question arises: Why is Patriarch Photios so concerned over Iconoclasm, a heresy which supposedly had been suppressed and dealt with? The late Father Dvornik tried to show that Patriarch Photios' attitude was directed by the continued vigor of the Iconoclastic party at the second part of the ninth century. Iconoclasm, he says, was "still rampant"³ at that late date. It is true that some remnants of Iconoclasm are still in evidence in the Byzantine Empire. For example, in the revised version of the life of St. Peter of Atroa, written ca. 860-865, some concern is shown to silence the Iconoclasts.⁴ We also read that at the Synod of Ignatios of 869, four persons of iconoclastic leaning were summoned and asked to repent. The three, a cleric named Nicetas and two laymen, Theophilos and Theophanes, comply, but the leader

of the Iconoclasts, Theodore Crithinus, former bishop of Syracuse, clung to his opinions and the anathema was pronounced against him.⁵ These few isolated examples, however, could not convince us that Iconoclasm was "rampant" at this period.

On the other hand, Cyril Mango⁶ and other scholars of this period think that the attitude of St. Photios towards Iconoclasm is dictated by personal experiences, that is, his own sufferings as well as the sufferings of his parents and other relatives. In the writings of the Patriarch, indeed, we find several references to the martyrdom of his parents and his own tribulations inflicted by the Iconoclasts.

The personal sufferings and the sufferings of his parents of course have been a constant reminder for St. Photios, but his concern with Iconoclasm, I think, has a third cause which has escaped the students of Photios. The answer can be found in the canons of the Photian Synods of 861 and of 879-880, and in the Patriarch's letters.

Unfortunately the Acts of the Synod of 861⁷ were destroyed by the Ignatian Synod of 869-870. Only the Latin version of the First Acts with the case made against Ignatios is preserved in the collection of Canon Law, written by Cardinal Deusdedit.⁸ Fortunately for us, however, the text of the 17 canons voted by the Synod at the end of its session is preserved.⁹ From the contents of these canons the difficulties, which faced the Patriarch during those years, become apparent. Most of the canons deal with rules and regulations concerning monasteries and monastic life. As we know, during the iconoclastic Wars the monasteries and the monks were the primary target of the iconoclastic emperors.¹⁰ Theophanes accuses emperor Constantine V, "of dishonoring the monastic cloth."¹¹ A great number of the iconophile clergy were leaving the empire for Italy or the Arab countries. Those who stayed had to take refuge at private homes or places of friends where they were able to worship in private. With the end of overt hostilities, even though Iconophiles were free to worship at will, still many monks continued to live and worship in private homes without any rules or regulations.

It seems that during the patriarchate of St. Ignatios (847-858), the predecessor of St. Photios, a great number of the followers of Ignatios became monks. Because of their friendship with the Patriarch, these monks enjoyed many privileges and freedom to worship at will. Patriarch Ignatios was a monk himself before becoming Patriarch.¹² On the other hand, Patriarch Photios before his elevation to the see of

Constantinople was the head of the Imperial Chancery with the title of *Protoasecretis* with the rank of *Protospatharios*.¹³ As head of the Imperial Chancery, St. Photios had exhibited an unusual talent for practical and administrative matters. As head of the Church of Constantinople now his wish was to bring an end to all the confusion and irregularities stemming from the iconoclastic period.

Shortly after his elevation to patriarch, St. Photios requested a Synod, which was assembled in Constantinople in 861. The efforts of Patriarch Photios and his followers, who constituted the party of the moderates, triggered a violent reaction of the followers of Ignatios, the *Zealotes*, who were also supported by the monks of the monastery of Studion. The Ignatians, furthermore, created a dispute over the canonicity of the election of Patriarch Photios and with the help from Rome the fight of the two factions went on for years.¹⁴ The battle of the two iconophile factions, the moderates who were the followers of Patriarch Photios and the *Zealotes*, who were the followers of Patriarch Ignatios, took such great dimensions that St. Photios often in his desperation calls them schismatics and iconoclasts.

Many of the letters of Patriarch Photios, especially those written during the years of his first exile, echo despair and persecution. In 870 Patriarch Photios already in exile was informed that the churches he had consecrated were torn down, then wrote to his fellow bishops who were also in exile:

“ . . . They (the Ignatians) have emptied against us the dregs of every wickedness of theirs by having deprived us of friends, by having cut us off from relatives, dis severing beforehand from you yourselves (the most bitter of my sufferings). . . . Not only did they do these things, but they also assaulted all our senses by contrivances of countless evils; . . . destroying houses of God, expelling the poor, the maimed and the mutilated, whom we had supported as a propitiation for our sins, from their own hearth and resting place, . . . Who, having considered the blood of His covenant an ordinary thing, . . . have defiled the sanctuaries of the Lord and have derided the sacred chrism, or rather the Holy Spirit, through whose agency the chrism is prepared.¹⁵

These words echo persecution. The iconophile Ignatians in their zeal to reinstate their beliefs act in the same fashion, as did the Iconoclasts against the Orthodox before the restoration of the icons in 787 and again in 843. In the above letter to the Bishops in Exile, Patriarch

Photios complains that he is deprived of his books: "In fact, while they blocked up our eyes, why, what can one surely say when one can neither see anyone at all, nor yet consort with books, and especially in the case of those whose great and primary consolation is reading?"¹⁶ In another letter addressed to the "Most Pious and Great Emperor Basil" written in June of 879, Photios complaining again about the books:

" . . . But the fact that we have been deprived even of our books, is novel and unexpected and a new punishment contrived against us. For what reason? In order that we may not hear the word of God . . . Why then, have books been taken away from us? . . . No one of the Orthodox has suffered such a thing even at the hands of the heterodox. Athanasios,¹⁷ who suffered much, had often been driven from his see by both heretics and pagans, but no one passed a judgement that he be deprived of his books. . . ."¹⁸

In the same epistle to the emperor Basil I, Patriarch Photios after he mentions a number of old Fathers of the Church who had been exiled but had not been deprived of their books, enumerates some closer to his time:

" . . . Why should I keep talking about days of old? Many even of those who still survive, know that the impious Leo¹⁹ displayed the nature of a beast rather than that of human being. But when he drove the great and well named Nikephoros²⁰ from his see and exiled him, not only did he not exile him from his books, certainly he did not even starve him to death, as we have been weakened by hunger. . . Nor again did he (Leo) prohibit the singing of hymns, but he even granted the right to many monks to dwell together as a consolation. He did not destroy the houses of God and churches consecrated by Nikephoros. For, though he offended man, he was afraid, as it seems, to inflict indignities against the works dedicated to God. Put against us, alas, all measures that are novel and beyond the point of tragedy are adopted. Made prisoner, deprived of all our friends, deprived of our relatives and servants, deprived of chanters and monks. . . Houses of God have been destroyed, and the mutilated bodies of the poor have departed and their possessions have been confiscated. . . ."²¹

Patriarch Photios concludes this letter in the fashion of St. Paul, asking to be treated as a Roman citizen by making "this request of an emperor, and of a most benevolent race, the Romans."²² St. Photios came from a well-to-do family, who were staunch Iconophiles. His

great uncle, to whom Photios refers as "*Patrotheios*,"²³ was the Patriarch Tarasios who presided at the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of 787, summoned by the Empress Irene of Constantinople. His father's name was Sergios and his mother was called Irene. Some scholars believe that the martyr Sergios the Confessor (*homologetes*) was no other than the father of Photios.²⁴

St. Photios in his correspondence often mentions the martyrdom of his parents. In the enthronistical epistle addressed to the see of Antioch, Patriarch Photios writes about his father who, non account of correct doctrine and true faith, bade farewell to wealth and splendid office and after undergoing every kind of suffering. . . . died a martyr's death in banishment.²⁵ Also in the same epistle, he refers to his mother who was, "pious and virtuous, and strove not to fall short of her husband in any of these things." In another letter addressed to his brother Tarasios in consolation of the death of his daughter, St. Photios writes again about the death of his parents: "where is my father? and where is my mother? Did they not depart, after they had played a short role in life, except in the instances of those whom the crown of martyrdom and patience adorned, as soon as they have left the stage?"²⁶ In another letter St. Photios writes:

"For many years every heretical synod and every council of iconoclasts have anathematized us, and not only us, but also our father and uncles, men who confess Christ and the pride of bishops. But though they have anathematized them, they elevated us, to the archiepiscopal throne, though we did not wish it."²⁷

Patriarch Photios in these words, is clear that he makes reference to two different events: one, his own condemnation, probably by the Ignatians in 859; and secondly, that of his father and great uncle Tarasios by the last Iconoclastic Council which took place in 837. The Iconoclastic Council, which condemned his relatives, and the Ignatian Council, which condemned him, are both referred by the Patriarch as heretical and iconoclastic.

At the Synod of 879, which rehabilitated Patriarch Photios, a reference was made to "his father and mother who died in their struggle for the Faith."²⁸

The biographer of St. Euthymios, Basil, Archbishop of Thessalonica, wrote about St. Photios: "It was the blessed Photios who, as his name suggests, enlightened the whole world with the

fullness of his wisdom; who from his infancy had been devoted to Christ, suffered confiscation and exile for venerating His image and was from the outset associated with his father in struggle for the Faith. Hence his life was wonderful and his death agreeable to God and scaled with miracles”²⁹

The martyrdom of his parents by the Iconoclasts along with his own sufferings and achievements made him the perfect candidate for the patriarchal see of Constantinople. Thus St. Photios became Patriarch of Constantinople in 858,³⁰ replacing Patriarch Ignatios.

Patriarch Ignatios was supported by the *Zealotes* and especially the monks of Studion. These groups opposed to government controls as well as any kind of secular learning. They were the ultra-conservatives, who held that Church orders and writings should be followed in all circumstances with the utmost vigor. They were also in favor of a harsh punishment of the iconoclast clergy. Ignatios also had the support of the empress regent Theodora, who had appointed him to succeed Patriarch Methodios who died in 847. Thus the elevation of Ignatios to Patriarch of Constantinople was not by the customary Synodical approval but by appointment by the empress.³¹

The moderates (or *Politikoi*), on the other hand, who had rallied by Patriarch Photios, favored “*oeconomia*,” that is, a policy of compromise in matters not concerning the fundamentals of the Faith and also with the iconoclastic clergy. Among this group were Ceasar Bardas, the brother of Empress Theodora and uncle of Emperor Michael III, Constantine, who later with his brother Methodios brought Christianity to the Slavs; St. Photios, Gregorios Asbestas, bishop of Syracuse; Leo the philosopher and others.

On 13 March 856, Michael III, came of age and turned the government over to his uncle Bardas. Soon afterwards, the *logothetes* of the Drome, Theoctistos, the faithful advisor of the empress Theodora was murdered.³² Theodora and her daughters were restricted to the palace for some time before being sent to a convent.³³ Patriarch Ignatios refused to bless their veils, and furthermore, he accused Bardas of having illicit relations with the young wife of his dead son. Ignatios also refused on the Feast of the Epiphany, in the presence of all dignitaries, to administer the Holy Eucharist to Bardas.³⁴ Meanwhile, the friends of Theodora organized a plot against her son Michael III. The plot was uncovered and the leaders were executed at the hippodrome. Ignatios was accused of high treason because he tried

to protect a monk called Gibbon, and was sent to the island of Terebinthos (July 858) and was compelled to resign.³⁵ Niketas, the biographer of Patriarch Ignatios, insists that Ignatios did not resign.³⁶ However, after careful reading of the Niketas text, it is evident that Ignatios must have resigned, probably under duress, or his followers might have had a stronger case. In the Fall of 858, a Synod was called to deal with the reinstatement of the bishops who had been deposed by Ignatios, and also to elect a new Patriarch.³⁷

The choice fell to *Protoasecretis* Photios—first secretary—President of the Supreme Council, and who was also a teacher at the Magnaura School. The choice was also acceptable to Bardas and to the Emperor Michael III. The offer, however, came as a surprise to Photios because of his lay status.³⁸ Nevertheless, this was not unusual procedure in Byzantium. Three other Patriarchs, Paul III (688-694), Tarasios the great (died 806) who presided at the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, and Nicephoros (died 815), were, like Photios, laymen before being elevated to the See of Constantinople, and each of them had served as *Protoasecretis*.

With great hesitation, and we read this also in his letters,³⁹ St. Photios accepted the appointment. In five successive days he received all the offices and degrees of the priesthood: rector, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and was consecrated bishop and enthroned as Patriarch of Constantinople on Christmas Day 858.⁴⁰ His consecration was performed by Gregorios Asbestas.

From the beginning of his patriarchate St. Photios tried to unite and bring peace in his church. His efforts, however met with great resistance from the partisans of Ignatios. Also he had interference from the Imperial government. From his letters we read that Ceasar Bardas had punished certain clergymen and the Patriarch Photios wrote letters complaining for these actions and interceding for a certain secretary of the church, Christodoulos,⁴¹ and for Blasios the Hartophylax.⁴²

In 860 Patriarch Photios sent the customary enthronistical Epistle to the Pope of Rome Nicholas I.⁴³ In the letter Photios announces his election as Patriarch of Constantinople and asks the Pope's blessings. He also refers to his happy previous life as a teacher, which he finds more suitable for him. Finally, he concludes that he had to accept this honor as the will of God. The letter of Photios and a letter written by the Emperor Michael III arrived in Rome at the same time,

the first part of 860. Unfortunately, the letter from the emperor has been lost. We learn, however, of its content from the writings of Anastasios Bibliothecarios, which are preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁴⁴ According to Anastasios:

“... When they (the bishops representing the emperor and the patriarch) had presented the pontiff with many gifts, they at once read the ambassadorial message they had been ordered to deliver, namely, that being made emperor of the Greeks, he, Michael asked through his envoys that legates of the apostolic See be sent to Constantinople to deal with the destroyers of the sacred images ...”

The Synod, also known by the name of *Protodeutera*, convened at the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople in the Spring of 861. According to Zonaras, it is called: “The Holy and Great First and Second Synod (*Protodeutera*), which was assembled at the most holy church of the the Holy Apostles. One may wonder why it is called First and Second. It is called thus because of what it was said during the first session from the Orthodox to Iconoclasts who would not agree to sign. Thus they had to convene again for a second session where the minutes were written down and accepted by all.”⁴⁵

Of the seventeen canons voted by the Synod of 861, the first seven deal with problems concerning monasticism.

The First canon decreed that in the future monastic foundations would be made only with the bishops' approval and permission. Also when property was given to a monastery, it was to be surrendered to the bishop of the area.⁴⁶

The Second canon deals with people who become monks only for the honors and the privileges of monasticism, but continue to live in their homes without any rules or supervision. Instead, according to Zonaras, they eat, drink and make merry. Zonaras uses the verb “κωμίζειν” in his scholia and elaborates that “κωμίζειν” means “τὸ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ μετὰ αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας καὶ ὠδῶν τὸν οἶνον πίνειν.”⁴⁷

The monks from now on, according to the Second canon, had to be put under the supervision of a superior or they would be excommunicated together with their hosts.⁴⁸

In the Third canon the abbots of monasteries are reminded that their duty is to take care of the religious progress of their subordinates.

The Fourth canon censures those monks who leave their monasteries without permission or take up residence in lay people's houses.

The Fifth canon states that everyone who has the intent of embracing monastic life must live under the guidance of an experienced, ordained superior for at least three years.

The Sixth canon enforces the obligation of poverty for every monk. All candidates must dispose of their property before entering monastic life.

The Seventh canon forbids bishops to establish new monasteries and to endow them with revenues from the bishoprics.

Canon Eight forbids castration of monks as an act similar to self-inflicting death. (The same as canon one of the First Ecumenical Synod.)

Canon Nine states that no one who falls in sin is excluded from punishment.

Canon Ten refers to the 83rd canon of the First Ecumenical Synod and re-affirms that no one can use the vessels from a church sanctuary for his own use or sell them under the punishment of excommunication.

Canon Eleven forbids priests to assume any lay positions, in accordance with the teachings of the Apostles and the Fathers.

Canon Twelve states that it is forbidden to hold mysteries, such as baptisms, the *eucharist* etc., in private homes without the bishops' permission. (As of canon 31 of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod of Trullo.)

Canon Thirteen calls Schismatics those who, like the knives of the devil, with their deeds are trying to cut the Church of Christ.

Canon Fourteen states that his Metropolitan will defrock any bishop who does not mention the name of his Metropolitan during the liturgy, or is not in communion with him.

Canon Fifteen states that the rules of canons 13 and 14 apply also to the Patriarch, unless he is heretical.

Canon Sixteen decreed that no bishop could be replaced without an inquiry. At that time if he is found guilty, he has to be deposed according to the rules of the Church. Then a new bishop will be appointed according to canon 4 of the Synod of Sardica. Also the *Protodeutera* Synod of 861 added that when a bishop, without having resigned, is away from his see more than six months, he loses his church. Exemptions are granted when the bishop is absent by an order of the emperor or he is serving his patriarch in some capacity; or

he is seriously ill and because of his illness he cannot be moved around.

Canon Seventeen forbids the elevation of a lay person or a monk to the episcopate, unless he passes through the various degrees of the priesthood accordingly [The 10th canon of the Synod of Sardica decreed the same].

From the text of the above seventeen surviving canons decreed by the Synod of Photios of 861, we can understand the great need for new rules and regulations regarding monastic life. The former imperial administrator and present Patriarch of Constantinople could not tolerate the deterioration of conditions in his church. St. Photios made it his first priority to establish order again by summoning a Synod in which also representatives of the Roman church were invited. The main purpose of the Synod was to condemn Iconoclasm. This was necessary because the restoration of the icons in 843 by empress Theodora was achieved by a local synod in Constantinople and confirmed by imperial decree. Representatives from Rome did not attend that synod. Thus now eighteen years later Patriarch Photios, always aware of the responsibilities of his position in executing canon law, was asking the Pope to send representatives to participate in this synod.

The next Synod of Photios took place in 879 in Constantinople. During these years, however, many dramatic events had occurred. Most significant was the Christianization of the northern neighbors of Byzantium, the Moravians,⁴⁹ and the Bulgars,⁵⁰ during Patriarch Photios' first patriarchate (858-867). Furthermore, on September 23, 867, emperor Michael III, was murdered by his co-emperor Basil, who became Emperor Basil I, and the founder of the Macedonian dynasty.⁵¹ Upon his ascent to the throne, Basil I sided with the extremists, thinking that in this way he could bring peace in the empire and also heal the breath between Rome and Constantinople. By November of that year, Patriarch Photios was deposed and was restricted to the monastery of Skepi, near Constantinople.⁵² Ignatios was returned to the Capital and began his second term as Patriarch. During this period, many bishops faithful to Patriarch Photios were also sent into exile. During the long years in exile Patriarch Photios wrote some of his best letters.⁵³

Subsequently Basil I, realizing that his overtures to the extremists did not produce the advantages, which he had anticipated, changed his policy and transferred his friendship to the moderate faction. In 873, St. Photios was returned to Constantinople, was given an apart-

ment in the imperial palace, and was entrusted by the emperor with the education of his sons, Leo and Alexander and Stephen.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, Pope Adrian II died in Rome in 872 and his successor, John VIII (872-882), was eager to maintain peaceful relations with Constantinople. At the request of Basil I, Pope John VIII, sent legates to Constantinople in order to attend a new Synod. By the time they arrived in the capital Patriarch Ignatios had died and had been succeeded by Photios. St. Photios was Patriarch for the second time from 877 to 886.⁵⁵

Some 330 bishops attended the Synod of 879-880, sometimes also referred to as the "Synod of Union." Pope John VIII sent as his representative Cardinal Peter. The Pope recognized Photios as the new Patriarch and declared the Synod of 869-870 of Ignatios void. Fortunately the Acts of this Council have survived.⁵⁶

At the first session Patriarch Photios spoke and welcomed the assembled bishops. Then Bishop Zachary answered him in the most colorful and complimentary language.⁵⁷

At the second session, the Papal representative Peter asked Patriarch Photios to reinstate the fellow bishops of Ignatios who had lost their sees during Photios' first patriarchate.⁵⁸ Photios answered that only two bishops remained under those conditions. Then the Bulgarian question came up and the representative of the Pope, Peter, asked the Patriarch to refrain from ordaining any clergy for Bulgaria or send any there. The Patriarch agreed.⁵⁹ Peter then asked, on behalf of the Pope, for the return of the patrimonies which were taken away by Emperor Leo III. To that, very skillfully, Photios answered that it was a State matter and only the Emperor could deal with such matters. That was not a Church matter.⁶⁰ The papal representative then brought up the problem of Photios' reinstatement. To this the representative of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Helias, responded that, for all the Eastern Patriarchs, Photios had always been the legitimate Patriarch, so there was no problem.

In the third session a letter from the Pope was read, asking that bishops could no longer be ordained from laymen. In the fourth session the request was granted.

In the fifth session everyone agreed with the request of Patriarch Photios to recognize the Second Synod of Nicaea as the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, on January 23, 880. Thus almost one hundred years after its summon in 787, this Synod was finally named the Seventh

Ecumenical Synod.⁶¹ The Patriarch further reemphasized the equality of the *Pentarchy*, turning down any attempts from Rome to be recognized as superior to the other sees. The Synod also agreed that Old Rome and New Rome were in communion as long as the *Filioque* was not added to the Creed. Thus ended the Synod.

The sixth session met at the imperial palace on 3 March 880. Only Patriarch Photios, the papal representatives and the representatives of the patriarchs of the East attended that session.⁶² Immediately afterwards, followed the seventh session with all the representatives. There it was announced that the emperor had suggested that the Creed should be read exactly as it was composed in the Synods of Nicaea I and of Constantinople II, which did not include the *Filioque*. This was a great victory of Patriarch Photios who fought violently the new heresy of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit. Patriarch Photios in his letter to the Metropolitan of Aquileia mentioned the last two sessions of this Synod.⁶³ The life-long dream of Patriarch Photios of peace and unity in the Church finally had been materialized by this last Synod attended by both Eastern and Western prelates.

In conclusion, as we have seen in studying the writings of Patriarch Photios as well as the canons and the acts of the two Synods of Photios that of 861 and of 879-880, we find that the Patriarch was not so concerned with Iconoclasm as much as he was concerned with heretical deeds in general. Iconoclasm as such was not "rampant" in the second half of the ninth century. The actions of the Ignatians, however, resembled those of the Iconoclasts, who like schismatics were now dividing the Church of Christ, as the Iconoclasts had done before them. The Synods of Photios established rules and regulations, which were going to guide the Church in the future. Patriarch Photios through these two Synods was striving for the unity of the Church of Constantinople and the Church of Rome in the One, Catholic Faith defined by the ancient councils. This unity lasted almost another two hundred years before suffering the break of 1054.

NOTES

¹ V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes Du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (Istanbul, 1936), vol. I, p. 78, N. 467, assembled between April and August 861. Text lost.

² J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), vol. XVIIa, 493. Further this work will be ref. as *Mansi*.

³ Francis Dvornik, "The Patriarch Photios and Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*,

7 (1953), 69.

⁴ V. Laurent, *La Vita retractata et les Miracles Posthumes de S. Pierre d'Atron* (Brussels, 1956), 5-49.

⁵ *Mansi*, XVI, cols. 139, 141, 338.

⁶ Cyril Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, March, 1975), 135ff.

⁷ V. Grumel, *Les Regestes*, N. 468.

⁸ Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit* (Paderborn, 1985), IV, 428-508.

⁹ The text or the Canons in *Mansi*, XVI, 536-49, in Ralli-Potli, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Τετῶν κανόνων* (Athens, 1852), vol. II, pp. 647703; Grumel, *Regestes*, N. 468, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰ *Vita Sancti Stephani Junioris*, Migne *Patrologia Graeca* (referenced from now on as MPG) MPG, 100:1069-1186.

¹¹ Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, (Lipsiae, 1887), 4:195.

¹² Niketas, *Vita Ignatii*, MPG, 105:487.

¹³ George Hamartolos, MPG, 110:1063.

¹⁴ Vlasis Phidas, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία, Πανεπιστημιακαὶ Παραδόσεις*, (Athens, 1972), 96-98.

¹⁵ I. Valettas, *Φωτίου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου καὶ Ἀγιοτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπιστολαί*, (London, 1864), ep. 146; English translation, Despina White, Photios (Brookline, Mass., 1981), p. 140-141.

¹⁶ White, *Photios*, p. 141.

¹⁷ Athanasios Patriarch of Alexandria, cat 293-373.

¹⁸ Valetas, Ep. 218; White, *Photios*, ep. 17, p. 161.

¹⁹ Emperor Leo V, (813-820), who started the second iconoclastic period.

²⁰ Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople 806-815; MPG., 99:1852, *De Sanctis Patriarchis Tarasio et Nicephoro*.

²¹ White, *Photios*, p. 163.

²² *Ibid.* p. 164.

²³ Valetas, p. 180; MPG., 102:609, 817.

²⁴ F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1970), 387; Cyril Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," 136.

²⁵ Valetas, ep. 2, p. 145; MPG., 102:1020.

²⁶ Valetas, ep. 142, p. 459; MPG., 102:972-973; White, *Photios*, ep. 1, p. 117.

²⁷ Valetas, Ep. 164, p. 501; MPG., 102:877B-C; White, *Photios*, ep. 26, p. 170.

²⁸ *Mansi*, XVII, 460B.

²⁹ B. Petit, "Vie et office de St. Euthyme le jeune," *ROch.*, S(1903), 179. M. Delahaye, *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* (Brussels, 1902), A. S. Nov., colt 682, Photios is called the *thaumaturgos* (miracle worker).

³⁰ Georgios Hamartolos writes that "Bardas appointed (as Patriarch) Photios who was also the *protoasecretis* and a very erudite man." MPG., 110:1063.

³¹ Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn), p. 193; Zonaras, *Annales*, (Bonn, 1841), vol. II, p. 403. Niketas, the biographer of Ignatios is not clear on the subject, *Vita Ignatii*, MPG., 105:501.

³² Joseph Genesios, *Regna*, ed. G. Lachmann (Bonn, 1834), pp. 8889, gives a detailed picture of the murder and its execution; Theophanes Continuatus, 4:171, describes in

detail Theodora's grief.

³³ First the oldest daughter of Theodora Theckla and her sister Anastasia were sent to the convent of Karianos, while Pulcheria and her mother the Empress Theodora were sent to the monastery of Gastrion. Later, Theckla and Anastasia joined their mother and other sister and all took the veil. Simeon Logothetes (Continuator of George Hamartolos), MPG., 110:1048.

³⁴ Niketas, *Vita Ignatii*, MPG., 105:224.

³⁵ *Mansi*, XVI, 345, 349, 441; Valetas, ep. 2, p. 145.

³⁶ *Vita Ignatii*, MPG., 105:508.

³⁷ In conformity with canons 4 and 5 of the Synod of Nicaea, and Canon 12 of Synod of Laodicea; Grumel, *Les Regestes*, No. 456.

³⁸ Patriarch Photios letter to "Bardas, Magister and Curopalates," Valetas, ep. 157, p. 492; Grumel, *Les Regestes*, No. 470.

³⁹ J. A. G. Hergenröther, *Photios Patriarch von Konstantinopel* (Regensburg, 1867-9), II:285.

⁴⁰ *Vita Ignatii*, MPG., 105:235.

⁴¹ Letter to "Bardas, intercession on behalf of Christodoulos, asecretis, who incurred danger," (ca. March 858), Valetas, Ep. 158; PG., 102:624; English translation D. White, *Photios*, Ep. 32.

⁴² Valetas, Ep. 159; MPG., 102:624-25; White, *Photios*, Ep. 33.

⁴³ Valetas, Ep. 1; MPG., 102:585-93; In this epistle also Patriarch Photios declares his "beliefs in one Catholic and Apostolic Church and in the Seven Ecumenical Synods." Valetas, p. 140.

⁴⁴ Anastasios Bibliothecarios, *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 154.

⁴⁵ G. Ralli-M. Potli, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θεῶν καὶ Ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε Ἁγίων καὶ Πανευφύμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν Συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος Ἁγίων Πατέρων*, vol. II (Ἀθήναι, 1852), p. 647.

⁴⁶ The Canons in Grumel, *Les Regestes*, No. 468 (in French); Ralli-Potli, II, 648-701 (in Greek).

⁴⁷ Ralli-Potli, II, 655.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 656.

⁴⁹ F. Dvornik, *Les Legendes de Constantin et de Methode Vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1969). Epistle of Photios to "Antonios Archbishop of Bosphoros," Valetas, Ep. 239, p. 547; White *Photios*, Ep. 42.

⁵⁰ Letter of Photios to Boris-Michael of Bulgaria after his baptism, B. Laourdas et L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistolae et Amphilochia*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1383), Ep. 1, pp. 1030; Valetas, Ep. 6; D. White, J. Berrigan, *The Patriarch and the Prince* (Brookline, Mass., 1982). In this epistle, Patriarch Photios already in 865 names the Synod II of Nicaea, as the Seventh Ecumenical Synod.

⁵¹ George Hamartolos, MPG., 110:1041-60, gives a detailed description of the murder of Michael III, as well of the legend and truth about the background of Basil I; N. Adontz, "L'Age et l'Origine de Basil Ier," *B*, 9 (1934), 259-60.

⁵² *Mansi*, XVI, 6.

⁵³ A number of the letters of this period in English in White, *Photios*.

⁵⁴ George Hamartolos mentions only the youngest son of Basil I, Stephen as pupil of Photios, MPG., 110:1089.

⁵⁵ Niketas, MPG., 105:331; George Hamartolos, MPG., 110:1081.

⁵⁶ *Ralli-Potli*, pp. 705-712; This Synod voted only three Canons which are to be found in Ralli-Potli; the entire text of the acts in *Mansi* XVII.

⁵⁷ *Mansi*, XVII, 385.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 417ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 429ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 460ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 475-92.

⁶² *Ibid.* 512; Hergenröther, *Photios*, II, 528-39.

⁶³ MPG., 102:820; Valetas, Ep. 5; V. Grumel, "Le Filioque au Concile Photien de 879-880," *EO.*, 21 (1930), 257-64; Grumel, *Les Regestes*, p. 106. Despina S. White, "The Letter of Patriarch Photios to the Metropolitan of Aquileia," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* (Winter, 1989), pp. 191-206.

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Patristics in Russia, the 19th Century

DR. SOPHIE DEICHA

More than a thousand years have passed now since the missionary work of the Apostolic Patriarchal Church of Constantinople led to the Christianization of Kievan Russia, in the year 988. Since those blessed times, the spiritual influence of the Greek Fathers of the Church has extended to the north and the east, progressing from Europe to Asia and America. The words of the preachers of the Christian faith were strengthened by the Scriptures translated into the regional languages: this was possible due to the Slavonic alphabet, which was created early and was inspired by Greek letters, as compiled by Sts Cyril and Methodios. From this basis, this ground, a number of national cultures emerged, step by step, in Eastern Europe and then eventually in northern Asia. Among these cultures, the Russian is the most widely influential: her influence had spread from the coasts of the Black, Baltic and White Seas to the Arctic and Pacific Oceans by the nineteenth century.

The knowledge of patristics in Russia was promoted initially by pilgrims visiting the lands of the (current, then former) Byzantine Empire, and especially Mount Athos. The wider dissemination of this knowledge was closely related in history to the reorganization of higher religious education in Russia, which began to take place with the transformation of the seminary in St. Petersburg into a theological academy in the year 1809. Similar transformation followed with the old Moscow Slavonic-Greek-Latin and Holy Trinity Seminaries in Moscow in 1814, and then with the oldest monastic school in Kiev in the year 1818. Patrology, or more specifically patristic scriptural

exegesis, found a place in this renovation, and thus research in this field was furthered.

Such an evolution required strong support; and support was forthcoming indeed from Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow (1782-1867), during the reigns of Alexander I, Nicholas I, and Alexander II. This work was closely bound with the translation of Holy Scripture into the Russian language; and Metropolitan Filaret had to act in opposition against some civil authorities who could censure printed matter and also against some clerical groups, for instance the Synod in St. Petersburg. As early as the year 1821, the theological academy of St. Petersburg, which had been reorganized by Metropolitan Filaret, published the first issues of the review titled *Christian Lectures*. These "lectures" included translations of the Greek Holy Fathers into the Russian language. Fifteen years later, in the year 1835, Fr. Goumelevskii, a professor in the theological academy in Moscow, proposed to the Metropolitan that a periodical be issued regularly to publish patristic writings in Russian translation; and the Metropolitan responded by requesting that the proposal be written systematically for official presentation. Permission was granted from the Holy Synod in 1840. The publication began in the year 1843 with an edition of the homilies of St. Gregory the Theologian. For details of the method of translation, one can refer to the article by I.N. Korsunskii, which appeared in publication fifty years later. Further work was distributed between all four of the theological academies in Moscow, Petersburg and Kiev, which all belonged to the sphere of institutions of higher education in Russia.

Along with this broadly based and long-lasting enterprise for the publication of patristic works, numerous undertakings were in progress outside these cities. In the famous Optina Monastery, translators were at work around Starets Makarios; and in this context, we should also mention Starets Ambrosios as well as Clement Sederholm; the latter was the son of the dean of the Lutheran Church in Moscow who had been received into Orthodoxy. Through this working group in the Optina Monastery, over two hundred thousand copies of various patristic writings were issued, which was unprecedented at the time. As we know, Optina Monastery had a marked affect on Russian culture, particularly on Russian literature: Optina is connected with the lives of Dostoyevsky and L. Tolstoy for example. Some foreign theologians consider such an influence to be extraordinary, even

unique, within the scope of Christian cultures worldwide. Although this phenomena has yet to be fully studied, we ought to consider the willingness of this group not only to provide a word-by-word, literal translation of the texts but also to enter themselves into the very rhythm of the thoughts of the Holy Greek Fathers. For the same purpose, and despite the burden of his ecclesiastical responsibilities, Metropolitan Filaret devoted himself at times to the translation of poetical verses, thus exercising himself in and seeking harmony with the rhythm of these theological thoughts. Among these verses, the most widely known is the "Parakletik" of the Holy Father St. Gregory the Theologian. Through all of this energetic activity, various strata of society in Russia were helped to gain access to these levels of spiritual expression.

Let us return to Moscow, the centre for patristic translations. Here a series of patristic texts were published without interruption from 1843 to 1917 in the periodical titled *Works of Holy Fathers*. The series comprises eighty volumes. These eighty volumes of translations into Russian constitute not only the broadest edition devoted to the works of the Holy Fathers but also the most systematic series on the subject in the nineteenth century. We may ask why this series is sometimes overlooked today in the compilations of bibliographies of translations of patristic literature into European languages.

We should recall that in addition to all of this activity in nineteenth century Russia, the actual teaching of patristics was evolving systematically inside the Russian Orthodox academies; and this was occurring, in main part, due to the vigorous participation of Metropolitan Filaret within the framework already mentioned, within the reorganization of higher theological studies in Russia. The influence of the Metropolitan was directed towards a broadening of freedom of thought in these matters, which he guarded against state censorship. In the same spirit of mind, he realized in 1839 a synthesis of propositions from the academies in Petersburg and Kiev as well as Moscow for a rearrangement of the curriculum for patrology, and furthermore himself proposed its extension to include the study of writings of the Holy Fathers from the second millennium also. The training of specialists in patrology began in earnest in 1840s, and academic chairs were provided for qualified professorial staff.

Filaret Goumilevskii, who had been appointed the archbishop of the town of Tchernigoff, published three volumes about the teaching

of patristics, which became a course of lectures delivered in this field from a historical perspective. It even became a type of handbook to guide teaching in this subject in a number of countries. In his Introduction, the author poses the question about chronological limitations about the concept of patristics. The suspension of any such limitations should lead us into an awareness of the possibility that patristic writings could be created in subsequent eras, in our own era and into the future of the Church. The Archbishop of Tchernigoff, Filaret Goumilevskii, found support for this view in the words of St. Athanasios the Great who emphasized that time does not introduce discrepancies between former and contemporary Fathers in the explanation of Orthodox tradition: there can be no chronological border separating the older and more recent Fathers, since the Holy Spirit remains ever present in the Church.

With this orientation, another series of publications developed. Titled *Supplements to the Works of Holy Fathers*, this series contains more translations from the older Greek writings and also numerous contemporary writings in Russian. As explained in the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford, each issue of the *Supplements* indicates the inner link between the patristics of the first and second millennia.¹ As an example, we may mention volume 11, printed in the year 1852, where we find the hagiographies of Holy Paul the Russian and Holy Pachome who had been martyred in the years 1683 and 1780. These hagiographies convey the very concept of the spiritual continuity in the Orthodox tradition from antiquity into present times.

From an historical point of view, it is of some interest that volume 20 of the *Supplements*, published in the year 1861, contains the text of the Manifesto of Proclamation of the Abolition of Serfdom in the Empire. Metropolitan Filaret had participated personally in the wording of this Manifesto, which marked the further evolution of Russian society. The struggle for the recognition of human dignity was also reflected in the missionary context.

In volume 22 of the *Supplements*, published in 1863, we find more evidence of an understanding of holiness in Russian Orthodoxy of the mid-nineteenth century, when Archbishop Porfyrii explains that the authority of the Holy Fathers, rooted in the Apostolic tradition and the Ecumenical Councils, depends directly on the Fathers' personal sanctity. In addition to this, the extent of the Fathers' knowledge

be must be brought to mind, an extent which is sometimes very broad, not only in theology and church history, but also in the natural and civil (seen to be secular) sciences. Therefore while speaking of a spiritual inheritance, we must consider also a broadening and an opening of our minds as well as our hearts. Thus Archbishop Porfyrrii, in the *Supplements*, volume 22, did not necessarily reject the study of sciences as foreign to the pursuit of the patristic tradition. This is important because during the nineteenth century in particular, it was the development of the sciences that largely was stimulating the human mind. The grave and great temptation was recognized, that causes some to devote themselves exclusively to the study of a branch of science to the excluding and even the ignoring of the spiritual side of things, particularly in personalities gifted for research. And so it was so very important that the works of the Holy Fathers were made available directly in the scientists' own mother tongue, thus to attract fidelity to the patristic tradition.

An example of such fidelity to the writings of the Holy Fathers, and to their spirit, is found in the life of Fr. Peter Delitzin (1795-1863), who was a professor of mathematics in the theological academy in Moscow. This fidelity to the writings was expressed most manifestly in his labour of editing the Russian translations of patristic literature in the *Works*. Indeed during the first twenty years of this publication, Fr. Peter was the main working force behind this monumental enterprise; and he applied a mathematical-like precision to the accuracy of the translations as well as to his own lectures. He was consecrated to the priesthood in the year 1833 (the very year of the repose of St. Seraphim in the Sarov Monastery). Ten of his sermons survive, published in the *Supplements*. They include homilies on the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, and Good Friday as well as the feastday of St. Sergius of Radonezh, the patron saint of the academy. In his homily on I Cor. 12:27, published posthumously, he takes into account in this exegesis the most recent discoveries in the natural sciences of his time. Evidently, Fr. Peter had reached an understanding of holiness through this practice of his, by which he linked mathematical research and teaching with the precise editions of patristic texts: he even linked them thematically in exegesis in liturgical life. For him, the works of the Holy Fathers went hand-in-hand with the acceleration of scientific knowledge.

Thus we may say from such examples that the Russian Orthodox

Church during the nineteenth century attempted to indicate and indeed to demonstrate that truth could be sought in its many manifestations including its manifestations of physical nature; and that even the most modest manifestations of physical nature could contribute to the liberation of spiritual life.

It was on this basis that Archbishop Innokentii (Veniaminov), who succeed Filaret as the Metropolitan of Moscow, had developed the full scope of his holiness. The future Metropolitan had himself been a Christian pastor and missionary as well as a contemporary scientist at the same time. Called to serve as the priest of the Aleutian Islands, which bridge Asia and America, he explored and recorded parts of the world still mostly unknown to science. Travelling from location to location in his pastoral ministry by paddling a kayak himself, thus sharing in the most typical mode of transportation of the region at that time, and living in conditions that were not unlike those experienced by St. Herman in the Kodiak Archipelago, he conducted his research and he systematically compiled data in the fields of geography, climate, flora and fauna, linguistics and ethnography.

Covering an immense district, indeed ultimately spanning two continents, and compiling knowledge in so many fields while serving as a most devoted and conscientious parish priest and missionary and then bishop, he was himself a living link between pastoral and scientific activities. Indeed, some of the issues of the *Supplements* prompt us in effect to see the activities of St. Innokentii (Veniaminov) in northeast Asia and Alaska as itself a branch of the Orthodox patristic tradition; and we may put forward the perception that through the transference of this tradition to Yakutia, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, these regions likewise were brought into the link between the "old" and "new" worlds.

We ought to mention here that the young Fr. Nicholas Kassatkin, before sailing to his assignment in Japan, was introduced into this activity by Bishop Innokentii whose residence was in Nikolaevsk on the Amur at that time; and in his turn this pastor, another one whose sanctity is recognized as he is known and venerated today in the Russian Orthodox Church as St. Nicholas of Japan, promoted interest in the Greek patristic sources among other Christian confessions.

In the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford, it was explained that Veniaminov's spiritual connection to the traditions of the Holy Fathers led to his awareness of real sanctity

in earthly life during his ministry on the Aleutian Islands.² We may add today that he devoted himself at length to this theme, regarding sanctity in earthly life, through his work titled *Indication to the Way to the Kingdom of Heaven*. Later, when Innokentii was elected to be the Metropolitan of Moscow, immediately following the repose of Filaret, he persisted in the activity of his predecessor in the field of patristics through the continued publication of the *Works* and the *Supplements*.

Following St. Filaret and St. Innokentii, the next generation who spanned the nineteenth century produced yet other men whose holiness has also been recognized by the Church: Ignatios Brentchaninoff (1802-1863), Ambrosios of Optina (1812-1891), Theophane Затворник, the Recluse (1815-1894). In this paper, we shall simply recall St. Theophane Затворник who widened the contemplation of God's creation into the observation of the small details of nature, details imperceptible by the naked eye but seen under a microscope. Once putting aside his episcopal duties, he fitted his monastic cell with laboratory equipment; and this laboratory provided him with the possibility of observing tiny living organic structures that reinforced his praise of God.

While the reclusive environment of the monastery in nineteenth century Russia offers few such examples, more frequent examples can be found from the family life of parochial priests and other church servers. In the families of the married clergy, children were often numerous. Only a small number of them showed a vocation for church service and mainly religious activities, while others were attracted to material, pure or applied, sciences. Among those born in the first half of the nineteenth century, we find, for instance, V.V. Dokutshaev (1846-1903), son of a priest. He was a founder of the science of pedology, the science of soils, which has contributed greatly to the worldwide development of modern agriculture. A more widely known scientist is D.R. Mendeleeff (1834-1907), grandson of a priest. He was the author of the famous periodical classification of chemical elements; and this table of classification still bears his name everywhere in the world today. Indeed, one of the most recently created chemical elements has received its name mendelevium in honour of him. As our third example, we shall refer to K.A. Timiriazev (1843-1920), the son of a professor of the theological academy in Kiev. Biology owes to him the discovery of the activity of life-promoting

chlorophyll in the green vegetation of this earth. A monumental statue was erected in his memory in Moscow soon after his death. We need add that he also taught, or explained, Darwin's theory.

The example of Timiriazev brings to the fore other links between theological and scientific enquiries. We all are aware of the passionate wording of the debates during the second half of the nineteenth century about faith and science. Testimonies are found in Russian literature: the novels of Georges Peskov (published only in 1995 in the Russian language in *New Journal*, New York) witness to the acuteness of the situation. In the "Story of an Old Priest", he describes the struggle of faith against temptations in Russian society on the eve of 1917.

The historical events of that year, 1917, caused the dispersion of millions of Russians worldwide, outside the borders of their native country. But the freedom of Orthodox theological thought, philosophy and science persisted in the new conditions among these refugees in other countries. Only in some cases, providential cases, we may say, were any establishments founded among the emigrées, however, to attest to this living phenomenon. Our Institut de Théologie de St. Serge in Paris is an example in the field of theology. Through seventy years of its existence, a number of professors of successive generations have devoted themselves to the dissemination of the works of nineteenth century Russian theology, especially the works in patristics. We ought to bring attention here especially to: Archimandrite Cyprian Kern who promoted among French-reading theologians of various confessions an interest in Russian literature in the field of patristic studies; and Professor George Florovsky who devoted a special work of his own to Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow (the first edition of this book appeared in 1917, in time to commemorate the 130th anniversary of this Metropolitan's birth, and anticipating by ten years the proclamation of Filaret as a saint in Moscow).

In conclusion today, with regard to St. Innokentii (Veniaminov), also recognized by and commemorated in the Orthodox Church as a saint, we may say that he assumed an active part, indeed a most vital part, in the dissemination of the patristic tradition in its broad manifestations around the world, in the Old World as well as the New World. His activities in the nineteenth century, especially during his ministry in the Far East, emerge as an expression of a wide application and deep understanding of patristics, firmly within the on-going Orthodox tradition.

NOTES

¹ Editor's Note — S. Deicha, Communication, Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford, 1987.

² Editor's note — S.A. Mousalimas, Communication, Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford, 1991.

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Physis and Agape:
The Application of the Trinitarian Model to
the Dialogue on Ecclesiology of the
Christian Churches of the Ecumene*

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It is a commonplace that in Orthodox theology any approach to the mystery of the Church is made by means of icons (εἰκόνες), examples (παράδειγματα) and symbols (σύμβολα), since this mystery defies all rationalist descriptions or definitions.¹ One of the most significant examples of this approach is that which presents the Church as a type and icon of the Holy Trinity.² This is a classic theme in the doctrine of the ancient Fathers of the Church that has exerted a great influence on Eastern Orthodox ecclesiological doctrine to this day.³ What exactly do we mean by saying that the Church is an icon and type of the Holy Trinity? This is the question that this essay tries to tackle, in an attempt to make a contribution to the contemporary dialogue on the Ecclesiology of the Christian Churches of the Ecumene.

It must be stressed from the start that the understanding of this particular theme presupposes an acquaintance with the wider theology of the icon as found in the teaching of the Church. Consequently, it is a prerequisite that the particular be viewed and interpreted in light of the whole. In the limited time at our disposal here it is of course not possible to cover the whole area in question, i.e. to treat definitively the theology of the icon. Nevertheless some basic key elements of this teaching ought to be mentioned here in order to form an initial introductory framework. These are the following:

* A lecture delivered at the Faculty of Theology, University of Lund in Sweden on 14.4.1997, revised somewhat in language but not in content.

a) Whenever we speak of icons, or symbols, or types we are obliged to acknowledge the existence of the archetypes to which these refer.

b) In the theology of the Fathers of the ancient Church icons are divided into two groups: natural (φυσικῆς) and created (τεχνητές). "Natural icons" of the archetype of God the Father are the Son and the Holy Spirit, since they fully share in the same uncreated nature and together with the Father make up the One Triune God, three persons (ὑποστάσεις) in one Being. A "created icon" of the divine Trinity is man as a creature that has been created by the uncreated God.⁴

On the basis of these initial remarks we can now proceed to investigate in what way the Church is an icon of the Holy Trinity.

St. Cyril of Alexandria points out that the relationship of the type, the Church, with the archetype, the Holy Trinity, is *mimetic*, since the truth of the Church reflects its likeness to the prototype, the Holy Trinity, by imitation. The honor paid to the Church proceeds from the fact that as an icon of this prototype it occupies its own distinguished place.⁵ In more practical terms the Church is, through Christ, an icon and type of the "unfailing friendship and concord and unity, like that of people of one mind, which the Father has towards the Son and of the Son towards the Father."⁶ Thus the unity of the body of the Church constitutes an iconic representation of the unity of the Holy and consubstantial Trinity. Furthermore, as St. Maximos the Confessor remarks in the first chapter of his *Mystagogia*,⁷ the Church is an icon and type of the Holy Trinity for the reason that it has by imitation and type the same operation as the Trinity. This is the type of operation that produces, "the same union with God as with the faithful."⁸ It follows then, that the union of the members of the Church with each other and with God is achieved on the basis of its prototype, the union of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

It is obvious in this case, that the clear aim of the early Church "that all may be one"⁹ is identical with the aim of the "Christian Churches" of the Ecumene today in their mutual dialogue. It is the fundamental aim of the dialogue of the Churches as it appears to be the case chiefly in the activities of the World Council of Churches but also in the ecumenical activities of the particular Churches in their bilateral relations.¹⁰

The problem that arises in this case, however, does not seem to be the negation of unity but mainly the difference of approach concerning the way forward towards reunion of the divided members of the

ancient Church.¹¹ Since these different lines of approach, with all of the disagreements and deadlocks they bring, are common knowledge, I will attempt through this paper to present a forgotten point of view of the Eastern Orthodox Church on the subject, which is rooted in the theology of the Gospel and of the Fathers of the ancient Christian Church.

The starting point in this attempt should be the prayer of Jesus for his disciples.¹² This refers directly to the unity of the members of the Church one with another and with God according to the prototype of union of God the Father with God the Son. It is here, therefore, that the foundation is laid for the iconic or typological relationship between the unity of the Church and the unity of the Holy Trinity.

In what way, though, are the Persons of the Holy Trinity united? Or better, "how is the Son in the Father?" This is a question that derives from John 14:20, where the beloved disciple presents the incarnate Logos as placing in the future the examination of this mystery. He says: "In that day you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you."

This particular saying of Christ created enormous problems of interpretation in the early Church, which was being attacked by heresy. So according to St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Orthodox tradition in general, in their attempt to debase the Logos of the Father the Arians gave an answer to our question by applying the given facts of anthropology to the realm of theology. Accordingly, they maintained that the relation of the Father to the Son is relational and definitely not according to nature (οὐ φύσει). This meant that for the Arians the unity of the persons of the Holy Trinity could only be likened to the unity of the members of the Church with God the Father.

Thus, they made very clear their position, that the mode of existence of the Son in the Father could be defined as a relationship of love that is far removed from any relationship according to nature based on oneness of essence. The Father loves the Son and the Son loves the Father and, consequently, the manner in which the persons of the Holy Trinity are united is through love. This seemed obvious to the heretics, since in our case too, our existence "in God" and His revelation in us could not refer to any essential unity. These rather denoted a mode of rapprochement or union according to the law of "loving and being loved" (ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ἀνταγαπᾶσθαι). Consequently the Son too, inasmuch as he loves the Father, by whom He is

also loved, has absolutely no natural relation to him, but is related to him only *agapetically*, that is by mutual love.¹³

The danger embedded in such a notion is all too evident, and the Fathers of the Church lost no time in exposing it and fighting it from the outset. In the theology and methodology of the heretics the Son is demoted to the category of a creature and is completely estranged from the Father. His relation to the cause of triadic existence, i.e. to the source of Godhead, according to Dionysius the Areopagite, is definitely moral, volitional and manifestly not natural or essential.¹⁴ The *only bond* that here relates Father and Son is love, which is merely external and relational (κατὰ σχέσιν) and not natural (κατὰ φύσιν). The Trinity borrows the love of human beings in order to construct the communion of the three Persons. Clearly the icon of the relation between Trinity and Church is here reversed. The Church is the prototype and the Holy Trinity is the icon of the prototype. This is one of the many forms of theological anthropomorphism, which we meet in the course of Church History.

Contrary to this strange (to say the least) point of view is that of the Fathers of the Church operating within the parameters of Orthodox Theology, which is the fruit of experience or vision of God (θεοπρία) and sees the Father-Son relation supremely as natural. Contrary to certain misguided Antiochene notions, this natural relation is not linked to any necessity; rather the love of the persons of the Trinity is at once an expression and result of its being according to nature. The love of the persons is love according to nature, i.e. love according to the truth, real love and not some kind of caricature, or result of a distorted imagination.

Certainly, it must be emphasized here that we cannot speak of any precedence of nature (*physis*) over love or vice versa, a fact that would involve the danger of introducing some sort of time criterion into the pre-eternal Trinity. Points such as these were taken up at various times by Scholasticism (see on the precedence of the person or nature, or the energies, etc.). In Orthodox theology God is by nature light and love and life. Yet his nature is neither love, nor light, nor life.¹⁵ This is so because Orthodox theology makes a clear distinction between the essence and energies of the Godhead.¹⁶ If it was otherwise, and we were to say that the nature of God is love we would be specifying the uncreated nature and, consequently, we would simultaneously reduce it to the level of the creatures. Whatever the creatures may

know concerning the uncreated being is a result of their experience of the energies and most surely not of the nature of the Godhead. The Hesychasts of the 14th century, following their predecessors, were absolutely right in stressing that the relationship of God with man is according to energy and not essence.¹⁷

Despite these clarifications, however, even today the issue remains unresolved. When will we acquire this knowledge? When will be the day when the faithful will know that the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son and themselves in the Son and He in them? St. Cyril of Alexandria makes it clear that it is not by a relationship of love alone.¹⁸ Love of course has its place. As for the time it is not the present alone. The union, the actual union of God and man in Orthodox theology has an eschatological dimension. The *eschata*, as is well known, do not belong only to the future but also enter into the present space and time granting a foretaste of what is to come. The progress of the mystery of the Divine Economy is beyond doubt eschatological and at the same time historical, because the eschatology of the Orthodox Church in no way negates history.¹⁹ In this instance the time of knowledge for the faithful is that time when they will be formed anew and will be lifted up into eternal life vanquishing the curse of death. At that time Christ will reveal Himself as the life of the faithful and they will be shown to be with him "in glory." He will transform the body of humility showing it to conform to his glory. In this way then we will know that the Son is naturally in the Father and certainly not according to "a relationship of mutual love as the heretics would maintain."²⁰

Consequently our own relationship with the Son ("and our being in him") also works "in this same mode."²¹ What is this same mode though? Is a 'natural' relationship between the uncreated and the created, between God and man, possible? Orthodox theology clearly denies such a possibility, since the essential otherness of the created and the uncreated can never be abolished, and since it is on such a basis that the mode of existence of the ecclesiastical community is founded. Nevertheless, in the teaching of the Fathers, the Creator does not deny communion with created beings. From the beginning he makes provision for them to participate in real life which is none other than the unceasing contemplation of the glory of God. As a result, the Old Testament description of the creation of human kind as "very good", refers not just to an external biological perfection

but primarily to the beauty (κάλλος) accorded it by its relationship with God through his energies who is thus the source of this beauty.²²

This relationship which God the Creator initiated makes man a participant of the divine nature. Indeed, as Cyril of Alexandria indicates, the Creator placed in created human nature the seal of his nature, the Holy Spirit, that is to say the Spirit of the Son.²³ Despite this, man disregarded the gifts of the Godhead by considering his existence as something autonomous, or potentially so, with regard to God and to his fellow man. According to St. Maximos the Confessor the devil deceived man and thereby led his nature to fragmentation.²⁴ This is essentially the point of history, which marks the fragmentation of the common nature of man and the breakdown in communion between God and man for which the latter is responsible.

Again this fragmentation does not refer to the biological factor alone but is chiefly located in the sphere of the existential and operational broken-ness of the relationship of created beings with the One who really Is, a relationship shattered by the withdrawal of energies and thus of being.²⁵

This action of man, who rejected participation in divine nature and communion with his fellow human beings, was met with an immediate and dynamic response from the Creator. In his person he united *hypostatically*, in a true union, our nature with his. This involved self-emptying (κένωσις) to final limits, uttermost love and philanthropy – not simply because the Logos was united with “his own flesh” which he had assumed – but first and foremost because he united the entire human nature to himself. In sanctifying through the union his own flesh the Logos, as second Adam, also sanctifies human nature in its entirety and manifests himself as the first born of the generation of mortals. He is the mediator between God and men being the character and the radiance of the hypostasis of the Father.²⁶ Being therefore in the essence of the Father and “having that in him” and at the same time “us in him” he makes men “communicants of divine nature” and divine sons by grace.²⁷ So the whole human race can cry to God as “Abba, Father” (Rom. 8, 15).

It seems therefore that our question raised at the beginning, as to how the persons of the Holy Trinity are united, finds its final answer here shedding light at the same time on how the faithful are united with the Triune God. The relationship of the persons of the Trinity is natural. As a result of this fact the Son, as life according to nature,

unites in his hypostasis human nature and makes men communicants and partakers not simply of a relationship of love but of divine nature. This is accomplished through our union with Christ granted by the Father in the Holy Spirit.²⁸ In Orthodox theology any Christomonism, Pneumatomonism or Patromonism is inconceivable. Everything is Triadocentric.²⁹ Orthodox theology is truly doxological. The glory of God means the glory of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The whole Trinity glorifies and is glorified as the whole Trinity effects the mystery of the Incarnation whose minister is the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos. Through the Incarnation, human nature, having become devoid of the glory of God, regains the right to eternal life. Human nature glorifies the glory of the Trinity that it beholds and awaits the glorification of its non-glorious condition.³⁰ Communion and union are achieved in this way. According to the scriptural and patristic tradition this is the way that created and uncreated are united, but this presupposes the union of created persons with each other.³¹

It is evident that the above overturns and gives true expression to the initial hypothesis of the Arian heretics which would have the relationship between the persons of the Holy Trinity based solely on love and certainly not on nature (*physis*) in the prototype of the relationship of created beings with the uncreated God. Commonness of nature is the governing principle. Love cut off from its nature could be self-deified (*eudemonistic*), relative or even demonic, whereas a nature with no energies would be non-existent. That which has no energies has no existence says St. Gregory Palamas.³² However, the nature of the Triune Godhead in Orthodox theology is a nature of love³³ because the energies of the Trinity, which are natural, substantial and common to its persons, are energies of love.³⁴ The manifestation of these energies in the Trinity is absolutely personal.³⁵ The energies and likewise the essence belong to the persons but are not personal.³⁶

So the Incarnation of the Logos as common energy of love of the persons of the Holy Trinity dynamically reveals both the consubstantiality, i.e. the common nature, as well as the distinctiveness of the persons.

Coming now to the present-day dialogue for the unity of the Churches it must be stressed that the prototype of the Trinity constitutes the authentic guide to our approach. It should be emphasized

from the start that the point of the discussions, the one aim, has to be the unity of the Church. As in the Trinity we do not talk of the unity of Gods but of the unity of the Godhead, so the same goes for the Church as an icon and type.³⁷ So the point in question is to seek a common basis on which to found this unity and this basis is none other than Christ himself. In Christ, that is to say, in the Church, the unity of all people is accomplished; all are united one with another and with Christ.

This we would say is an eucharistic union, the product of an eucharistic ecclesiology. Christ becomes the bond of unity between the separated and divided members of the Church. So the union is sacramental and real and not characterized by love alone. On its own, love, it seems, cannot accomplish any kind of union. In any case, it is no accident that the Apostle Paul places the gifts of faith, hope and love in that order. Interpreting this order St. Maximos the Confessor points out that love is the “end” (τὸ τέλος), the “ultimate” (τὸ ἀκρότατον) of the gifts and the cause of every good thing. Love, therefore, as the “fulfillment” of faith and hope necessarily presupposes faith and hope. Here, of course, we are talking of love as the expression of ultimate desire (τὸ ἔσχατον ὀρεκτόν) and not of some external or emotional love.³⁸ For this reason the Orthodox Church must communicate with emphasis that the prerequisite for the much-debated intercommunion is not emotional love but chiefly faith, the common faith of the members of the Church. Love must accompany this faith and walk together with this faith. When faith becomes son-like then love shall be complete. No problems of priority are an issue here as has already been indicated. At issue here are the principles, the theological principles, upon which a well-intentioned discussion between the world's Christians can be based. As a result then, the Orthodox Church does not propose a Lutheran view of love through faith alone or an Augustinian interpretation of love as the completion of faith.³⁹ The relationship between faith and love is liturgical. The existence of the one presupposes the existence of the other. With the isolation of one the other disappears.⁴⁰ We are talking here, of course, of faith and love pleasing to God which makes for real love among human beings.

St. Isaac the Syrian presents this concept in the form of a journey, a journey of life. He writes: “Repentance is the ship and fear the helmsman, and love the port of God ... and when we arrive at love,

we have arrived at God. At our journey's end we shall have passed over to the island which exists far from the world where the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are, to whom belong glory and might; and he makes us worthy of his glory and love through our fear of him."⁴¹ Here again love is the end as indeed it is in the entire scriptural and patristic tradition of the East. St. Ignatius the God-bearer beautifully expresses this: "Life's beginning and end. Its beginning is faith, its end, love. The two form a unity which is God."⁴² Here there is no isolation or separation of one from the other, just a liturgical distinction.⁴³ Furthermore, according to Cyril, when love walks correctly alongside faith it is apparent from adherence to the dogma of the Gospel and the observance of the divine commandments.⁴⁴ This is also the reason that in the Orthodox Church it is the faith, the sowing of the seed or the exercise of the talents (τῶν χαρισμάτων) which expresses the potentialities of the person,⁴⁵ and not the plowing, that provides the context for the preparation of the Divine Eucharist. Ecclesiology for the Orthodox Church is eucharistic because it is ascetic and it is ascetic because it is eucharistic. Any isolation or overemphasis leads to forms of paganism, idolatry, and delusion.⁴⁶ The Eucharist presupposes the daily practice of repentance, the journey with the ship of repentance according to St. Isaac the Syrian, and ascetic striving is the way into the Eucharist. Nothing is singled out and isolated, nothing is an end in itself.⁴⁷ Moreover, in the Orthodox Church theology is ascetic, that is to say experiential, as it runs through the entire existence of those who pray, through all the facets of temporal reality. According to Philotheos Kokkinos theology is practiced "in our whole life" and in this way it is ascetic. The practice of faith leads to purification, brings love to fruition, or reveals the summit of human love; at the same time the degree of love reveals the measure of faith and leads to mystical union. In this way the theology and works of the theologian relate to the magnitude of his love for God and for his fellow human beings.

Consequently, the application of the Trinitarian model to the domain of the dialogue between the Christian Churches of the Ecumene would seem possible only within a particular context, namely the sacramental context. As the domain in which the energies of the Trinity are revealed, the Church effects, in turn, the simple, impartial and undivided relation of persons. It accomplishes the event of catholicity and unity, that is to say it makes possible the co-existence and

common-life of the members "according to a simple and undivided grace and power of faith." And as a type of the Godhead that holds together, gathers together, draws towards itself, it becomes the beginning and end of beings. Furthermore, imitating the Godhead, which abolishes "exclusive relationships," and becoming the cause of "wholeness," the Church regenerates and recreates through the Spirit the divided and differentiated persons of the Ecumene. In this way all racism and fundamentalism is abolished and unanimity is achieved which leads to the simplicity and identity of communion.⁴⁸

The heart of the Church is undoubtedly the mystery (sacrament) of the divine Eucharist. The unity of all people takes place in the body of Christ, i.e. "in the sense of the unity of the members of a body," which is gained by all those who have become partakers of the holy flesh of Christ. Those who partake, therefore, become one body with one another and with Christ. Moreover, Christ is the bond of unity as he is in himself God and man.⁴⁹ United with Christ the nature of the faithful is maintained whole and undivided. Christ becomes the cause of the commonality of their nature, since in his body, that is to say in the Church, that which is divided up is gathered together.⁵⁰

The Church, therefore, walks on the path of perfect love, that love which we might call eucharistic,⁵¹ since the nature of the Church is first and foremost eucharistic.⁵² It should be noted that this eucharistic love, this ecclesiastical love appears to be the result of an empirical asceticism which denies the three ancient evils: ignorance, self-love and tyranny⁵³. These evils should be avoided if the dialogue wishes to be called ascetic in order to become at some point eucharistic, remaining at the same time really ascetic.

Finally it should also be noted that repentance must form the basis of an ascetic - eucharistic ecclesiology. Repentance here is not meant as a moralistic phenomenon, but as a mode of being which leads man towards "one mode of reasoning and living"⁵⁴ ("ἓνα καὶ λόγον καὶ τρόπον"). One of the leading figures in the dialogue of the Orthodox Church with the so-called pre-Chalcedonians, Patriarch Parthenios of Alexandria of blessed memory, wrote in a prologue, referring precisely to the subject of repentance: "It is a sin that 'human weakness' leads us into division, but glory be to God that after fifteen centuries we have confessed and admitted it." He concluded: "Division is always sin and hell, unity is paradise and truth."⁵⁵ And

indeed, according to the Orthodox Church the way of confession and repentance is the only way to solve the present day ecumenical problem. "Self-criticism and confession," according to Fr. George Dragas, "is the crucially important path which leads back to the foundations of Christian integrity, and to is the purification of the Christian consciousness from the unconfessed sins of the past. Burying our sins within ourselves in the end means the burial of our own self."⁵⁶

The challenges of our times for the Christian Church are, it is true, both multi-faceted and an active concern. It is also true that the pain of the Orthodox becomes unbearable when they are unable to communicate from the same cup with "brothers and sisters" who attend the liturgy of the mystery (sacrament) of the divine Eucharist.

The explosion of unity, which would allow the faithful to glorify and commemorate the name of the Holy Trinity "with one mouth and one heart," is first and foremost unity of faith: "Having besought for the unity of faith and the communion of the Holy Spirit..., "⁵⁷ as intoned in the liturgy.

This unity will become a reality when those divided from the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ are able to confess together in the fullness of faith and love "I (we) believe Lord and confess that thou art truly the Christ... And I (we) believe that this is truly Your own immaculate Body and that this is truly Your own precious Blood... Make me worthy to partake without condemnation of Your immaculate Mysteries, unto remission of sins and life everlasting."⁵⁸

¹ See N. A. Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology 3* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1997, p. 258 ff.

² See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 17, 20-21, PG 74, 556 D - 557 A. Cf. Maximos the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, PG 91, 664 D.

³ See G. D. Dragas, *Ecclesiasticus. Orthodox Church Perspectives, Models and Icons*, Darlington 1984, pp. 18 ff.; P. Vassiliadis, *Orthodoxy at the Crossroads* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1992, p. 99; D. Staniloae, *God, World and Man. Introduction to Orthodox dogmatic theology* [in Greek]. Athens, p. 117 ff.

⁴ See D. Tselengidis, *The theology of the icon and its anthropological meaning* (Doctoral thesis) [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1984. Cf. G. Zografidis, *The meaning and the function of the icon in St John of Damascus. Philosophical consideration* (Doctoral thesis) [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1992.

⁵ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 17, 20-21, PG 74, 556 D.

⁶ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 17, 20-21, PG 74, 556D - 557A.

⁷ See PG 91, 664D - 669C.

⁸ Maximos the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, PG 91, 668BC.

⁹ John 17, 21.

¹⁰ See K. Raiser, *The Future of Ecumenism* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1995, p. 26 ff. For the history of the ecumenical movement see N. Matsoukas, *Ecumenical Movement. History-Theology* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1986. Cf. Chr. Yannaras, *Truth and Unity of the Church* [in Greek], Athens 1977; Vasil Th. Stavridis & E. Varella, *History of the Ecumenical Movement* [in Greek], Thessaloniki³ 1996. The above works contain the bibliography that is most relevant to the subject under examination.

¹¹ For a cry of anguish due to the uncertainty that seems to prevail today in the ecumenical movement see K. Raiser's aforementioned book, *The Future of Ecumenism* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1995, p. 21 ff.

¹² John 17, 20-21.

¹³ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 20 PG 74, 268AC: "they imply some kind of relational and not natural union... as in the case of the Son who is loved by the Father and again he loves the Father, in the same manner we too are said to be in him, to have him in ourselves and to be united by reason of essence. The manner of the union in this case is to love and to be loved. In response, they say that in the same way the Son is not in the essence of God the Father, because he is completely distinct by reason of nature, having exactly other characteristics and being in the Father only by virtue of the bond of love."

¹⁴ For an initial approach to the subject in the framework of contemporary orthodox theology from which arose a specific debate see J. D. Zizioulas, "From Mask to Person: The contribution of the patristic theology to the meaning of the person," *Volume in honor of Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon*, [in Greek] Thessaloniki 1967, p. 299; cf. also his, *Being as Communion. Studies in Personhood and the Church*, New York 1993, p. 41; Chr. Yannaras, *The Alphabet of the Faith* [in Greek], Athens ²1984, pp. 60, 93; N. Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology 2* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1985, p. 96; G. Martzelos, *Orthodox dogma and theological discussion* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1993, p. 75 ff.

¹⁵ A characteristic example from Scholasticism of confusion between essence and energies in the Trinity is the work of B. Frangos, *Greek philosophy of the person* [in Greek], Athens 1986, p. 158: "Christianity, however, reveals the highest Being as a personal Being, which exists in three Personal Hypostaseis, whose *essence* is love (*God is love*). On the other hand see Gregory Palamas, *To Gavras* 30, *Works 2*, publ. N. Matsoukas, care of P. Christou, Thessaloniki 1994, p. 358: "Thus Basil the great in his writings to Amphilochios says that the Holy Spirit always has love, joy, peace, ...and all such things, but what springs out of God is enhypostatic, whereas what are derived from it are its energies."

¹⁶ See Gregory Palamas, *On divine energies 3*, *Works 2*, publ. G. Mantzaridis, directed by P. Christou, Thessaloniki 1994, p. 98: "Essence (*ousia*) is one thing and coming forth (*proodos*) is another, for the latter is God's energy or will, although God is one, active and volitional."

¹⁷ See Gregory Palamas, *On unity and distinction 8*, *Works 2*, ed. G. Mantzaridis, dir. P. Christou, Thessaloniki 1994, p. 75: "The God-bearing Fathers say this in their exegesis: that in one sense God is unknown, namely his essence, and in another, known, namely, all that is about his essence."

¹⁸ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 20, PG 74, 269 B: "and as for the manner of union, it is not specified by the law of love, but is introduced in another way."

¹⁹ See P. Vassiliadis, *Orthodoxy at the Crossroads*, p. 52 ff.

²⁰ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 20, PG 74, 272D - 273A, where he argues that the Son is in the Father *naturally* and not in the sense of being loved and offering love. At the same time it should be made clear once again that this *natural* relationship is in no way constricted by figures of necessity. In the work *Scholia on the work on divine names*, PG 4, 221A, Maximus the Confessor very clearly indicates that, "God the Father, having been moved timelessly and *agapetically*, arrived at the distinction of the *hypostases*." Cf. G. Martzelos, "The meaning of the Godhead and the meaning of the creation according to the Fathers of the Church," *Orthodoxy-Hellenism* 2 [in Greek], publ. by the Holy Monastery of Koutloumoussion, Holy Mountain 1996, pp. 372-373.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² For an initial form of distinction between biological and ecclesiastical being see J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 49 ff. These points are made for the first time in the Greek publication of this work by his Eminence the Bishop of Pergamum. For a critical commentary of these points appearing in the first edition, which appears in part to differ from its English translation, see the work of A. Vletsis, *Ontology of the Fall in the theology of St. Maximos the Confessor* (Doctoral thesis) [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1994, p 79 ff.

²³ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 20, PG 74, 277 D.

²⁴ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to John Kouvikoularios, on love*, PG 91, 396 D: "the deceiver devil... also partitioned nature in this way and divided it into many opinions and imaginations..."

²⁵ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the book of Isaias* 2, 9, PG 70, 84 AB: "This (Apostasy) was an insult to God and to the human nature." Cf. Chr. A. Stamoulis, *Theotokos and orthodox dogma. Study in the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1996, p. 50.

²⁶ See Chr. A. Stamoulis, *Theotokos and orthodox dogma, op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.

²⁷ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 20, PG 74, 280 C.

²⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *ibid.*, 280 D: "...it is I who conjoined them with God the Father through myself, making them communicants as it were of his incorruptibility. For I am naturally in the Father; inasmuch as I am the fruit of his essence, and genuine offspring, existing in him and derived from him, life from life, but you are in me, and I in you, inasmuch as I became a man and demonstrated that you can be communicants of divine nature having made my Spirit to dwell in you."

²⁹ See N. A. Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology* 3 [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 39, 91.

³⁰ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 13, 31-32, PG 74, 153A-156A. Cf. Chr. A. Stamoulis, *Theotokos and orthodox dogma*, p. 241. Cf. C. Dratsellas, "Questions of the Soteriological Teaching of the Greek Fathers. With special reference to St. Cyril of Alexandria," *Theologia* 39 (1968), p. 210. N. Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology III*, p. 300ff. L. Turrado, *Doxa en el evangelio de S.*

Juan segan S. Cirilo de Alexandria (Pontificia Universita, Gregoriana), Romae 1939.

³¹ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to John Kouvikoularios, on love*, PG 91, 597 C; Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 20, PG 74, 281 B. Cf. by the same author, *ibid.*, 557 BC (where he explains the unity which binds the believers among themselves and with God).

³² See *Antirretikos* 1, 7, 15, *Works* 3, publ. by V. Fanourgakis, & P. Christou, Thessaloniki 1970, p. 50.

³³ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to Konon priest and abbot*, PG 91, 613A: "I believe as I received and was taught, that God is love, and that as he is one and never ceases from being one, likewise he makes one those who live according to his love, granting them one heart and soul although they happen to be many."

³⁴ See Marcos Eugenicos, *For the Seconds*, Canon. Gr. 49, f. 88, in Irineos Bulovic, *The Mystery of Distinction of Divine Essence and Energy in the Holy Trinity according to St. Marcos of Eugenicos* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1983, p. 86: "As for the energy and the will being natural all the Fathers cry out in unison." For the use of the term "agapetic energies" see the article of bishop Athanasios Jevtic, "The I am (=Jahwe) as Living and true God as St. Gregory Palamas bears witness," *Proceedings of the Theological Conference Memory of St. Gregory Palamas Archbishop of Thessaloniki (12-14 November 1984)* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1986, p. 132.

³⁵ See David Disypatos, "Homily against Varlaam and Akindynos to Nicolaos Kavasilas," *Byzantine texts and studies* 10, publ. D. Tsamis, Thessaloniki 1976, p. 100: "Do you see how each of the three operates, having perfectly unified the natural energy?"

³⁶ See Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homily 10, Dogmatic works*, ed. by D. Kaimakis, Byzantine Writers of Thessaloniki 3, Thessaloniki 1983, p. 404: "Therefore Maximos the wise tells those who spoke wrongly of the divine energy as being *hypostatic* and not natural, whence and when did they receive this which they declare?"

³⁷ Important remarks relevant to this subject are to be found in the work of M. Begzos, *The Future of the past. Critical introduction to Orthodox theology* [in Greek], Athens 1993, p. 146-147. Cf. K. Raiser, *The Future of Ecumenism*, p. 26 ff., where the author raises issues of his own from the position of the General Secretary of the W.C.C.

³⁸ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to John Kouvikoularios, On Love*, PG 91, 396 CD. Cf. A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros* (tr. by Philips S. Watson), London 1982, p. 362 ff.

³⁹ See Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, p. 638 ff. Cf. D. Tselegidis, *The Soteriology of Luther* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1991, p. 98, 104, 157, 176, 183 ff.

⁴⁰ See Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 2, 6, 303, PG 8, 965 BC: "For it is love that makes the believers through attachment to faith." For the different standpoints of Orthodox theologians today vis-à-vis the dialogue and the resulting trends, see characteristically the following texts: Emilianos, Metrop. Silivrias, "The vacuums of the dialogue" [in Greek], *Synaxi* 57 (1996), p. 20: "Recently we have been hearing repeatedly that agreement of dogma precedes eucharistic communion. Are the other dimensions of the dialogue being deliberately underestimated: that of love or mutual respect? Not that the importance of dogmatic differences should be ignored" K. Ware, bishop of Diocleia, *The Orthodox Church* [in Greek], Athens 1996, p. 489: "The important thing is unity of faith... There can only be one basis for unity or fullness of faith ... and until unity of faith has been achieved there can be no intercommunion in the Sacraments."

⁴¹ *The Ascetics, Homily 72*, ed. I. Spetsieris, Athens 1895, p. 283.

⁴² *To Ephesians* 14, 1, SC 10, Paris 1969, p. 70. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*

7, 10, 586, PG 8: "the beginning and the end, I say, are faith and love."

⁴³ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to John Kouvikoularios, On Love*, PG 91, 396 B: "The faith is the basis for what come after it, I mean hope and love, which of course truly exist." Cf. by the same author, *Kefalaia on love*, 31 PG 90, 968 t: "Just as the memory of fire does not make the body warm, likewise faith without love, does not operate in the soul the enlightenment of knowledge."

⁴⁴ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 14, 15, PG 74, 253 BD: "For if one simply says that God loves, he does not necessarily acquire the glory of loving, because the power of virtue is not to be found merely in the naked word, nor is the beauty of true and Godly piety formed by mere words, but by good effects and a readily adhering will. Keeping the divine commandments is what perfectly depicts the love which is offered to the Godhead, and presents virtue as wholly alive and true, not drawing an initial description of it with mere sounds of the tongue... etc.

⁴⁵ It is absolutely clear that in Orthodox theology the unity of the members of the Church in no way abolishes the "peculiar description and hypostasis" of persons. It is impossible, for example, that Paul might be called Peter, or Peter Paul, despite the fact of these two being considered as one by virtue of their "union in Christ." On the contrary we would say that the Church through its unity or because of its unity shows forth its members as persons. In other words, this reveals the Church to be a communion of persons, the very opposite of that which is impersonal, non-existing, nihilist. See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 17, 21, PG 74, 557 C.

⁴⁶ See N. A. Matsoukas, *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology* 3 [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1997, p. 267 ff. Cf. A. Papadopoulos, *Theological dialogue between Orthodox and Roman Catholics* [in Greek], Thessaloniki-Athens 1996, pp. 233-234, where a commentary on the position of Fr. John Romanides concerning the dialogue is offered. Also I. S. Petrou, *Theology and social dynamics* [in Greek], Thessaloniki 1993, p. 29.

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note here that in 1989 in a special encyclical Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople invited the faithful to show "one eucharistic and ascetic spirit." See, *Orthodoxy and the Ecological Crisis*, published by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the World Consecration Center in 1990. I borrowed this piece of information from the work of Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Church* [in Greek], Athens 1996, p. 373. John Zizioulas also points out the need of the human hypostasis to engage in asceticism, although he does not give it its proper place alongside the eucharistic Ecclesiology. In other words, this point is not given its due place, since it is chiefly covered in the space of a single footnote, see *Being as Communion*, p. 62, ft 66.

⁴⁸ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to John Kouvikoularios, on love*, PG 91, 400 A: "Instead, all the kinds of love are brought in, completing the power of love which brings together what have been severed, recreating mankind by directing it to one reason and manner, and equating and normalizing every inequality and differentiation of gnomic will in all."

⁴⁹ See the highly relevant observations of Cyril of Alexandria on this point in Chr. Stamoulis, *Theotokos and orthodox dogma*, p. 216 ff.

⁵⁰ See Cyril of Alexandria, *The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* 17, 21, PG 74, 569 AC: "... it was for the purpose of our union with God that the mystery of Christ was constituted. For all of us are sanctified in him, in the manner which has been already explained. So that we may now walk and mix with each other on the basis of this unity with God and one another ... For by one body, i.e. that of his own, he blesses those who

believe in him, through the mystical (sacramental) communion, and makes them incorporate with himself and with each other."

⁵¹ For the term "eucharistic love" see J. Zizioulas, "L' eucharistie: quelques aspects bibliques," *Eglises en dialogue* 12 (1970), p. 51. Cf. N. Loudovikos, *The Eucharistic Ontology*, Athens 1992, p. 190 ff. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos* 2, 1, 5, 3, PG 8, 385C: "Love is truly an heavenly food, a rational banquet."

⁵² For the term "eucharistic nature" of the Church see A. Jevtic, *The Ecclesiology of the apostle Paul according to the holy Chrysostom* [in Greek], Athens 1984, p. 127. Cf. J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, p. 61, G. D. Dragas, *Ecclesiasticus*, p. 22.

⁵³ See Maximos the Confessor, *Letter to John Kouvikouliarios, on love*, PG 91, 397 A.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 400 A.

⁵⁵ See the Prologue of Chr. Stamoulis, *Cyril of Alexandria On the Incarnation of the Monogenes*, Alexandrian Authors 2, Thessaloniki 1998, p. 10.

⁵⁶ "Church Relations," *Gregory Palamas* 722 (1988), p. 242. Cf. the same author's comments in his *Ecclesiasticus*, p. 65.

⁵⁷ *Deisis of St John's Holy Liturgy*.

⁵⁸ *Prayer of Holy Communion*.

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PART II: ST. INNOKENTII'S LIFE, WORK AND LEGACY

**Prelate Innokentii (Veniaminov)
and Yakutia**

DR. EGOR SPIRIDONOVICH SHISHIGIN

This year, the world community celebrates extensively the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Prelate Innokentii (Veniaminov), Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna, the great pastor and missionary of Alaska, Yakutia, eastern Siberia, and the Far East, an outstanding scholar and a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The life of this remarkable man was linked with Yakutia from the very beginning. He was born in the year 1797, on the twenty-sixth day of August (the eighth of September, according to the modern calendar) in the remote village of Anginskoi on the Lena River in the Irkutsk *gubernia*, which was founded as early as the seventeenth century by members of the Spasskii Monastery in Yakutsk. As Innokentii himself recalled from his childhood, the Yakuts and Evenks were better known to him than any of the other Siberian tribes, through their dialects, way of life, beliefs, trade, skills and craftsmanship, and by their food and clothing, since they lived on the very basin of the Lena River, where his homeland, the village of Anginskoi, was situated.

His early childhood was tragic as his father, Evsevii Popov, sexton of the local church, died when the boy was just five or six years old. In 1806, the nine year old Ivan Popov was sent to the Irkutsk ecclesiastical seminary, which he finished brilliantly in 1817. He took the

office of deacon, and in May 1821 was chosen to be a presbyter in the Church of the Annunciation in Irkutsk, where he spent his first years of service.

During his studies at the seminary, the young Ivan showed great aptitude in assimilating the deep meanings of theology, rhetoric and philology, allowing him later in life to achieve truly outstanding success in his missionary activities. It was precisely in this period of the life of the future prelate that such qualities as kindness, love, and a thirst for knowledge, as well as an exceptional diligence, began to appear. The success of his studies and his exemplary behavior prompted the rector of the seminary to confer on him the surname Veniaminov in 1814, in memory of Veniamin (Bagryanski), the Bishop of Irkutsk and a deeply respected figure in the Church, who had passed away that same year.

In May 1823, the twenty-six year old missionary Ivan Veniaminov set off his family on what was, at those times, an exceptionally difficult and dangerous journey — the journey to Russian American (Alaska), where he continued the mission of the Russian Orthodox Church, begun in 1794.

In Alaska, where he served for a total of twenty-eight years, he lived at first on the main island of the Aleutian archipelago, Unalaska. He learned the languages of the local inhabitants (he managed quickly to assimilate six dialects), compiled an alphabet based on Slavonic letters and a grammar of the Aleut-Lisovski language, and translated prayers and books into it. In July 1826, he consecrated the church of the Ascension of the Lord, which was built according to his design and became the centre of Christian instruction for the Aleuts of Unalaska and the surrounding islands.

In 1834, Fr Ivan Veniaminov was transferred to the island of Sitka, to Novoarkhangel'sk, the administrative centre of the Russian territories in North America, where he served in the cathedral of the Archangel Michael, christening natives.

Throughout this time, the great pastor and missionary was occupied not only with the expansion of Orthodoxy. He organized schools in which many boys were taught to read and write; he built a hospital and an orphanage; and he struggled against the spread of infectious diseases, drunkenness, and polygamy among the local people. As a result of his fundamental studies of the daily life, cultures, languages and customs of the indigenous peoples, the climate, the flora and

fauna, Veniaminov produced and has left fundamental scientific works in the fields of ethnography, geography and linguistics, which have not lost their significance even today. Young Aleut and Eskimo priests told us in the autumn of 1996 that they are currently trying to revive their languages and national cultures with the help of Veniaminov's work. The Aleuts of Atka [Island] have revived their national dances according to his ethnographical notes. In Orthodox churches, we saw prayer-books, psalms, and other religious literature including services, all in the Aleut language in translations accomplished by Veniaminov or promoted by him.

In a word, we were impressed by how deeply the native peoples of Alaska honour Veniaminov, how they have managed to preserve the Orthodox religion, Orthodox self-awareness, and even names and surnames: Terentii Merkuliev, Nikolai Likhanov, Aleksei Cherkhanov, Illarion Gromov, etc.

Veniaminov came to Alaska as a parish priest and a missionary but departed as a bishop, enjoying great authority in the Christian world and the sincere respect and love of the native inhabitants as an apostle to America. While still a priest, well aware of the problems of the missionary and parochial activities of the Orthodox Church in Russian-America, he had proposed the establishment of an independent eparchy in the northern part of the American continent. With this aim, he undertook a trip to St. Petersburg in 1839, where he obtained the support of the members of the Holy Synod for a favourable solution to the question.

After a pilgrimage to the Holy Trinity Monastery, and to the sacred places of Kiev, Veniaminov became a monk with the name Innokentii in honour of St. Innokentii of Irkutsk, and was elevated to the rank of archimandrite. (His wife Ekaterina Ivanovna had passed away in Irkutsk in November 1840.) In December 1840, a new diocese was established by the Holy Synod: the Kamchatka-Kurile and Aleutian [*Kamchatsk-Kuril'skaya i Aleut'skaya*] diocese with the town of Novoarkhangel'sk as its centre, and the Right Reverend Bishop Innokentii (Veniaminov) as its first archpastor. In ten years, in April 1850, he rose to the office of archbishop. In 1852, the extensive Yakut province, which from 1731 to 1852 had been part of the Irkutsk eparch, was joined to his already immense eparchy.

In September 1853, he became a permanent resident in the town of Yakutsk, and he transferred the seat of the archbishopric from

Novoarkangel'sk (in Alaska) to the main church in Yakutsk. The Holy Trinity Church was made a cathedral, where, beginning in 1859, the services were performed in the Yakut language.

Before this, Innokentii had been to Yakutsk on three occasions: twice just passing through and once on an unofficial visit. The first time was in 1823 when, as a priest, he had set off with this family for service to America; the second was in 1841 when, as a bishop, he was returning to Alaska from St. Petersburg. On that occasion he was met by the governor and by the whole priesthood, and he held a service. Later during the unofficial visit, from the beginning of the year 1852 until the twenty-ninth day of May of the same year, he came to familiarize himself preliminarily with the conditions of church affairs and the refurbishment of the Spasski Monastery. Before leaving, he consecrated the stone-built Nikolaevskii cemetery church, which had been constructed with money donated by the Yakut merchant I.Y. Shilova, a respected citizen of the town. (Today, after restoration, this is the Yakutsk Nikolaevskii Church [Church of St. Nicholas]).

Archbishop Innokentii was based in Yakutsk for seven years, from 1853 to 1860. It is worth nothing that this period of the life and work of the great missionary remains the least studied. His biographer I.P. Barsukov provides the following explanation: "The reason for this is that at the time of the fire in Yakutsk on the twenty-fourth of February 1858, his cell in the Spasskii Monastery was gutted, and they were unable to save his office with his books and papers from the fire. Letters, along with his diary and many written documents, important for the study of the history of the eastern outskirts of Asiatic and American Russia, fell victim to the flames, as he himself declared when he was Metropolitan of Moscow."

Here in Yakutia, as before in Alaska, he occupied himself with the Christianization of the local inhabitants; the translation of prayer-books into the native languages (here, the Yakut and Tungus languages); the opening of parish schools and new parishes; the building of churches and chapels; the strengthening of the material base of Yakutsk's churches and the Spasskii Monastery; and the training of clergy; etc. During 1854-1855, he twice surveyed the Yakut province and undertook missionary trips along the Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

Study of the labours of Innokentii in Yakutia shows that he had developed a precise plan for the expansion of the Christianization of the Yakut people and other native inhabitants of the province. One of

the archbishop's main concerns was the translation and publication of the basic religious books in the Yakut language. As early as 1852, in his "Notes about Various Matters concerning the Churches in the Yakut Region," presented to the Governor-General of Irkutsk, Count N.N. Muraviev-Amurskii, he wrote the following:

"Yakut is the predominant language of the Yakut region. Of two-hundred-and-ten thousand people [the population of the region — E.S.S.], you would be unlikely to find as many as eight thousand who do not speak or understand the Yakut language; and you would not find even four thousand who understand nothing. The Tungus people and others have their own languages, but the Yukaghir people speak Russian while the Tungus people almost all speak Yakut, and a large part of their people have already forgotten their native language. Even the Russians, Amginskii peasants and others, are forgetting the language of their fathers; and even among the inhabitants of Yakutsk, very many people speak much more fluently and freely in Yakut than in Russian. Two centuries' experience has shown that the Yakut people — despite the fact that in the district administrative affairs are carried out in Russian, and quite a large number read prayers and other things in Russian — in reality would never give up their native language for Russian, as the Kamchadal and Yukaghir have done: on the contrary, Russians arriving in the region pick up their language, like it or not."

Proceeding from this correct conclusion of his, the wise archbishop set himself a task for the immediate future "of translating into the Yakut language several books of the Holy Scripture, some religious books and others, and also of translating or composing several sermons in the Yakut language, primarily concerning the most necessary themes."

The energetic and practical activities of Innokentii were aimed at realizing his designated plans; and so from 1855 in Yakutsk, a committee began working on the translating of prayer-books and religious texts with the great expert in the Yakut language Archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov at the head. In his writings titled *Frigate "Pallada,"* the Russian author I.A. Goncharov described the vast, painstaking labour of this committee with admiration:

"Quite by chance, I was with the committee that meets in the silence of the archpriest's cells to work on the translations of the Gospels. All church figures there know the Yakut language. The translation has already been completed in rough draft. When I was in the room, they

were working on the final revision of the Gospel according to Matthew. Greek, Slavonic and Russian texts were all checked against the translation in the Yakut language. Every word and expression was strictly weighed up and checked by all members. The respected fathers were frequently hampered by a shortage of words in the Yakut language for the expression of many, not only moral but also material, ideas that are necessary for some passages. For example, the Yakut language has no word for "fruit," as they have no such concept. Not a single fruit grows under this sky, not even the wild apple: there was nothing here to call "fruit." There are rowanberries, cowberries, and wild currents or "*kislitsa*" or "*moroshka*" as they are called here; but these are only berries. The Yakut people themselves, struggling with names for the many things brought by the Russians, call them by their Russian names, which are now a permanent part of the Yakut language. Bread they call "*khleb*," because the Russians taught them to eat bread — and there are many other examples. Just as the Right Reverend Innokentii worked on the translation of the Gospel into Aleutian, so here they have translated the Holy Scripture into the Yakut language.... One of the missionaries, namely the priest Khitrov, has been busy, among other things, compiling a grammar of the Yakut language for use in teaching the Yakut people to read and write. It has already been completed. You see what they are dealing with here. I have heard that all the plans and works of the local ecclesiastical authorities have already been approved."

At the beginning of 1857, D. Khitrov was sent to Moscow and St. Petersburg to publish the translations. His work was fruitful; and in 1857-1858 eight books were published, among them: the *Holy Gospels in the Yakut language*; *A Short Grammar of the Yakut Language, compiled by Archpriest D. Khitrov*; and *An Indication of the Way to the Kingdom of Heaven in the Yakut Language*, [written originally in the Aleut language — ed.] by Innokentii Veniaminov. In all, under his direct leadership and participation, ten books were published in fourteen editions.

In the opinion of specialists (notably, the academician P.A. Sleptsov) from the point of view of philology and socio-linguistics the fundamental and final result of this work was that the Orthodox missionaries laid the foundation of modern Yakut written culture, written literature, and their work formed one of the sources of the Yakut literary language.

The translation and publication of religious literature made it pos-

sible to realize the long-standing dream of Innokentii: to perform the divine service in the Yakut language. On the nineteenth day of July 1859, in the Yakutsk Holy Trinity Cathedral, the first ever Divine Liturgy in the Yakut language took place. Similar practice then extended across the whole of the Yakut region.

The Right Reverend Innokentii departed Yakutsk in 1860 and moved to the town of Blagoveshchensk, thus intensifying his activities in the Far East where he accomplished exceptionally great work for the establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church. He left Pavel (Popov) as vicar bishop in Yakutsk.

In 1862, he returned to Yakutsk and lived there for almost two months, carrying out services in the churches. In 1867, he appointed his friend and associate D. Khitrov as vicar bishop in Yakutsk, and then proceeded to achieve an independent Yakut eparchy in 1870. Khitrov was named the first Bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk as the Right Reverend Dionisii. The ordination, or elevation, was performed by Archbishop Innokentii himself in the Cathedral of the Annunciation.

On the fifth of January 1868, he was designated to be the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna and a senior priest of the Holy Trinity Monastery. On the twenty-fifth of May of the same year, he arrived in Moscow to assume this position, and he occupied this exalted post for ten years.

The great missionary and church figure reposed on the thirty-first of March 1879, and was buried in the ancient Church of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Trinity Monastery.

In 1974, by decree of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, prelate Innokentii was canonized as a saint.

Taking into account the great labours of Innokentii (Veniaminov) for the strengthening of cultural links between Russians and the native peoples of Yakutia, for the study and preservation of the Yakut language, for the its establishment as a literary language: the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of this great missionary will be celebrated widely by the government of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), the National Committee of the Republic for UNESCO Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, and the Sakha State University. Celebratory events have been declared to promote the preservation of the cultural and historical heritage of the people of our republic and the revival of their spirituality. In a ceremonial meeting during mid-November 1995,

commemorating five years since the creation of the national fund "Barsaryry," the President of the Republic Mr. M.E. Nikolayev emphasized the fact that "the Christianization of the people, asserting the ideas of humanitarianism and spiritual morality in education, enabled the broadening of cultural contacts between people, including them in the expanse of the civilized world." On the twenty-sixth of June, in a meeting with the Ambassador of the USA to Russia, Mr. Thomas R. Pinkerton, President Nikolayev discussed the question of a joint celebration of this outstanding event. In a word, the bicentennial of Innokentii (Veniaminov) is given extraordinary significance in our republic.

An international program "Innokentii (Veniaminov), Enlightener of Alaska and Yakutia" is being successfully realized; and in this context, within the framework of this program, a scientific conference, "Culture and Problems of Reviving the Spirituality of the People," was convened in Mirny during April 1996. An agreement was reached regarding the cooperation between our republic's coordinating committee for the bicentennial and the coordinating committee in Alaska, with Rev. Fr. Pavel Merculieff as its head. Organizing committees have also been set up in Great Britain, Greece and California; and a film is being produced about the activities of Veniaminov in Yakutia. Actively involved in this endeavour in our republic are the Academy of Spirituality, which performed a series of readings from Veniaminov's works in April of 1997, and the newspaper *Republic of Sakha*, which has consistently been running a column, already in its second year, titled "The Bicentennial of Innokentii (Veniaminov)," constantly publishing new material about him, and attracting new authors.

Purposeful instruction is being accomplished according to the guidelines of the Russian Orthodox Church, the head of which in our republic is the Rt. Rev. Herman, Bishop of Yakutsk and Lensk, a member of the Holy Synod. On the tenth of October 1996, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church adopted a program for the celebration of the bicentennial, including the holding of celebratory services and religious processions, the consecration and foundation of churches, the naming of streets and squares in honour of the prelate, the convening of theological conferences and seminars, the organization of celebratory exhibitions, the making of films, and the publication of the life and works of Veniaminov. As the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Alexei II emphasized in his address concern-

ing the bicentennial of the birth of Innokentii Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna:

“The experience of this great teacher and apostle convincingly shows that the mission of the Church is only successful when it has at its basis the principles of respect for all peoples and their cultures, for every human individual.”

These are very sound ideas. They are addressed to every individual, regardless of where one might live and to which nationality or people one may belong. These words can be addressed to any audience at any time.

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Preparing for Pastoral Care in the 21st century

**METROPOLITAN HIEROTHEOS (VLAHOS) OF NAFPAKTOS
AND ST. VLASIOS**

First, I would like to thank the president and the professors, as well as the students of this School of Theology, for inviting me here from Greece to have this spiritual meeting. Above all I would like to express my warmest thanks to His Eminence Archbishop Spyridon of America, who is responsible for this School, for giving me his blessing to visit the School and address the students.

I consider this to be a very flattering invitation, because in America, this great and important country, many developments occur which affect the whole of humanity in different ways. And also because in this Theological School, both professors and students perceive the messages of our times, as they encounter its various ideological, philosophical, social and ecclesiological currents and try to confront them with responsibility, discretion and theological sensitivity. The great importance of this School is attested by the fact that it prepares clergymen and future clergymen to serve contemporary man who is recipient of the current mentality of secularization or alienation, and also finds himself engaged in the search for that perfection which will give him inner fullness. This is the greatest spiritual arsenal of America. Besides, Greek Orthodox theology, with its calm and discerning message, has a great mission to accomplish in today's world, especially here in the New World. For all these reasons again I feel the need to thank you, to express my feelings of gratitude and to assure you that I feel very honored to be here.

The subject given to me for my presentation is quite serious and

contemporary. It has many aspects and one can underline several points. Perhaps it could be addressed within the perspective of the science of futurology, which studies and tries to predict, on the basis of scientific data, the conditions that will prevail in the world, and more particularly in each country, a few years from now. There are several such analyses according to which social conditions will change and social relationships will be disturbed, people's loneliness will increase, ecological problems will be magnified, fatalism and demon-worship will dominate. In general, problems will increase even more, namely the various problems relating to "*existential emptiness and existential anguish*," to "*nuclear family*," to "*emotional divorce between spouses*," to "*ecological shrinkage*," etc. Of course, the question is what will the position of the Church be on all these? I will leave aside, however, dealing with this issue through such a perspective and proceed to focus on other parameters which are, in my view and my pastoral experience, more important.

1. Preparation for the Next Century!

Certainly, the Church should prepare to face the coming millennium and the 21st Century. We should not overlook, however, the fact that its main role is to prepare man not only for some coming century, be it the 21st or any other, but also for the *future century* or the *age to come*, i.e. his entry into future bliss. *Centuries* specify the time of the so-called biological life, while the *future century*, the *age to come*, specifies the time connected with a different dimension. When a Church is not concerned with this major issue of man's participation in the *future life*, the *Kingdom of God*, but just leaves man to follow only temporal and local events, this Church is considered to be secularized and unable to satisfy man's deeper existential hunger and thirst.

In the Bible, especially in the New Testament, there is a widespread and intense expectation of the great and illustrious *Day of the Lord*. Let me mention some of the relevant passages. "*When Christ, who is our life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory*" (Col. 3: 4). "*The Lord is at hand. Be anxious for nothing*" (Phil. 4: 5-6). "*In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel*" (Rom. 2:16). "*The night is far spent, the Day is at hand*" (Rom. 13:12). "*Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that you may be blameless in the Day of our Lord Jesus*

Christ" (1 Cor. 1: 8). "... *That his spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus*" (1 Cor. 5: 5). "... *That we are your boast, even as you also are ours in the Day of the Lord Jesus*" (2 Cor. 1: 14). "*That you may be sincere and without offense till the Day of Christ*" (Phil. 1:10). "*For yourselves know perfectly that the Day of the Lord so comes as a thief in the night*" (1 Thess. 5: 2). "*Come, Lord Jesus*" (Rev. 22:20). The whole text of the Revelation of St. John the Divine is permeated with this intense nostalgia. The new heaven and the new earth, the city of God, the glorification of the Church triumphant in heaven, the glory of the Lamb of the Revelation, which defeats the beast, and so many other examples, demonstrate this Christian hopeful expectation for the arrival of the *Kingdom of God*. It was within this perspective that the Holy Apostles guided the first Christians: "*Little children, it is the last hour*" (1 Jn. 2: 18). "*And the world is passing away, and the lust of it; but he who does the will of God abides forever*" (1 Jn. 2: 17). There are many such passages in the Bible that could be mentioned in this context. Preparation, however, for the *future century* and the coming of the glorious and illustrious *Day of the Lord*, is connected with several realities, which I would like to remind you of in what follows.

First. The preparation for the *future century* is related to man's basic ontology, i.e. how and for what he was created and how he lives in the era after his fall. More specifically: Man was created in God's image and likeness. The image is an actuality and is connected with the faculties of the *nous* and *free will*, while the likeness is a potentiality. Thus, according to the teaching of St. Basil the Great, "*the image is potentially the likeness and the likeness is the enactment of the image.*"¹ Of course, with the fall man lost the likeness but not the image. However, since the image is potentially the likeness, man has the urge within himself to meet God and enter into communion with him. This is seen even in this life after the fall, and not only in the Religion of the Old Testament but also in other Religions. Man is "*summoned to be a god*" and this is his deepest ontology. He has to meet very high standards, to use a modern term.

St. Gregory the Theologian uses a fascinating passage in his sermons, which illustrates this reality. In giving his definition of man he says that man is "*a living creature, accommodated here and then moved elsewhere; and to complete the mystery, deified by its inclination to God.*"² Man lives and is accommodated here, with both material

goods and education, but his aim and destination is to move on elsewhere. Of course when he says "*elsewhere*" he does not mean moving from the 20th to the 21st century, but moving from this present biological life to the other life which is connected with the mystery of man's union with God, whereby man becomes deified.

Thus, in the depths of his existence man has a tremendous ability and drive, which was given to him by God since the day of his creation, a divine capacity which cannot be satisfied with anything that is merely human and material. His prognosis is high, eternal and divine. His hunger and thirst are spiritual. If you will allow me the phrase, there is a *hungry beast* hidden in the depths of his existence that seeks existential satisfaction. This is its intrinsic actuality, like the walnut which has the potential within itself to become a walnut-tree, like the infant which has the capability and potentiality to become a complete human being, like DNA, the complete genetic material which determines the development of man's bodily organism. In a similar way, in the depths of man's existence there is a spiritual DNA, which strives to guide man to his deification, to bring him to the point of being *god by grace*.

At the same time, though, along with this tremendous divine drive, there is another great urge within man's existence and this is his *fallen condition*. Man sees the rule of death within his being, he sees a force leading him more to what is here, what is in this place, and does not allow him to satisfy this inner hunger and thirst of his. In another section we will look at this force of death within our being. What I would like to underscore here, however, is that after the Fall man has *two mighty powers* within his being, the power to become god by grace, i.e. to be deified, and the power to halt this course and limit himself only to what is here in this world.

Second. Preparation for the *future century* is also closely related to the arrival of that *future century*, or *age to come*, or *Kingdom of God*, even now in *this century* or *present age*. For us Christians the *Kingdom of God* is not merely an eschatological expectation, i.e. an event to be experienced in the future age, but a *present reality* which is experienced like a betrothal, awaiting for its fulfillment in the *future century* or *age to come*.

The Gospel states that the Kingdom of God is coming: "*Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*" (Matt. 3: 2). Or that it has come: "*The Kingdom of God is within you*" (Lk. 17: 21). Or that it

will come “*when the Son of man comes in His glory...*” (Matt. 25: 31). Participation in the Kingdom of God, is the vision of the God’s *Uncreated Light*, deification. Therefore, a person who is deified in this way experience the blessings of the *future century* already in this life like in a betrothal. At this point we may recall to memory St. Symeon the New Theologian who wonderfully describes this experience as lived by the deified saints.

We realize, therefore, that even if they live in a specific century, or age, or era, human beings may also live in different times, i.e. different centuries, or ages, or eras. That is, although we are all preparing for the 21st Century AD, some of us may live as if Christ had not yet become flesh, i.e. in the age before the coming of Christ, the age of idolatry and the time of the Old Testament. Others, however, especially those who experience deification, have advanced beyond biological life, beyond the Third Millennium, because they see God’s *Uncreated Light* and thereby spiritually experience that age in which time *movement is no more*. It is clear, then, that the Church prepares man, through the entire sacramental life and its prerequisites of participation, for entering into *that century* when time is no more, although he may continue to live in this biological life, measuring the events of his biological life with objectified time.

Third. The above demonstrates that the Church does not simply stay in the *present century*, but looks for the *age to come*, without, of course, overlooking the present century and world. Clearly, there is a relationship and connection between the present and the future, but the blessings of the future are certainly preferable, whereas the present life is viewed simply as a preparation for and experience of things to come. Thus, the way in which people live, shows the extent to which they satisfy their deepest ontological prospects.

St. Paul says in a passage characteristically: “*For here we have no lasting city, but we are looking for the city which is to come*” (Heb. 13:14). Christians live here with the vision of heavenly citizenship and the heavenly city. They do not limit their existence to the present city but rather extend it to the city which is coming: “*For our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ*” (Phil. 3: 20).

All those who reached deification, and have lived and experienced the Kingdom of God, move within this perspective while still existing this very moment in the present one. We may turn to some of

their writings in order to ascertain their way of thinking and how they would have faced the arrival of the Third Millennium and the 21st century if they had lived today.

St. Basil the Great writes somewhere: "*This (present age) is the age of repentance, that (future age) will be the age of reward. This one is the age of patience, that one will be the age of comfort.*"³ The Christian does not see the present century as absolute, for he does not expect rewards and comfort here, not even from the joys that are offered by his citizenship here. This age of corruption and death requires patience and repentance, whereas the future age brings about lasting comfort and pleasure.

St. Gregory the Theologian moves within the same perspective and expresses himself within the same framework, because he had the same life-style as St. Basil and the rest of the saints. In one of his sermons he writes: "*The present is for labor, the future for reward.*" This labor is related to our attempt to get orientated in our life towards the future age and to overlook the pleasures of the present age, to direct our existence to our true ontological and iconic construction. He recommends: "*Let us flee from worldly desires, let us flee from the delusive world and its ruler, let us become purely of the Creator, honor the image, revering the calling, pursuing life.*"⁴ The world and its ruler, the devil, refer to this age, be it the fourth or the twenty-first century. They are described as seductive because they lead man astray and limit him to things perceptible only to the senses and to worldly desires. A Christian must honor the image he has received from God, respect the calling he has been granted, become *god by grace* and transfer his biological life to the other life for which he was created.

Elsewhere the same saint recommends: "*Soon the world will be gone and the tabernacle destroyed. We spend our time here with things that do not endure, but we must rather buy what remain.*"⁵ The saints continuously live here in a state of homelessness, of dissolution of present things and acquisition of future things that are to remain. They philosophize wisely, from within the state of corruption and mortality, about the world and their biological existence. The present age is only good for the acquisition of future and enduring things. The things of the present do not have stability and permanence.

St. John Chrysostom considers things of the present to be dreams. "*For the present things are nothing better than dreams, whether they*

be useful, or whether they cause sadness."⁶ Not only sad things, but also useful and pleasant things pass away. The whole of life on both the human and the global level is too short.

St. Symeon the New Theologian is no different as to this expectation of future things and the true worth of the things of this present life. He first emphasizes that the present time is the time for work while the future time is the time of crowning, and that Christ the Master offers at this time the betrothal and seal of the future life. He, then, goes on to make this plea: "*Light here the candle of your soul, before it gets dark and the gates of labor are closed.*"⁷ This candle is the arrival of God's grace in the human *nous*, whereby this *nous* becomes translucent – an experience, of course, which is related to the *prayer of the heart* or *prayer of the nous* and entails the unceasing remembrance of God. The *prayer of the nous* is the basis of spiritual life, because it involves the purification of the heart from passions and its entry into the *vision of God in his glory*, which is the living experience of the *age to come*.

St. Symeon is like all the saints inasmuch as, like them, he does not speak sentimentally or intellectually, nor does he refer to these matters using symbolic concepts, but rather speaks from the overflow of his own personal experience. Thus, in one of his Homilies he explains how a Christian should participate in the celebration of the immaculate mysteries and partake therefrom. He, then, says that when this is done properly man's entire life "*is like a feast, and not just a feast but a cause for a feast and a Pascha!*" We separate, of course, the Feasts of the Lord and distribute them to different days throughout the year, so that we can experience them better, because of our corruption. In the state of *theoria*, however, i.e. in the state of the *vision of God in his glory* and of *partaking of God's grace* everything is unified. On Christmas Day one also experiences the Grace of the Resurrection. Furthermore, in every celebration of the Divine Liturgy one experiences all the events of the Divine Incarnation in a unified manner. Indeed, we will celebrate the milestone of 2000 years since Christ's Birth, but this is very relative, both because this date has already passed, due to an error in calculating the year Christ was born, and because in spiritual life we consider things differently. We say this because Christmas, Pascha, and even eternal life are all experienced by the deified Saints in a unified way in the Divine Liturgy. In point of fact, again according to St. Symeon the New Theologian,

Pascha is "*the shift and transition from the visible to the intelligible.*" St. Symeon the New Theologian clearly says that, compared to the eternal Pascha, all feasts, even those earthly ones, are shadows and symbols which will cease and that, "*being cleansed, we will enjoy eternally in a purified manner the most pure victim in God the Father and consubstantial with the Spirit, seeing Christ forever and being seen by him, being with Christ, reigning with Christ, of which nothing is greater in the kingdom of heaven.*"⁸

St. John of Sinai urges the monks to strive to enter the *palatial bridal chamber*. Naturally here, the word *bridal chamber* means the state of partaking of the *Uncreated Light*, the living experience of Christ: "*Let us run, brethren, let us enter the bridal chamber of this palace!*" He who did not enter that heavenly bridal chamber until the end of his life "*will lie outside, in a desert of demons and passions.*"⁹

St. Thalassios speaks about man's fixation on anticipated blessings, since only then does he manage to forget about the present ones. "*The expectation of blessings held in store ties the nous with what it expects.*" And if the *nous* gets used to them, then it "*forgets the things of this world.*"¹⁰

The person who has tasted eternal blessings rejects all present things and "*all his longing will be spent on what he hopes for.*"¹¹ Indeed, when man forgets all *present things* and broadens his knowledge of *future things*, this is a sign "*that his nous does dwell among the blessings for which it hopes.*"¹² This is an important point, because, as St. Isaac the Syrian says, the man who considers the present life to be desirable reveals that he lives an impure life.¹³

St. Gregory Palamas makes some God-inspired observations and comments, when, in analyzing one of St. Paul's passages, he says: "*But this I say brethren, the time is short, so that from now on even those that have wives should be as though they had none, and those who weep as though they did not weep, those who rejoice, as though they did not rejoice, those who buy, as though they did not possess, and those who use this world, as not at all using it. For the form of this world is passing away.*" (1 Cor. 7: 29-31). We should look at this more closely.

Explaining the phrase "*the time is short,*" he says that "*life is short, that death is near, that this world is corrupt, that the eternally enduring is everything.*" One age is corrupt, the other incorrupt, one is short, the other eternal. Therefore, contempt for this world and prepa-

ration for the world to come, living, as much as possible, according to the citizenship of that (future) life, and avoiding the harmful things of this present life “*directs us to safety*.” Indeed, he uses an example from the frequent enemy raids of the cities of that time. On such occasions, citizens avoid leaving the cities but live in them for safety, behaving as if they had no fields. When, however, the enemy withdraws for a while, they get out for a short walk but remain cautious. This is exactly what Christians should also do with the blessings of the present life.

Explaining further the word of the Apostle “*For the form of this world is passing away*,” St Gregory Palamas says that the things of the present do not exist in substance but are just a form. All things of the present world are like the shadow of a barren cloud, which passes by quickly under the impact of the wind. If someone desires and wants to possess the things of the present, he discovers that “*they are not attainable*.” In other words, he cannot possess them for two reasons: because, on the one hand, this world is passing away, and, on the other, because each one of us who uses this world passes away before the worldly things which are at his disposal also pass away. There is, in other words, an end to the world that exists and also an end to each one of us, which may come before the end of the world. Here St Gregory uses this example to illustrate his point. It is as if a man is walking along a street, yet the street also moves and passes him by. So two things may happen. Either the street catches up with him and consequently he can no longer possess what he possessed before, or he runs faster than the street and so he is not able to possess anything. This occurs because, being a mortal man, he is tied to the changing things of present life and is unable to enjoy them. Indeed this happens either because man is tied to the changing things of the present life, such as wealth brilliance, cheerfulness, etc., or because he is changed by them and loses them. It also happens because with his death man brings about his own decline and departs from the present world naked, deserting all earthly blessings and the hopes he had placed on them. This is why, “*It will always be a flight for this world when the end approaches, departing this world naked and having left behind all its concerns*.”¹⁴

It is clear from all that we have mentioned in this section that the Church prepares its members, for to experience of the *future age*, the *Kingdom of God*, as a *betrothal* in this present life and as a *marriage*

in the life to come. It does not make the present time absolute and does not disengage man from his earthly existence. It views the present world within the perspective of the struggle for the enjoyment of future life. According to the well known phrase of the Epistle to Diognetus, the Christians *"though they are residents in their own countries, their manner of life is more like that of people in transit. They take their full part as citizens, but they also submit to anything and everything as if they were aliens. They spend their days on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven above."*¹⁵ They live on the earth and not in some imaginary world, but in reality they conduct themselves according to the life of their heavenly citizenship. Not only do they handle their passage through the earth differently but, while living this life, they also get themselves orientated towards the desire for the Kingdom of Heaven.

2. Problems of the Present Age, of Deception

We should not deduce from all the above that a Christian lives the present life in a "monophysite manner" feeling contempt for it. What happens is that he does not consider it absolute or autonomous. He loves the world, which is God's creation and he loves all mankind. The saints in particular are quite sensitive towards the whole of creation, the animals, the birds, the green fields, but they view them all from within another perspective. Throughout the whole of creation they perceive the *reasons pertaining to existing beings*, i.e. the uncreated essence-giving, life-giving, wisdom-giving energies of God. Nor should we deduce that a Christian does not have to face problems in his life but overcomes all problems from within the outlook of eternity. St. Paul writes: *"We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed"* (2 Cor. 4:8-9). We see this in the lives of all the holy Prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, fathers, saints, ascetics. We also see it in Church history, namely, that, despite being the Body of Christ, the Church has encountered many problems and faced various trials, sometimes from philosophy and agnosticism, sometimes from persecution, sometimes from heresies, secularization, etc.

We will also face many problems upon entering the new millennium and the 21st Century. Obviously we are not prophets to foretell what is going to happen, but looking at the present conditions we are

able to figure out some of the problems that will arise. In what follows I would like to refer very briefly to four groups of problems, which will increase in the new millennium.

First, there will be an increase in man's *existential problems*. As attachment to this present age increases, or as science, art and worldly knowledge are deified to the detriment of man's inner spiritual needs, man's existential emptiness and inner existential anguish will also increase. I think that this problem will be particularly manifested in the relationship between pleasure and pain. The experience of pleasure, be it sensual, psychological, intellectual or imaginary, will increase pain. Then, when man will no longer be able to confront pain effectively – as described in the Orthodox Tradition – he will turn to new sensual and camel-like pleasures which will result in yet greater pain. Thus a vicious circle will ensue.

Second, there will be a group of problems that concerns *family and social issues*. This is to be expected, because the greatest family and social problem will be connected with persons who have unsolved inner existential problems. As a matter of fact, a sick man spreads sickness to all social conventions. How can an unsatisfied person coexist with others? How can he love? Rather, by loving others he will seek to satisfy his inner existential vacuum. Since, however, this will not satisfy him, because satisfaction comes from a different dimension, he will live in uncertainty, dissatisfaction, and consequently, love will be quashed and transformed into either sensual pleasure or hatred. The presence of another person causes horror, fear and hysteria to the unsatisfied man, because he views the presence of the other as a threat to his own existence.

Third, there will be a group of problems in the Church, which will be associated with the growing independence of *science, art and technology*. It is known those things relating to science and art are connected with the so-called "*tunics of skin*." These are, on the one hand the result of Adam and Eve's fall, and on the other, of God's blessing, so that human beings can live the time of their corrupt and mortal life in a bearable way. The saints use science and art, but do not reach the point making them absolute. Their absolute hope and expectation is the Kingdom of God. When man does not have this orientation, he falls into despondency and occupies himself with science and art without restraint and, as a result, the science's increasing independence becomes a temptation for man, similar to Adam and

Eve's temptation.

We find in the teaching of the Holy Fathers of the Church the truth that it is not possible for science and theology to clash, because the role and purpose of each one of these are different. Science concerns itself with this world, while theology concerns itself with God. Science studies created reality and helps people to improve the conditions of their biological life, while theology prepares people for the living experience of God. Science cures the mortal body, while theology cures man's spiritual illnesses and thus, leads man, via purification, illumination of the *nous* and deification, not just to the condition before the Fall, but also gives him the abundance of life, uniting him with God in the Person of Jesus Christ. The Church will certainly face various problems due to the advance of technology, and will confront them with seriousness and responsibility, from within the standpoint and potential of its tradition.

Fourth, there will be a group of problems, which will be connected with the so-called *ecclesiological issues*. We do have such issues already today, but they will become greater. One can look at the ecclesiological traps from the following four viewpoints:

One is the *legalism* of spiritual life. The law was given to cure man and lead him to a life where there is no need for law, but rather for personal discourse with God. When the law is made absolute then spiritual life becomes legalistic.

Another issue has to do with the secularization of church life, i.e. when the Church identifies itself with worldly conditions or exhausts itself with the present and loses its orientation, as we described above. Instead of being a place of healing, it becomes a kind of court or a worldly organization, and instead of being a family-place, it becomes a faceless religious organization. The transformation of the Church into a religion constitutes its secularization.

The next problematic issue may be described by the term *syncretism*. This occurs when the Church, or rather the members of the Church, lose their self-consciousness, and come to believe that the members of all religions and dogmas worship the same God, have the same faith, and end up with the same result. It also occurs when the ability to distinguish truth from falsehood, health from sickness, is lost. What certainly results from this is a loss of ecclesial identity. Man reaches this point when he has lost the method of knowing God and confuses this Orthodox method with other methods, i.e. replaces

purification, illumination and deification with sentimentalities and intellectual reflections.

Fifth and final, there will be a group of ecclesiological problems that are related to *nationalism*. When the Church identifies itself with nationalism and loses its supra-national role, then it loses its identity. The Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of 1872 declared that *phyletism (i.e. nationalism based on race) is an ecclesiological heresy*. Here we need to point out that the union of Hellenism with Orthodoxy could not be considered as racism, because both Hellenism and Orthodoxy, as concepts and as practices, are universal. The Roman Empire of Byzantium was a multi-ethnic state with a single faith and cultural tradition. This is continued today by the successor of Byzantium, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which expresses this universal spirit of the Orthodox Church.

Thus, all these problems, existential, family-social, scientific- technological and ecclesiological will become greater for 21st Century Christians. The way to overcome these problems, however, is also available and has to do with the genuine life of the Church. Each century had had its own problems, the 2nd Century, the 3rd Century, the 4th Century, the 5th Century, the 8th Century, the 14th Century, etc. The Holy Fathers who lived in those times can help us find the way we should use today to overcome all such difficulties. This means just living of the authentic knowledge of God, which is the result of the Orthodox method of therapy, i.e. the method of purification, illumination and deification. When a man distinguishes his *nous* (mind) from his *logos* (reason), so that the confusion between created and uncreated, between God and the world ceases to exist, then he will easily confront all problems that arise. Consequently, our preparation for the 21st Century cannot be detached from the ascetic and sacramental life, from the struggle to transcend death, which is in our being, and live the rebirth of our existence by grace.

3. The Great Anthropological Problem and How to Face It

It should have become clear by now that the fundamental problems of humanity are not just social-temporal but first and foremost anthropological. The greatest problem is man himself. When speaking about the anthropological problem we mean that it is mostly a *theological problem*. That is to say, the loss of man's true relationship with God has created unspeakable pain, which is magnified by

the existence of death. Man's fall should not be viewed in legal terms, but from the standpoint of the loss of a relationship. Thus, man's resurrection should be connected with re-establishing once again a relationship of man with God, with fellow man and with the whole of creation. In what follows we will briefly examine *the great anthropological problem of death* and its transcendence as described by St. Paul the Apostle.

In chapters 5-8 of his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul discusses the relationship between the law and death a great deal, as well as the relationship between the law and God's grace. He vividly presents man's condition without God's grace, in the *erebus* and the dark prison of death, but also man's resurrection in Jesus Christ. It is not easy for us to examine fully the issues described by St. Paul in this important Epistle, but we will make some basic observations here in order to show that death is not simply the final event of our earthly life – simply the moment of separation of soul from body – but a state closely linked with inherited corruption and mortality from birth. Moreover, we will attempt to show that re-birth (re-generation) is actually the transcendence of death, already appearing in this biological life.

In his wonderful theological analysis of this issue, St. Paul describes the desperate condition lived by him before Christ's appearance to him, as well as his liberation from the state of death, which occurred with his rebirth or regeneration in Jesus Christ. This is seen from the fact that, describing the condition of death and subjugation to it, he uses verbal expressions in the past tense, while for his rebirth he uses the present tense. So he says: "*I would not have known sin, but through the law*" (Rom. 7:7), "*and the commandment, which was to bring life, I found to bring death*" (Rom. 7:10). He also speaks in the past tense about his liberation in Christ, although he implies that he is still experiencing a certain condition: "*For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made me free from the law of sin and death*" (Rom 8: 2). But let us take a closer look at how St. Paul, in this very important Epistle, describes these issues. We would again stress, however, that our objective is not to undertake a full and complete analysis of the theological position of St. Paul, but to present his basic principles in the context of the teachings of the Church Fathers.

St. Paul's *first basic position* is that with the loss of the grace of

God man became and was called carnal (Rom. 7:14). This is what the Apostle himself felt before Christ was revealed to him. He felt that sin dwelt within him (Rom. 7:17- 20). This sin dwelling within him he called *law*, actually *the other law*, which stood against *the law of the spirit* (Rom. 7:23). The latter law is *the law of the nous*, i.e. the image and the illumination of the *nous*, and the former law is *the law of death* (Rom. 7:22-24). We inherit this mortality and corruption of the law of death with our birth. This is exactly what we inherited from the first Adam, corruption and mortality and not guilt – as some erroneously believe – , whereas through Christ we have overcome the dominion of death (Rom. 5:12-14). Adam's sin became the cause for the introduction of man to death and, in turn, the very existence of death and especially of the mortality of the body which became the cause of many sins. Thus, *death is both a result of sin and – for fallen man – a source of sin*. This can be interpreted in the following way:

The corruption and mortality we have inherited is realized from the first moment of our conception and especially from our birth. It is very closely connected with changes in the body, with illnesses, pain, the growth and decline of our limbs and the energy of the body, and also with the feeling of death. We see death throughout the natural world. We see it in our beloved ones that depart from this life and make us face the pain of separation. We also see it in the limits of our existence by means of recollection and sometimes of the direct experience of its imminent coming to us too.

The certainty and strength of the feeling of death, manifested, as we have pointed out, in pain, illnesses, etc. cause great anxiety and uncertainty. Man becomes selfish in such a condition and out of selfishness, which is the source of every sin, other passions of course are born and grow, such as love of sensual pleasure, ambition, avarice, etc. In view of the approach of death, which is also experienced by the presence of illnesses, man accumulates a lot of earthly goods in order to cope with these unfamiliar moments of his life. Avarice is also a result of the fear of death existing inside us. The same is true of lust and ambition by which man tries to overcome the problem he is facing, namely death. Hence, this other law, the body of death, the law of death, becomes a source of great inner and social aberration. As a matter of fact, each sin is not simply a personal event, but also a social one, because it has tremendous social consequences. This is

why modern man repeats, in various senses, St. Paul's saying "*For the good that I will to do, I do not do, but the evil which I will not to do that I practice.*" (Rom. 7:19). And he cries: "*O wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?*" (Rom. 7:24).

St. Paul's *second theological position* is that the law of the Old Testament was unable to deliver man from the law of sin, precisely because sin has no moral meaning, it is associated with mortality and corruption which creates terrible situations, given that it becomes a cause of sin. Not only is the law unable to deliver man from sin and death, it activates it further. St. Paul examines this theological position extensively.

St. Paul exactly describes this tragedy, where man is forced to do what he does not love and what he does not want (Rom. 7:19-24). Only the righteous, the Prophets of the Old Testament, were able to be delivered from sin, but they achieved this through deification and the power of the mystery of the Cross. Despite their deification, however, they were unable to be freed from death. Mortality and corruption remained within them, but the state of deification they experienced did not allow this mortality to become a source of sin, that is, it did not allow the other law of selfishness, ambition, pleasure and avarice to operate.

Although the law exposed both what is contrary and what is according to nature, it could not help man to get freed from mortality and corruption, from death itself, which had taken roots in his very body and were the cause of many passions of both soul and body. The law would curtail some external actions, would function in a moral way, but could not help man ontologically, i.e. in the great problem of his existence. Thus, man lived in a tragic state, as so eloquently described by St. Paul. Something else was required to deliver man from the rule of death. This came to pass with the Person of Christ. The Word of God assumed mortal and passible flesh, defeated sin and death in his own mortal flesh, and has now the right to give man the possibility to defeat the other law, the body of death, with His own power, the power of Christ.

Thus we come to St. Paul's *third theological position* which is related to man's restoration and regeneration which takes place in Jesus Christ. The experience of the life of Christ gives us another law, *the law of the spirit*, which liberates us from the law of sin and death. What the law of the Old Testament was unable to accomplish

has been done by the law of the spirit (Rom. 8:2). Thus, one who is joined to Christ lives in the spirit and not in the flesh (Rom. 8:9). Therefore, man lives his rebirth in Jesus Christ, and acquires not only the condition humanity had before Adam's Fall, but also rises to a higher degree, because he unites himself with Christ and lives the blissful and blessed state of deification.

Man's rebirth is first experienced in the sacrament of Baptism, through which we enter into the life of the Cross and the Resurrection of Christ. Through Baptism in the font, i.e. participation in Christ's Cross and Resurrection, "*our old man is crucified with him [Christ], that the body of sin might be done away with, that we should no longer be slaves to sin*" (Rom. 6:6). Thus, it is now possible for us, through the energy of Divine Grace and our own synergy, i.e. through Baptism and union with Christ, not to let sin to rule in our mortal body.

Just as he most wonderfully and insightfully described the state of men in the Old Testament, under the rule of death and sin, St. Paul also describes, with spiritual and godly lucidity, the state of man's restoration and rebirth in Jesus Christ. Here is a key text, which we wish to cite and then attempt to do a brief analysis: "*For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God. For you did not receive the spirit of bondage again to fear; but you have received the Spirit of adoption, by whom we cry out, 'Abba, Father.' The Spirit himself bears witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God and if children, then heirs - heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ if indeed we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified together*" (Rom. 8:14-17).

In contrast with the spirit of bondage, Christians, by their Holy Baptism and Christian life in general, receive the Spirit of adoption and become sons of God. The law of death and sin is thereby defeated and the life of God reigns within them. Adoption is the characteristic feature of God's regenerate children. This adoption, however, is confirmed not by human certificates or written external confirmations, but with the witnessing of our spirit, that is, the law of our *nous*, which exists in the depths of our being. The law of *nous*, that is the *nous* itself, is freed from the law of death and sin, and being in a state of illumination it prays unceasingly to God the Father, and also to Christ whom he considers Father, because of the rebirth "*by whom we cry out, 'Abba, Father'*" (Rom. 8:15). This in-

ner cry bears witness to the adoption (Rom. 8:16). Then man, certainly, becomes an heir of God and a joint-heir of Christ.

Inner prayer of the heart is a clear indication of adoption by Christ. This is why St. Paul's phrase is clear: "*If any one does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His*" (Rom. 8:9). A man who does not have the Spirit of Christ inside him, praying unceasingly to God, is not a son of God. He does not belong to Christ, precisely because if he does not live the life in Christ, he has not been freed from the rule of death and thus lives in the time of the Old Testament. The fact that he does not have the Spirit of God inside him implies that the law of death and sin reigns there with all the consequences we have seen before.

St. Paul's *fourth theological position* refers to the results of man's rebirth, his liberation from the other law, the law of death, through living according to the law of the spirit. As we said before, sin no longer reigns in man's mortal body (Rom. 6:12). The transcendence of death takes place within the confines of our own personal life. Man's bond with Christ is so powerful that nothing can separate them, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor danger, nor sword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, powers, things present, things to come, height, depth, or any other created thing (Rom. 8:35-39). In such a context not only death does not reign in man's being, but also there is no fear of death either. Then man, following Christ's model, wants to suffer for the others, too. He lacks fear of death, not only within the confines of his own personal life, because death does not rule in him, but also in the context of his life with others where he sacrifices himself for the others.

The tragedy of man's fall had consequences for all of nature, because, through man, the law of death spread to all nature. This is why creation "*groans and labors with birth pangs together until now*" (Rom. 8:22). From within its sighing condition Creation awaits its liberation which will come through the manifestation of the sons of God (Rom. 8:19). This is why St. Paul affirms that "*the creation itself also will be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God*" (Rom. 8:21). Nevertheless, despite of the transcendence of death through the sacramental life and God's revelation, death still exists; that is, mortality still remains, for the death of sin and the transfiguration of all the faculties of the

soul. What occurred in Christ and was given to us freely in the sacrament of Baptism has also to be achieved with our own personal struggle.

The final point of death's defeat is *the hope for the resurrection* of the bodies as well (Rom. 8:11). The Spirit of God who dwells in our body, is the One who will enliven our mortal bodies both from sin in the present life and from death in the future second coming of Christ.

In our present analysis of the Epistle to the Romans it is clear that the law of death and sin, which came in with the fall, have created several problems, existential, personal and social. The Law of Moses could not deliver man from the law of death, but prepared him for the coming of Christ, and this is why it is called "*our tutor to bring us to Christ*" (Gal. 3:23). Only Christ's incarnation and the partaking of the blessings of the incarnation have delivered man from death and have led him to the freedom of the children of God.

Conclusion

We have approached our subject – man's pastoral diakonia during the 21st Century – by explaining that this ministry is not independent of man's deliverance from death, nor is it different from the ministry that took place in previous centuries. Of course there is some differentiation in the way in which death is expressed in each era, but in reality death is an unavoidable and ontological event. All philosophers have been dealing with this mystery since antiquity and this problem has concerned all people from generation to generation.

Man, throughout his whole life, beginning with the day of his birth goes through successive mortal crises. He experiences death when he is sick and when he grows older. The infant that is separated from the womb and cries, the baby that feels the pain of his growing body, the child who at some point in growth is shaken by the discovery that death is an irreversible event, the adolescents with their existential questions about death and the meaning of life, the middle aged with the feeling that life passes by quickly, those of old age who feel like being in death's waiting room, all these show the great personal and social problem of humanity. Furthermore, the feeling of loneliness, the pursuit of sensual pleasure as an attempt to sustain existence, the search for drugs in order to avoid inner existential bereavement and so many other things, are consequences of the existence of death within us. In addition, imbalances or disturbances within families

are also related to the unanswered question of death.

The Church of Christ, therefore, in preparing to face the problems that will arise in the 21st Century, cannot overlook this reality. Death is a hungry “beast” within man’s being. No matter how long he searches for external happy moments to alleviate his pain, if he does not mortify this “beast” man will be always miserable. He may travel, he may have fun, he may develop science, he may acquire friends, but this hungry “beast” will want nourishment, will howl from within his being. If man tries to tame it with human activity, this death will stay in his guts, and then neurosis and psychological problems, which are in essence existential, will arise.

The Church may look at man’s social-economic problems, which are a function of each age, but can never forget that the deeper problem is death. This is why pastoral service, diakonia, must turn in this direction and operate within the framework provided by St. Paul, the holy Apostles and, in general, the holy Fathers, who truly comforted man, because they dealt with his actual problem which is death. Man’s deeper problem is anthropological and theological. Any other kind of pastoral service is secularized. It may create illusions of salvation, but in the end will leave man in solitude and despair.

The futility of the present life, the transcendence of death already in this life, the hope for the liberation of this creation from corruption and the preparation for eternal life, are what can help us prepare for the arrival not only of the 21st Century but also of all the centuries that may follow. Even if the 21st Century never begins or even if it never ends because of the coming of the great Day of the Lord, a person who lives his resurrection in Christ Jesus and the transcendence of death has nothing to fear, because he is already a citizen of the Kingdom of God and of the heavenly citizenship.

NOTES

¹ Olympia Papadopoulou-Tsanana, *The Anthropology of Basil the Great* (Ἀνθρωπολογία τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου), Patriarchal Foundation for Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki 1970 p. 4s

² St. Gregory the Theologian, *Second Homily on Pascha*, PG 36. 234, 632.

³ St. Basil the Great, Works, *Prologue to the Great Ascetic Rule*, PG 31.892.

⁴ St. Gregory the Theologian, *Ad Julianum tributorem exquaetorum*, PG 35. 1049.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Homily 17, To the Citizens of Nazianzus*, PG 35 977.

⁶ St. John Chrysostom, *10th Homily on the Gospel of Matthew*, PG 57.190.

⁷ *St. Symeon the New Theologian*, Sources Chretiennes 174, p.68.

⁸ *Ibid.* 129, p. 422.

⁹ St. John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Brookline, Massachusetts 1979, Step 29, p. 223.

¹⁰ *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, trans. Palmer, Sherrard, Ware, 1981. vol. II, p. 329 (66).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 67.

¹² *Ibid.* 69.

¹³ Abba Isaac the Syrian, *Asketika*, Rigopoulos Publications, pp. 7-9.

¹⁴ St. Gregory Palamas, *Works*, Ellenos Pateres tes Ekklesias, Thessaloniki, pp. 566-572.

¹⁵ Found in *Early Christian Writings*, trans. M. Staniforth, edit. Andrew Louth, Penguin publications 1987, pp. 144-5.

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Publishing Activity of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Yakutia (1812-1916)

MRS. YEVODOKIA PAVLOVNA GULYAEVA

The appearance of the printed book in the Sakha (Yakut) language is connected with the history of the organization of the Sakha (Yakut) congregation in the Orthodox Church. In 1706, the Irkutsk eparchy was established in Eastern Siberia. From the 1730s into the 1750s, under Innokentii II (Nerunovich), the missionary work of the Irkutsk clergy began. Bishop Innokentii (Nerunovich) visited the Yakutsk region twice to baptize the local indigenous population. His successors, Sofronii Kristallevski and Mikhail I also visited Yakutsk for the same purpose.

The largest number of Yakuts were baptized in the 1810s under Bishop Veniamin (Bagryanski). With his assistance, the book titled *Prayers, Creed and Divine Commandments* was published in both the Sakha (Yakut) and Chukchi languages in Irkutsk in 1812. A surviving copy of this book has yet to be found. Records of its publication are taken from the *Registers of Missionary Publications for Educating Indigenous People of the Yakut Region*, compiled by the Yakutsk Bishop Nikonor in 1904. The compiler mentioned that the book had become rare even by that time. This book marks the beginning of book publishing in the languages of the indigenous peoples of the North.

From 1814 to 1830, the Irkutsk eparchy was ruled by His Grace the Right Reverend Mikhail II (Burdukov). The Bishop initiated translations of everyday prayers and commandments into the languages of the inhabitants of Eastern Siberia. These translations were copied by hand and were distributed among the missions of the Irkutsk eparchy.

His Grace the Right Reverend Mikhail II also commenced the printing of ecclesiastical books. In 1819 in the Irkutsk Province Printing House, a book *Brief Catechism for Teaching Orthodox Christian Rules to Youth* was printed in the Yakut language. It was supplemented with a table for reading Russian syllables. The second improved edition was released in 1821. It included the text in Russian as well as Yakut.

By special decree, Bishop Mikhail gave the order that the *Brief Catechism* should be distributed free, and he directed the provincial churches and clergy "not only to possess the book but to learn from it."

The name of the translator of the *Brief Catechism* became known only in 1900, when the archives of the Pokrovsk church in Kandalaksha were found: they contained a decree issued by His Grace Mikhail II commending the arch-deacon of the church of the Saviour in Olyokminsk, Gregory Popov, for the translation of the catechism into the Yakut language. Expressing his appreciation for this work of translation, the Bishop awarded this deacon a loin-belt and also awarded him the honour of being placed first in distinction before other church servants during the church services.

The publication of books continued only into the mid-1840s. On 12 August 1843, the priest of the church of St. Nicholas [in Yakutsk] Mikhail Oschepkov presented his own translation of the *Brief Catechism*; and the same year, the Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk, His Grace the Right Reverend Nil, petitioned the Holy Synod that this *Brief Catechism* be published in Russian and Yakut. The book was printed by the St. Petersburg Synodal Printing House in one-thousand two-hundred copies in 1844, and in October the book was sent to Yakutsk. Four copies of this book were given to the Imperial Public Library.

The translation and publication of religious books was resumed and developed under Bishop St. Innokentii (whose worldly name was Ioann Evsevievich Popov-Anginskii-Veniaminov). During his missionary service in Unalaksa and Sitka, 1824-1838, Veniaminov studied the languages of the Aleutian, Kodiak and Kolosh [Tlingit] peoples. His studies resulted in the following books: *Notes on the Kolosh and Kodiak Languages and other Dialects in Russian America, supplemented with a Russian Glossary*, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District*, and *Grammar of the Aleut-Lisyevskii Language*; he also wrote the Preface in the *Gospel according to Matthew*, translated by him

into the Aleutian language, and he wrote the book *Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven*, published in twenty-two editions between 1840 and 1884.

Appointed Archbishop of Kamchatka, the Kuriles and the Aleutians, Archimandrite Innokentii arrived in Yakutsk in 1853. The Right Reverend began to educate the indigenous people with great enthusiasm, translating the holy books into the Yakut language. By His Eminence Innokentii's proposal, the Committee for the Translation of Holy and Liturgical Books was established in Yakutsk straight-away, in 1853. The members of this committee included: Dmitrii Khitrov and Evsevii Protopopov, both of whom were arch-priests and members of the Yakutsk Theological Governing Body; Mikhail Oschepkov and Pyotr Popov, priests of the city of Yakutsk; and Dmitriian Popov, priest of Ytyk-Kyol.

Ivan Goncharov, who was in Yakutsk during October and November 1854, attended a meeting of this committee as their guest. In his novel *Frigate "Pallada,"* the author recalled that, among other activities, the clergy were involved in translating the Gospel into the Tungus language and compiling a Tungus-Russian dictionary and grammar.

In addition to the members of the committee, more than thirty clergy were involved in these activities. The texts were checked and revised several times: Veniaminov was certain that the books translated into Yakut were necessary not only to teach the Yakuts the truth of the faith but also to develop literacy among them.

In 1855, His Eminence Innokentii received permission to publish translations in the Moscow Synodal Printing House. All expenses relating to the publishing, including the cost of paper, printing and binding, were borne by the Holy Synod as a sign of respect to the Yakut congregation. The publication of holy and liturgical books and textbooks began in 1857 and finished in 1858. The books' publication in Moscow was supervised by Archpriest Khitrov.

The following books were printed in the Moscow Synodal Printing House: the *Holy Gospels*, in six hundred copies; the *Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles*, in two hundred copies; the *Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, in three hundred copies; the *Canon*, in three hundred copies; the *Book of Hours and the Psalter*, in three hundred copies; *Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven*, and *Homilies in the Yakut Language*, four hundred copies; *Concise Grammar*

of the *Yakut Language*, compiled by Archpriest D. Khitrov, six hundred copies, and his *Yakut-Russian Primer* [*bukvar*, a primer for teaching literacy].

The Holy Gospels were released in two editions. The first edition in 1857, with the circulation of two hundred copies, was printed in large format and in leather binding with gilded edges and with an engraved print of the four Evangelists. It was designated for use in churches and chapels. The *Yakut-Russian Primer* was reprinted for a wider circulation in three thousand copies.

Fifteen copies of every published book were sent to the Economic Administration for distribution to upper clergy and to libraries.

Upon completion of the books' publication, ten church servants were awarded distinctions for their translations: the Archpriests Evsevii Protopopov and Dmitrii Khitrov each with the second degree of the Order of St. Anne; the Archpriest Nikita Zapolski and the priests Mikhail Oshepkov and Peter and Dmitrii Popov, each with the third degree of the Order of St. Anne; the priest Fedor Karamzin with a pectoral cross; and the priests Vinokurov, Varpholmei and Mikhail Popov each with a kamelaukion.

From summer 1859, in accordance with a Decree of the Yakutsk Theological Governing Body, the distribution of publications was organized to district churches, chapels, individuals and educational establishments. Liturgical books published in Yakut were requested by the Krasnoyarsk Cathedral Archpriest Vasilii Kasyanov; and in 1866, with the agreement of His Eminence Innokentii, four copies of each title published in Moscow were sent there. By request of N.I. Ilyinskii in 1881, five books in a total of nineteen copies were sent to the Kazan Theological Academy and Translation Commission.

Also, two books were published in the Tungus language in the Moscow Synodal Printing House in 1859: a *Tungus Primer* and a *Concise Dictionary*, in 1200 copies each. These books had been compiled by Archpriest Stefan Popov. The books were sent to priests of the Yakut region.

A printing house was established in Yakutsk in 1861, as part of the Yakutsk Theological Governing Body. In September 1862, they received a decree of the Holy Synod permitting them to print Yakut translations of holy scripture, liturgical books, works of the holy fathers and other religious literature in the local printing house. The next year, a theological censorship committee was organized to su-

pervise the publishing of holy and liturgical books into the Yakut language. While formulating the future committee in 1860, Archbishop Innokentii decided that "the members must be those who were involved in the activities of the first committee" (that was the Committee for the Translation of Holy and Liturgical Books, established in Yakutsk in 1853). According to records of 1864, the following individuals became members of the censorship office: the archpriest of the Holy Trinity Cathedral and member of the Yakutsk Theological Governing Body, Evsevii Protopopov; the archpriest of the church of the Transfiguration, Dmitrii Khitrov; the priest of the church of the Forerunner, Pyotr Popov; the priest of the church of Ytyk-Kyol, Dmitriian Popov. On 10 July 1867, the priest Andrei Popov was elected as another member of this committee.

Yakut characters, specially for the printing of the church books, were cast in the Irkutsk region publishing house by order of Archbishop Innokentii.

In 1860, before the printing house had been established in Yakutsk, Archbishop Innokentii had trusted Dmitriian Popov with the task of editing a translation of a "Concise Holy History," done by priest Pyotr Popov, and submitting this work for consideration. The editing of this work was completed at the end of 1865, with the assistance of the censorship office. This became the first book to be published by the Yakutsk region publishing house.

The *Concise Holy History*, translated into Yakut by the priest Pyotr Popov, a member of the censorship office, was published in both Russian and Yakut in 1866, with a second edition in Yakut in 1867. The Easter service was also translated by him, the edition of which, titled *Paschal Service, some Anthems, and extracts from the Psalter*, was released evidently in 1867.

It is known from archival documents that in 1864, the manuscripts of an "Extensive Catechism" and the second volume of the works of the Prelate and Miracle-Worker Tikhon of Voronezh [Voronezhski and Eletski, in original — ed.], translated into Yakut by Pyotr Afanasiev, were submitted to the Theological Censorship Committee for Yakut translations. The son of the translator, as the translator himself was deceased by then, approached the bishop of Yakutia with the request to publish the aforementioned translations; but, according to records, these translations were not published.

At about the same time, the priest of church of Ytyk-Kyol, Dmitriian

Popov, was asked to translate the essay "The Doctrine of Life after Death," which was finished in February 1867 and was allowed for publication.

The work initiated by Innokentii Veniaminov for the publishing of liturgical books in Yakut was continued by Bishop Dionysii (whose worldly name was Dmitrii Vasileevich Khitrov). This future archpastor had been born on 22 October 1818, in the settlement of Khitrovo in the Ryazan province [*gubernia*], and he would repose on 8 October 1896. He had graduated from the Dankovskaya Seminary, and in 1840 had been sent to serve in the Irkutsk eparchy. In April 1841, by suggestion from Innokentii of Kamchatka, Khitrov was appointed to become the priest of the church of the Transfiguration in Yakutsk. On 31 May of that year, the priest Dmitrii Khitrov conducted his first liturgy here, and received a blessing from His Grace Innokentii, who asked Khitrov to place his efforts and energy into the translation of holy books into the languages of the local peoples. By the twelfth year of his ministry, Khitrov had become so fluent in Yakut that he was able to compile the Yakut primer with great accuracy.

Khitrov served for forty-three years in Yakutia, from 1841 to 1884. He began by serving as a priest, then archpriest and lastly, from 1870, as vicar bishop. In 1862, Khitrov was appointed to be the rector of the Yakutsk seminary. The Yakutsk eparchy was very grateful to Bishop Dionysii for opening the eparchy's Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Society in 1870, as well as opening the eparchy library. He founded thirty-six new churches and church schools in the Yakutsk eparchy.

In June 1881, Bishop Dionysii began to correspond with Nikolai Ivanovich Ilminski, the director of the Kazan Seminary. Ilminski recalled with warmth and affection the few days that he had spent with Khitrov in 1856, and expressed his respect for the missionary work in the remote region. In one of his letters, Nikolai Ivanovich mentioned a very interesting fact from the history of the development of the Kazan Translation Commission: Writing to Khitrov, he referred to Metropolitan Innokentii as "your and my immemorial benefactor" by whose suggestion the Translation Commission had been established in Kazan, of which (Ilminski continued) "I am a member and a representative." Thus evidently, the Kazan Translation Commission had also been organized at Veniaminov's initiative, while he held the position of Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomensk.

Between 1881 and 1883, as a result of the cooperation between the Yakutsk Censorship Committee and the Kazan Translation Commission, the book *Canons* was printed in one thousand copies, and the prayer book with the Paschal service was also published; furthermore, the printing of the *Psalter* and of the *Book of Hours* began.

At the same time, missionaries increased the translations of hymns into the languages of the ethnic minorities. We know from archival documents that Bishop Dionysii, at the request of the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, M. Korsakov, in 1869, coordinated the work of translation of the Lord's Prayer in the Yukaghir, Chukchi, and Koryak languages. The prayers were meant to be published in St. Petersburg, however, we do not yet know whether they were published.

In 1884, after the departure of Dionysii for Ufa, the Yakutsk eparchy was ruled by Bishop Yakov. His Grace addressed a request to Ilminski that copies of the published books be sent. After a considerable delay, the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and Prayer Book* and the *Canon* were received in Yakutsk during the summer of 1887. The rest of the books — the *Psalter*, the *Book of Hours* and the *Paschal Canon and Hours* — were brought in 1888.

It should be mentioned that the initiators of the first printed periodical in the region were the Yakut clergy. In September 1884, His Grace Yakov, Bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk, received permission from the Holy Synod to publish a newspaper, the *Yakutsk Eparchy Records*. The first issue was released on 16 April 1887. Beginning in 1892, the pages of the *Records* contained articles about the Yakut translations of liturgical and other books and also carried versions of translations.

Bishop Meletii, who succeeded Yakov, organized the work of re-editing and re-publishing the liturgical books. His Grace developed a cooperative effort with the Translations Commission attached to the Kazan Brotherhood of St. Guria. The Gospels, a prayer book, the Yakut-Russian grammar, and other books, were sent to Kazan for republication.

The student K. Kochnev was sent from Yakutsk to Kazan to read the proofs of the Yakut texts; then the students N. Nifontov from the Moscow Academy and A. Dyakonov from the Moscow University were also sent. Under the supervision of Professor N.F. Katanov, they improved the *Yakut Primer* by Stefan Popov, and they compiled a

new mode of transcription known as the "Kazan alphabet."

The *Holy Gospel according to Matthew* became the first work of this Translations Commission in the Yakut language using the Kazan alphabet. The *Yakut Primer* and a *Preliminary Book of Russian for Yakuts* were also published using the same alphabet. In a report of the Translations Commission of the Orthodox Missionary Society established under the Brotherhood of St. Guria in the city of Kazan, 1892, the following books were mentioned: the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and Prayer Book* (1883), the *Canon of Holy Pascha* (1883), the *Canon* (1882), the *Book of Hours* (1887), the *Psalter* (1887), an *Initial Knowledge of Orthodox Christian Belief* (1892).

In 1899, the Yakutsk Translation Commission of the Yakutsk Diocesan Missionary Committee was established, consisting of eight members. The senior member was the rector of the Yakutsk Theological Seminary, Archpriest Fyodor Stukov. The aim of the commission was to collect all the translations published in Yakut and other indigenous languages of the North-East, to publish new translations of religious and moral books, and to revise, re-edit and re-publish older translations.

By request of the commission, P. Yavlovski published the first register of the published translations. This register was given to Right Reverend Nikanor, who used it later for the missionary publications register, produced in 1904.

From our preliminary count, from 1812 to 1916, during the whole period of the publishing activity of the Russian Orthodox mission in Yakutsk, we find that nearly sixty books were printed. This period may be divided into four sections, according to the locations of the publications: Irkutsk, 1812-1821 (four books); Moscow, 1857-1859 (eleven books); Kazan, 1883-1902 (twenty books); Yakutsk, 1866-1916 (twenty-two books). The process of publishing during the nineteenth century was characterized by an ever widening range of books: from small books to the Holy Scripture, and included liturgical and catechetical books, textbooks and dictionaries.

The contribution of the great missionary Metropolitan Innokentii is invaluable. His episcopate in Yakutia marked a new stage in missionary book publishing. His tireless ministry resulted in the divine services being conducted in the Yakut language.

Thus the history of pre-revolutionary Yakut publications is inseparably connected with the educational activities of the Russian

Orthodox Church. Yakut religious books published in the nineteenth century were the first experience of national book-publishing and is one of the most important elements of the cultural history of the peoples of Yakutia.

NOTES

* Editor's note — Ye.P. Gulyaeva is researcher in the Rare Books Department of the National Library. The Rare Books Department has been opened to preserve these books, and her research, presented here, is the result of these recent labours. The National Library of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) welcomes researchers. Application can be made to the Director, Mrs Valentina Andreevna Samsonova, at this address: 40 Lenina, Yakutsk 677007, Sakha Republic (Yakutia), Russia.

According to a document distributed in 1996, the library's book fund contained 1.3 million items by the end of 1995; and the annual book acquisition is 25-30 thousand volumes. This library is one of the largest in the northeast of the Russian Federation. Its main aims are: "the formation and preservation of the most complete collection of domestic and foreign books and documents; the organization of their use for the spiritual consolidation of society, the development of science, culture and national economy; and the organization of bibliographic registration of the national press." According to this editor's knowledge, the church books had been slated for destruction during the militant atheist regimes of the mid-twentieth century. The library staff stored these books in the edifice of the Church of St. Nicholas: the books were therefore saved. (The Church of St. Nicholas in Yakutsk had been closed for liturgical use and had become a storehouse; it has been returned for liturgical use and serves as the cathedral today.)

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Revisiting the Date of Authorship of Basil of Caesarea's *Ad Adolescentes*

ROBERT E. WINN

The life and literary works of St. Basil of Caesarea (A.D. 330-379) have attracted much scholarly attention over the past three decades.¹ Among his many works benefiting from this attention is his short address *Ad Adolescentes*, a treatise that influenced Christendom's appropriation of the traditional Hellenic educational system, *paideia*, and its pagan classics.² One question pertinent to this text that needs reexamination and clarification is its date of authorship. The traditional understanding, that Basil composed *Ad Adolescentes* in his episcopate and during the last years of his life, or any date during his ecclesiastical occupation is untenable. Instead, a date corresponding to his tenure as a teacher of rhetoric (c. 355-56) is a more plausible position. Establishing this conclusion entails two steps. The first step advances an interpretation of *Ad Adolescentes* that focuses on two of its central motifs, obligation and usefulness, and highlights Basil's positive assessment of Greek literature. Keeping this interpretation in mind, the second step comprises an examination of what Basil states about *paideia* in his other compositions. Such an exercise allows for a comparison of Basil's argument in *Ad Adolescentes* with what he stated about *paideia* at other points in his life and in different genres of literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION

Students of Basil's address have disagreed over the years on how to interpret *Ad Adolescentes*. In his history of this text, Luzi Schuchan observes that it has been taken, among other possibilities, as a gram-

matical treatise, a defense for monastic asceticism, and the Magna Carta of Christian humanism.³ Some scholars view Basil's essay as an essentially negative piece on the dangers of Greek literature and the need to avoid moral contamination from paganism. Thus Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta emphasizes that in *Ad Adolescentes* Basil considers Greek literature a *grave moral danger* [emphasis his] and believes this literature must be cleansed of moral poison. Sherman Garnett argues that Basil "proposes censorship of some texts and strict supervision of others," and that he believes the only purpose of Greek literature is to aid in the transformation of the student. When this goal has been achieved, Garnett suggests Basil thinks it is best to forget the texts.⁴ Others interpret Basil's address as having the more positive goal of fostering the ability of Christian students to make correct choices in their reading of Greek literature.⁵ Wendy Helleman, for instance, has defended the tolerance Basil exhibits in his approach to the pagan classics, and she denies that Basil ever intended bowdlerization of this literature.⁶ One aspect of the text that needs clarification is Basil's development of his argument using the concepts of usefulness and obligation as primary rhetorical elements. Although other writers have mentioned these aspects of Basil's address, an analysis is lacking that highlights the central role these interlocking motifs play in Basil's discourse.⁷ Understanding *Ad Adolescentes* in light of these concepts not only illuminates its purpose but also the extent to which Basil believed Greek literature might convey benefit or harm to its students.

The dating of the text has also provoked disagreement among scholars. The varying approaches focus on Basil's generally paternalistic rhetoric and how to interpret his initial comment: "I have reached this age, and have already been trained through many experiences and indeed also have shared sufficiently in the all-teaching vicissitude of both good and evil fortune."⁸ The traditional date of the text's composition is during Basil's episcopate (370-379) and often in the last years of his life.⁹ Challenging this view, Ann Moffat has argued that the essay originated in Basil's early ecclesiastical career and in connection with the emperor Julian's prescription of Christian teachers in 362. Luzi Schuchan, John M. Rist, and A. Martin Ritter have also suggested an early date for the text but without providing any analysis of the issues.¹⁰ Although he does not dismiss an early date as impossible, Philip Rousseau, Basil's most recent biographer, does not commit himself to a definite date of authorship for the text.¹¹

OBLIGATION AND USEFULNESS IN BASIL'S ARGUMENT

Even a cursory reading of *Ad Adolescentes* reveals that Basil's overwhelming concern is promoting a virtuous life. His stated reason for addressing these students is to prevent them from uncritically ceding their minds to the ancient authors, while at the same time obliging and commanding them to attend to the Greek Classics on account of their moral usefulness. This rationale is predicated on his assumption that attaining the "other life" on which human life is teleologically conditioned and for which the Christian is striving, depends on virtue and on the assumption that there is a direct correlation between the reception of good and evil words and virtuous and vicious behavior.¹² Thus Basil can admonish the students to carefully watch over their souls (διὸ δὴ πάση φυλακῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τηρητέον).¹³ In the first part of his address, Basil offers a rationale for accepting Greek *paideia*, while in the second and larger part he provides examples of laudable passages in Greek texts (chapter 5) and virtuous deeds from Greek heroes (chapter 6-7) with further references back to his rationale (chapters 8-10). Despite the estimation of M.L.W. Laistner, that the text "is really a very slight performance," Basil's argument is logically cohesive and consistent.¹⁴

In his initial purpose statement of the address, Basil connects obligation and usefulness. "This it is, and naught else, that I have come to offer you as my counsel — that you should not surrender (μὴ δεῖν... παραδόντας) to these men once for all the rudder of your mind as if of a ship and follow them wherever they lead; rather, accepting from them only that which is useful (χρήσιμον), you should know what ought to be overlooked (εἰδέναι τὶ χρὴ καὶ παριδεῖν)."¹⁵ Basil is obliging these students to learn how to approach Greek literature, and the standard he offers them is what is *χρήσιμον*. One would expect that Basil's next step would be to indicate a criterion the students could employ to determine what is *χρήσιμον*, and this is where he turns. Resting on his assumption concerning the primacy of the other life and the instrumentality of virtue, he dictates that whatever contributes to the goal of this other life through virtue, "we say must (χρῆναί φαμεν) be loved and pursued with all our strength; but what is not conducive to that must be passed over as of no account."¹⁶

Although this statement parallels his purpose statement above, it is not patently clear that Basil has the traditional *paideia* in mind. He clarifies this in what follows. Suggesting that the students are too

immature to fully understand the other life and its guide, the Scriptures, he explains that they can devote themselves to preparatory training (προγυμνάζω), and it is at this point that Basil connects *paideia* with this general obligation.¹⁷ Considering the great task of living virtuously that lies before them, Basil admonishes, "we must do all things (ποιητέον), and in preparation for it, must strive (πονητέον) to the best of our power, and must associate (ὁμιλητέον) with poets and writers of prose and orators and with all men from whom there is any prospect of benefit (ὠφέλεια) with reference to the care of our soul."¹⁸ In a similar fashion, he comments that since many writers and philosophers have praised virtue, which is the means of entering the other life, "we ought especially to apply ourselves to such literature (προσεκτέον)," not only in reading it but in putting into practice the good things that are read.¹⁹

The students are obliged, then, to attend to Greek literature as a method of fostering virtuous living in pursuit of the other life, and those passages that accomplish this are the ones the students can consider χρήσιμον. There is no doubt that Basil wanted to emphasize to the students that usefulness was the conceptual criteria for their determination of what would aid them in their quest. In fact, in order to make sure that the students remembered that this literature was useful for them, he expanded its definition to include literature beyond that which fosters the virtuous life. Not only is affinity between Scripture and *paideia* concerning the other life useful for the students, but even the differences are beneficial to the extent that they promote appreciation of the superiority of those teachings conforming to the principles of the other life (ἀλλὰ τό γε παράλληλα θέντας καταμαθεῖν τὸ διάφορον οὐ μικρὸν εἰς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ βελτίονος).²⁰ It is certain, therefore, that Basil understood Greek literature as instrumental in fostering virtue in students, or, as he states at one point, as something not useless for their souls.²¹

In order to explain to his addressees how he envisions them relating with the traditional *paideia*, Basil employs the common analogy of the bee and flower. He explains that while most creatures can only enjoy the sight and smell of the flower, the bee is able to acquire greater benefit from it by acquiring nectar. In the same way, these students do not have to limit their pursuit of these texts to their aesthetic qualities; rather, they can attain some benefit for their souls through this educational enterprise. He concludes, "it is, therefore, in

accordance with the whole similitude of the bees that you ought to participate (μεθεκτέον) in the pagan literature."²² Similarly, he compares literary studies to the process of picking roses from a rose bed. Just as the skillful florist knows how to pick the flowers without the thorns harming them, so to the skillful student will approach his studies knowledgeable of what he should and should not appropriate.²³ Both analogies are significant. Basil recognizes that it is not intrinsically wrong to value the aesthetics of the texts the students are reading. What he wants his students to consider preeminently, however, is the benefit they can achieve for their soul. This entails not only an appreciation of what is good in the literature but also an awareness of what is bad. By commanding the students to follow these analogies, Basil is reemphasizing the ultimate end in sight for their enterprise — how they can and should care for their souls.

In his last restatement of the general theme of the address, Basil again connects the concepts of obligation and usefulness in the study of Greek literature. About the texts he states, "we ought not to take everything without exception (παραδεκτέον), but only such matter as is useful (χρήσιμα). For it is disgraceful to reject foods that are harmful, yet for the teachings that nourish our souls to have no concern."²⁴ Basil's position is clear. *Paideia* is necessary because all things that promote virtue in the soul are necessary and, in particular, because it provides a helpful pre-training for Christian youths. Thus, he is firm on the ability of Greek literature to foster virtue, and it is this ability that indicates its usefulness and therefore makes it necessary. It is useful because it not only provides examples and praise of virtuous living, but also because it provides a helpful contrast to virtuous living when it records examples or praise of vicious behavior. Basil's conclusion, therefore, is that students must read Greek literature in its entirety in order to fully develop a virtuous life. They must not only accept what is good and make appropriate use of it, but also recognize what is useless or bad and learn to avoid it.

DATING THE *AD ADOLESCENTES*

Interpreting Basil's address in light of the twin concepts of obligation and usefulness provides an important and seemingly overlooked perspective on the dating of Basil's address. Comparing *Ad Adolescentes* to other writings of Basil in a chronological framework

makes clear its probable early date of authorship. In the following analysis, the first portion will indicate problems with maintaining the traditional, episcopal date or any ecclesiastical date of composition for Basil's address. It elucidates points of tension between *Ad Adolescentes* and texts known to have originated from his early monastic and then ecclesiastical career. The second part will develop positive arguments for assigning an early date.

After leaving his post as a rhetoric teacher in Caesarea in 356, Basil toured the various monastic communities in Egypt, Palestine and Syria before finally settling on a family estate, in 357, to follow an ascetic life that his mother and sister were already practicing.²⁵ The initial document to consider is a letter Basil wrote to his friend St. Gregory Nazianzenos in 358, explaining the life of solitude he had assumed.²⁶ He explains to his friend that he has abandoned the city because of its many evils, but this has not provided him with the escape he desires because he has discovered that he cannot escape from himself.²⁷ The only solution Basil perceives which will granting peace to his internal struggles is to insulate the soul from worldly affairs and the body. This means severing all material and social connections and even becoming ignorant of human teachings (καὶ γενέσθαι ... ἀμαθῇ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διδασμάτων).²⁸ Although the list of items that he intends to reject is lengthy, Basil pays special attention to this last one. He goes on to comment that an equal zeal to receive divine instruction must accompany the "unlearning" he is advocating. "And making the heart ready for this means the unlearning of teachings that already possess it, derived from evil habits (τῶν ἐκ πονηρᾶς συνηθείας προκατασχόντων αὐτὴν διδασμάτων). For it is no more possible to write in wax without first smoothing away the letters previously written thereon, than it is to supply the soul with divine teachings without first removing its preconceptions derived from habit."²⁹ While insulating the soul from the world and previous engagements, one should initiate a life of rigorous devotion in hymns and prayers. As these activities begin purging the soul, Basil explains, one can attend to religious duties and the development of the virtues that are best modeled in the Scripture.³⁰

Philip Rousseau notes that this letter occupies the same ideological terrain as *Ad Adolescentes*.³¹ The topographical features of a primary interest in virtuous living and the praise of exemplary lives is continuous. The most significant difference, of course, is that Ba-

sil does not incorporate or recommend examples from Greek literature. On the contrary, one would be hard pressed to view in his statements — ἀμαθῇ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διδαγμάτων and τῶν ἐκ πονηρᾶς συνηθείας προκατασχόντων αὐτὴν διδαγμάτων — references to anything other than the knowledge he had brilliantly acquired and taught in prior days; namely, the Greek literature and philosophy he discusses and requires the youths to read in *Ad Adolescentes*.

Many years later, Basil would present a slightly different picture on these events, but his perspective on his former studies remained the same. Writing against his former friend and mentor Eustathius of Sebaste in 375, Basil made the following statement about his “conversion:”

Having lavished much time in the greatest vanity, and having consumed almost all my youth in the utmost futility, which were mine while I occupied myself with the acquisition of the precepts of that wisdom made foolish by God, when one day arising as from a deep sleep I looked out upon the marvelous light of the truth of the Gospel, and beheld the uselessness (ἄχρηστον) of the wisdom of the rulers of this age being made nothing, greatly bemoaning my piteous life, I prayed that there be given me guidance to the introduction to the teachings of religion. And before all things my concern was to make some amendment to my character, which had for a long time been perverted by association with the wicked.³²

Whatever circumstances may have been plaguing Basil at the date of this composition, the antithesis Basil creates between his former education and his new-found religious quest can not be dismissed as rhetoric crafted for the moment. Seventeen years before this public denouncement of a detractor, Basil had communicated the same ideas in a private letter to a good friend. Such continuity indicates that we should take Basil at his word.³³

In both letters, Basil raises doubts about the efficacy of the traditional *paideia* for moral development. From his perspective, it had only garnered for him wretchedness and the need to amend his character through a process of unlearning. This alone sets Basil's argument in *Ad Adolescentes* against the content of the letters, but there is an even greater point of tension. Keeping in mind that in *Ad Adolescentes* Basil's critical standard for Greek literature is its usefulness (χρησιμὸν) in fostering virtue, it is significant that Basil observes

that the wisdom he acquired is ἄχρηστον. It is further significant that he juxtaposes this judgement to his realization that his life is wretched and in need of moral reformation. Rather than interpreting *paideia* as something useful for the promotion of virtue, as in *Ad Adolescentes*, Basil completely reverses himself and considers it useless and something fostering his moral wretchedness.

Basil's *Asceticon* and his *Homilia de Humilitate* further elucidate this conviction. The dating of Basil's ascetic writings and homilies raises problems of its own. For present purposes, it will suffice to mention that the *Asceticon* cannot originate prior to Basil's retirement to a monastic life in Anissa, which is usually dated to 358, while the homilies cannot date earlier than 363 when Basil entered the ecclesiastical ministry as a presbyter.³⁴ What is certainly clear, however, is that both sets of documents reveal what was important to the Saint in his monastic and ecclesiastical professions and provide a gauge of his beliefs during those years.

The first text to consider is *De Iudicio Dei*, one of his two prologues to the *Moralia*. Basil introduces this text by giving thanks to the Trinity for liberating him from the error of what is pagan or profane (τῆς μὲν κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν ἔξωθεν πλάνης ὀυσθείς).³⁵ His use of ἔξωθεν here deserves special consideration. In general, Christian writers would use the word to express non-Christian, profane or secular culture. It also conveyed the specific meaning, however, of the literary traditions of Greco-Roman culture, and it is in this way that Basil uses it in *Ad Adolescentes*.³⁶ Thus, this statement conveys more than simply a statement of Christian conversion. Instead, Basil is expressing with complete perspicuity his gratitude for being freed from the culture in which he had formerly participated and probably especially from his association with its literature. It is in this context that one should understand his definition of human wisdom in *Homilia de Humilitate* as something trivial and base, rather than great and exalted (μικρόν τε καὶ ταπεινὸν μᾶλλον ἢ μέγα καὶ ὑψηλόν), and as something that only engenders an arrogance disparate from the ways of God.³⁷ Rather than promoting or appropriating the pagan literary traditions, as he did in *Ad Adolescentes*, Basil in these texts suggests a denigration and rejection of them.

The second relevant text from the *Asceticon* is his commentary on the education of children in the monastic community drawn from the

Regulae Fusius Tractatae.³⁸ The rule applies both to children taken into the community as orphans and to children whose parents place them in the community for an education. In general, Basil believes that any child taken into the community ought to be raised in a way agreeing with piety. Fostering piety and moral behavior are the goals that should govern their education as well. "Their studies, also, should be in conformity with the aim in view. They should, therefore, employ a vocabulary derived from the Scriptures and, in place of myths, historical accounts of admirable deeds should be told to them. They should be taught maxims from Proverbs...."³⁹ At first sight, this program sounds very similar to what Basil advocates in *Ad Adolescentes*. "Historical accounts of admirable deeds" could certainly encompass the examples Basil highlights in his essay. That Basil does not have pagan literature in mind and intends these students to focus on the Scriptures is indicated in his comment on their vocabulary lessons. Understanding this necessitates an appreciation for the methods of education in the Roman world; a system the Christian intellectuals did not change. The first step in a literary education was the memorization of syllables and words. This served the two-fold purpose of phonetics and vocabulary building. The words, however, were drawn from the texts that the students would eventually read, and the vocabulary often centered on mythical names and places especially difficult to pronounce.⁴⁰ Thus, by dictating that the vocabulary used in the preliminary education in the monastic community was to be drawn from the Scriptures, Basil indicates clearly what texts he intends the pupils to read for discovering the patterns of virtuous living.

As with his letters discussed above, Basil's position on *paideia* expressed in the *Asceticon* is clearly opposed to his arguments in *Ad Adolescentes*. It is difficult to reconcile Basil's assessment of Greek culture in *De Iudicio Dei* as something from which one must be delivered and his gratitude for his own deliverance, with his imperative that impressionable Christian students study the literature of the same culture. Implicit in his Biblically based educational policy for monastic communities is a rejection of the traditional pedagogy of Greek classics Basil embraces in *Ad Adolescentes*. The tensions between both the *Asceticon* and the letters and Basil's address compel a reexamination of its date of authorship.

First, given that both the *Regulae Fusius Tractatae* and the epistle against Eustathius are late compositions, c. 377 and 375 respectively,

a similar episcopal date for *Ad Adolescentes* is implausible. There are, nevertheless, two possible scenarios that might sustain a date of authorship from Basil's episcopate. First, one could argue that Basil, expressing pastoral concern, wrote *Ad Adolescentes* for youths in his dioceses who were not in the monastic educational program and who therefore were reading Greek Classics. While he would have preferred that they not be exposed to such literature, he determined to make the best of a bad situation by predisposing the youths to read the literature in a way that would have the least harmful effects for them. This view would coincide with the negative approach, noted previously, some scholars have taken.⁴¹

However attractive, this would not be an accurate assessment of *Ad Adolescentes*. Although Basil was concerned that the students not accept every value and behavior they confronted in Greek literature as normative for their own life, his tone in the essay is not at all one of admonishment on the dangers of paganism. Instead a positive marshaling of the Greek Classics as a necessary element of the moral development of each student characterizes the address. Basil certainly moves beyond merely making allowances. Under the rubric of doing everything with an eye towards attaining the goal of the Christian hope, he communicates a clear obligation for the students to study the pagan texts. Likewise, it is difficult imagining Basil affirming the aesthetic qualities of Greek literature by comparing it to the beauty of a flower, both in his bee and rose analogy, if he considered it morally dangerous for them. Rejecting this option, it must be remembered that *Ad Adolescentes* is prescriptive, not permissive.

The second possible scenario allowing the maintenance of the episcopal date is to hold the opposing arguments of Basil's texts in a radical tension. Thus, in the space of a few years, or perhaps in the same year, Basil both rejected the classical curriculum for monastic education and positively affirmed it for students pursuing an education through the traditional *paideia*. Similarly, in the same time frame he indicated that Greek literature is both useful and necessary for acquiring and maintaining a virtuous life, and that Greek literature is useless and fosters character flaws through an association with wickedness. It is obvious that there are serious problems with this scenario as well. Basil never reveals this kind of blatant, if not schizophrenic, tension in any of his other writings. There is certainly evidence of intellectual development in his life, but not the kind of radical vicis-

situates the episcopal date of *Ad Adolescentes* would require.

Since Basil's episcopate is implausible as a dating option, the period between 355 to 369 provides other optional dates. Both Moffat and Schuchan date the text to the aftermath of Julian's proscription of the Christian teachers in 362.⁴² There is no evidence, however, that Basil is arguing against a position or a person, as one would expect if Basil were writing against Julian's initiative.⁴³ If it followed Julian's law, or just after the emperor's death, there is the additional problem of dating the composition to a time when Basil was getting more serious about his ecclesiastical vocation. By 363 he had already written Epistle II to Gregory discussed above and was composing his various ascetic works. It is likely that at this point Basil had written his opening declaration to *De Iudicio Dei*, a statement that undermines the basic presuppositions about *paideia* that govern *Ad Adolescentes*. There is good reason to discount, therefore, the 360's as a possible period of origin for the treatise, and, in light of Basil's letter to Gregory of 358, it is doubtful that he would have written it after his retirement to Anissa.

The clarification of these difficulties inherent in other possibilities leaves 355-56, Basil's tenure as teacher of rhetoric, as the only remaining alternative. Apophatic reasoning, however, does not provide the only rationale for accepting this date of authorship of Basil's text. In fact, there is significant positive evidence that supports assigning this date to the address, and this evidence indicates that it is the most logical solution.

At the very least, this date would certainly explain the positive affirmation Basil gives *paideia*. It is a position one would expect from someone who had recently and successfully completed studies at Athens, the City that had assumed a position of chief guardian of Greek literary culture in the Roman world. Furthermore, Basil's obliging the students to read Greek literature based on a criterion of its usefulness for virtuous living is deeply rooted in the Hellenic educational tradition. Students were taught to read critically and interpret correctly the classic Hellenic texts in order to extract moral teaching from them that would promote virtuous living.⁴⁴ Although this criterion may seem to support a date when Basil would have been concerned with promoting virtuous living in a monastic context, this argument assumes that a concern for virtue developed in Basil over time. However, even at Athens, Basil lived a life devoted to his stud-

ies while avoiding the many opportunities that were available to distract a student from virtuous living.⁴⁵ In this regard, *Ad Adolescentes* reflects the standards he had recently maintained for himself while at Athens.

A date corresponding to Basil's teaching career also illuminates a facet of Basil's rhetoric in his address. Several times in the address Basil attempts to give legitimacy to his argument by virtue of the superiority of his position. Although one may wish to view these comments in light of an older bishop's spiritual concern for the children of his diocese, it is much better to view them in the context of the paternalism and pride of the traditional Roman education. The students Basil is addressing would have been studying under the *grammaticus*, an instructor who taught the students how to read the classics and who prepared them for rhetorical studies. Holding this position of great influence over the students, the *grammaticus*, considered a second father to them, reflects this traditional and integral aspect of paternalism. Educational achievements, on the other hand, whether in primary and secondary education or at the university level, were matters of great pride and became a badge of prestige for the student.⁴⁶ Basil himself is a perfect example of this phenomenon. According to his brother St. Gregory of Nyssa, Basil was extremely haughty when he returned from his studies at Athens and assumed the position of rhetoric teacher in Caesarea.⁴⁷ We should not be surprised then, to find reflections of these characteristics in his address.

Basil initiates *Ad Adolescentes* with his comment on how his age and experience enables him to make his appeal to the students. Although those who argue that *Ad Adolescentes* originates from Basil's episcopate interpret this as a comment of an aged bishop, it should be understood in the educational context established above. One would expect Basil to attempt to establish a paternalistic authority and legitimacy at the beginning of an address to students who were accustomed to the *grammaticus*. In addition, Ann Moffat has pointed out, correctly, that given Basil's subject matter, it is logical to also consider this comment as a statement of superior education.⁴⁸ It reflects a pride and paternalism that was characteristic of the educational world in which Basil was active when he composed *Ad Adolescentes*. At other points in the argument he makes similar comments. Basil claims that *he* can show the safest road for these youths because of *his* experiences, and that *his* presence has the same soothing effect

on the students as their fathers.' Further, those students heeding *his* teaching will be like those Hesiod praises for obedience to a director. Rather than giving their minds over to the ancient authors, *he* wants them to give their minds over to *him* so *he* can explain to them what *he* alone has discovered for their benefit.⁴⁹ All these comments reflect a pride and paternalism that is consistent with the spirit of Greek *paideia*.

CONCLUSION

Seven years after Basil's death in 379, another young, Christian intellectual would defend the efficacy and necessity of the pagan Classics in the religious development of a Christian student. Also like Basil, he would in his later years express grave misgivings about his initial zeal for the benefits of this literature. When Augustine states in his *Confessions* that his Cassiciacum dialogues of 386 exude the spirit of the *superbiae scholam*, he certainly has in mind his dialogue *De Ordine* in which he obliges his two students to attend to the *disciplinae liberales*. Later in his life, in his *Retractationes*, Augustine would express great displeasure at the extent to which he praised the benefits of education in this dialogue.⁵⁰ Also in his later years in *De Doctrina Christiana*, Augustine would severally restrict the usefulness of the liberal disciplines to practical matters while maintaining that a person could achieve rhetorical eloquence through ecclesiastical literature and wholly apart from the pagan classics.⁵¹ Augustine's own intellectual development is a useful comparison for this present consideration of Basil. Just as it is impossible to imagine Augustine writing *De Ordine*, with its positive assessment of human reason and *paideia*, in his later years, so it is equally untenable and anachronistic to understand Basil's *Ad Adolescentes* as a product of his episcopate. Both compositions reflect a time when their authors were intimately involved with the Greek and Latin classics as educators and believed in their efficacy for fostering moral and spiritual development.

Appreciating the importance of the concepts of obligation and necessity in *Ad Adolescentes* provides not only an interpretive method that accounts for its fundamental argument but also a basis for an analysis of the issue of its date of authorship. In light of this interpretation and of Basil's chronology and other compositions, there are

insurmountable difficulties in maintaining an episcopal or any ecclesiastical date for the text. Instead, a date corresponding with Basil's tenure as a rhetoric teacher best reflects the argument and rhetoric of his address.

NOTES

¹ Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994). Paul Jonathan Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981). Yves Courtonne, *Un Témoin du IV^e siècle oriental: Saint Basile et son temps d'après sa correspondance* (Paris: Société d'Édition, 1973). The papers have been published from two symposia on the life and work of Basil (*Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, ed. Paul Jonathan Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981) and *Basilio di Cesarea* (Messina: Centro di Studi Umanistico, 1983).

² All citations are from the Greek text and English translation of Deferrari and McGuire ("Address to Young Men on Reading Greek Literature," in *Saint Basil: The Letters*, vol. 4, eds. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari and Martin R. P. McGuire (Loeb Classical Library, 1970). The editions of Wilson, Naldini and Boulenger are also mentioned in this paper; *Saint Basil on Greek Literature*, edited by N. G. Wilson (London: Duckworth, 1975); *Basilio di Cesarea: Discorso ai Giovani*, ed. Mario Naldini (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1984); and *Saint Basile, Aux jeunes gens sur la manière de tirer profit des lettres helléniques*, ed. Fernand Boulenger (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952). Basil is not using ἑλληνικός λόγος as a broad designation for all writings in Greek, but as a narrow term delineating the pagan Greek texts. For the transformation of the term "Greek" into a word indicating "pagan" see Glenn W. Bowersock's account of this change: Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1990).

³ "Die Deutung der Schrift stellt uns vor einige Probleme. Ist sie eine 'grammatikalische Abhandlung,' eine 'Verteidigungsrede für mönchische Askese,' die 'Magna Charta des Christlichen Humanismus,' eine 'dankbare Würdigung der klassischen Schriftwerke und der in ihnen gegebenen Bildungsmittel'?" Luzi Schuchan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "Ad Adolescentes."* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1973) 34).

⁴ Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta, "The Official Attitude of Basil of Caesarea as a Christian Bishop Towards Greek Philosophy and Science," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976) 26. Sherman Garnett, "The Christian Young and the Secular World," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (Fall 1981) 211-223 at 211, 223. Adopting a milder approach, M. L. W. Laistner and H. I. Marrou contend that Basil's address should be understood in the larger context of the Church's acceptance of the traditional curriculum with caution (Laistner, *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Late Roman Empire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), and H.I. Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956) 322).

⁵ Paul Jonathan Fedwick, "Basil of Caesarea on Education," *Basilio di Cesarea* (Messina: Centro di Studi Umanistico, 1983) 579-600 at 592-593; Robert A. Kaster, *Gardians of Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 77; and Eric Lambez, "Zum Verständnis von Basileios' Schrift *Ad Adolescentes*," *Zeitschrift für*

Kirchengeschichte 90 (1979) 75-95 at 82-84, 95.

⁶Wendy E. Helleman, "Basil's *Ad Adolescentes*: Guidelines for Reading the Classics," in *Christianity and the Classics* (New York: University Press of America, 1990) 31-51. Also see Yves Courtonne, *Un Témoin du IV^e siècle oriental* 52-54; and Bernard Schlager, "Saints Basil and John Chrysostom on the Education of Christian Children," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36 (1991) 37-55 at 42-44, 55.

⁷Kaster, *Guardians of Language* 77-78; Erich Lamberz, "Zum Verständnis von Basileios' Schrift *Ad Adolescentes*" 83-84; Fernand Boulenger, *Saint Basile, Aux jeunes gens sur la manière de tirer profit des lettres helléniques* 24-26; and Mario Naldini, *Discorso ai Giovani* 41-42.

⁸Basil, *Ad Adolescentes* (*Ad Adol.*) 379.

⁹Deferrari, "Address to Young Men," 365; Lamberz, "Zum Verständnis von Basileios' Schrift *Ad Adolescentes*" 85-86; Mario Naldini, *Discorso ai Giovani* 15-17, and "Sulla 'Oratio Ad Adolescentes' Di Basilio Magno," *Prometheus* 4 (1978) 36-44 at 39; D. B. Saddington, "The Function of Education According to Christian Writers of the Latter Part of the Fourth Century A.D.," *Acta Classica* 8 (1965) 86-101 at 87; Bernard Schlager, "Saint Basil and John Chrysostom on the Education of Christian Children" 39.

¹⁰Moffat, "The Occasion of St. Basil's *Address to Young Men*," *Antichthon* 6 (1972) 74-86; Luzi Schuchan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "Ad Adolescentes"* 37; John M. Rist, "Basil's 'Neoplatonism': Its Background and Nature," in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, vol. 1 137-220 at 219-220; A. Martin Ritter, "Statt einer Zusammenfassung, Die Theologie des Basileios im Kontext der Reichkirche am Beispiel seines Charismaverständnisses," in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, vol. 1 411-436 at 418-422. Fedwick also notes Renoldus Weijenborg, whom I have not read, as an advocate of the early date (Weijenborg, "De authenticitate et sensu quarumdam epistularum S. Basilio Magno et Apollinario Laodiceno adscriptarum," *Antonianum* 33 (1958) 386; cited in Fedwick, "Chronology," in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, vol. 1 3-19 at 18 no.100).

¹¹Rousseau claims, "*Ad Adolescentes* is a work extremely difficult to date" (Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* 49). Paul J. Fedwick also remains uncertain on the texts date of authorship (Fedwick, "Chronology" 18-19).

¹²Basil, *Ad Adol.* 380-381, 389, 393.

¹³*Ibid.* 389.

¹⁴M.L.W. Laistner, *Christianity and Pagan Culture* 52.

¹⁵Basil, *Ad Adol.* 380-381.

¹⁶*Ibid.* 382-383.

¹⁷*Ibid.* 382.

¹⁸*Ibid.* 384-385.

¹⁹*Ibid.* 392-393, 399.

²⁰*Ibid.* 384-385.

²¹*Ibid.* 387.

²²*Ibid.* 390-391. Roy J. Deferrari indicates that this was a common analogy in classical literature. Other authors employing it were Isocrates, Plutarch, and Lucretius (Deferrari, *Saint Basil: The Letters*, vol. 4 391).

²³*Ad Adol.* 390-393.

²⁴*Ibid.* 406-407.

²⁵Gregory Nazianzenos hints at this in his panegyric to Basil (Gregory Nazianzenos,

Oration XLIII, xxv.7-9. Paul Fedwick believes that Basil spent at least a year in such a position (Fedwick, "Chronology" 6). Yves Courtonne and Phillip Rousseau concur with this position (Courtonne, *Un Témoin du IV^e siècle oriental* 51-52 and Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* 40-41).

²⁶ Paul Fedwick, "Chronology" 6-7. See also Yves Courtonne, *Un Témoin du IV^e siècle oriental* 51-52, 429; and Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* 61-65.

²⁷ Basil, "Epistle II," in *Saint Basil: The Letters*, vol. 1 7-8.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 9-10.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.* 12.

³¹ Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* 80-81. He does not note the difference I discuss.

³² Basil, "Epistle CCXXIII," in *Saint Basil: The Letters*, vol. 3 292-293. Deferrari believes that this comment concerns the education of his youth.

³³ Rousseau views this narration of his conversion and the entire letter as an attempt to solidify his own orthodoxy at a time when some were questioning it (Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* 21-23, 239-245). Courtonne cautions against taking Basil's sharp rejection of his learning too seriously given the obvious use he made of it throughout his career (Courtonne, *Un Témoin du IV^e siècle oriental* 53-54). D. B. Saddington mitigates Basil's denouncement of the traditional *paideia* by arguing that it must be understood in the usual context of establishing a point of doctrine. Saddington, "The Function of Education According to Christian Writers" 87.

³⁴ Fedwick dates the initial composition of the *Asceticon* at 363 and the *Moralia* progressively from 365-377 (Fedwick, "Chronology" 11, 14-15, 17). Both Ritter and Rousseau maintain an initial date of 358-361 at which time Basil began the *Moralia* (Ritter, "Statt einer Zusammenfassung" 418-422; Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* 228, 354-355).

³⁵ Basil, "De Iudicio Dei," ed. Dom Julien Gernier, *PG* 31 col. 653.

³⁶ G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 503. Basil, *Ad Adol.* 386-387.

³⁷ Basil, "Homilia de Humilitate," ed. Dom Julien Gernier, *PG* 31 col. 529.

³⁸ Usually dated to the episcopate (after 370), and Fedwick dates it to 372-375 (Fedwick, "Chronology" 15).

³⁹ Basil, "Regulae Fusius Tractatae," *PG* 31 col. 952-953. English translation: "The Long Rules," in *Saint Basil: Ascetic Works*, trans. M. Monica Wagner (Washington, D C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1962) 265-66.

⁴⁰ Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* 213.

⁴¹ As Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Sherman Garnett believe. See note 4 above.

⁴² See note 10 above.

⁴³ Lamberz, "Zum Verständnis von Basileios' Schrift *Ad Adolescentes*" 85-86; and Helleman, "Basil's *Ad Adolescentes*: Guidelines for Reading the Classics" 48 no.22.

⁴⁴ See for example Plutarch, *De Audiendis Poetis*. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* 234-35; Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 1988) 15-17, 59.

⁴⁵ Wendy Helleman understands the address as an appeal to adopt the Christian ascetic life (Helleman, "Basil's *Ad Adolescentes*" 44-45). Gregory Nazianzenos discusses his and Basil's life in Athens in Oration XLIII (Gregory Nazianzenos, *Oration XLIII*, xx-xxi).

⁴⁶ On the issue of educational pride, see Kaster's study of grave stone epithets in which knowledge of literature is frequently included as an accomplishment lending prestige to the deceased (Kaster, *Guardians of Language* 26-27). For the *grammaticus* as a father figure, again see Kaster (Kaster, *Guardians of Language* 68-69).

⁴⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita S. Macrinae* VI.i-x.

⁴⁸ Moffat, "The Occasion of St. Basil's *Address to Young Men*" 76-78.

⁴⁹ Basil, *Ad Adol.* 378-381.

⁵⁰ Augustine, *Confessions* IX.iv. *Retractationes* I.iii.2. Augustine's statements in *De Ordine* on the necessity and benefits of the *disciplinae liberales* can be found at *Ord.* I.viii.24, II.v.13-15, 17.

⁵¹ Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* II.xxxix.58-xl.61, IV.iii.4.

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clergy and the monks undertook the responsibility to support the Christian population. They offered them elementary education, brought up in a Christian manner the children, which the mothers abandoned at the doors of the Churches. They sought the mediation of the Patriarchate in alleviating the weight laid upon Christians through taxation. They cultivated the revolutionary spirit and gave an example of the ascetic life, which is described with great admiration by texts derived from the consulates and pilgrims or travelers. The monks of the island, strengthened by the Hagiorite monks and the monks who came from other regions, went round the villages encouraging their inhabitants” (pp. 85-86).

Finally, Dr. Peponakes' dissertation, by using carefully selected bibliography and historical material which is of unique importance but unknown in many cases, such as that from the Archives of Nante, offers the opportunity of firm knowledge of aspects of the society, the economy and the administration of two periods of Cretan history, 1770-1821 (pp. 53-67) and 1841-1856 (pp. 98-111) which are basic to it but difficult to determine. His achievement lies in the methodical presentation of his material and in the correct evaluation of his primary sources, both of which imply great diligence and remarkable zeal. The structure of the entire study presents an original synthesis and elaboration of the available source material. The approval of this dissertation by the Department of History and Archaeology (Section of History of Modern Times) of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the conferral on him of the Doctoral title, has justly crowned the author's labors and added yet another welcome product of the History of Crete, Ecclesiastical and general.

Prof. Spyridon Dem. Kontogiannes
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Demetrios B. Gones, *Saint John of Rila: Prolegomena to the Hymno-hagiological Greek Texts* (Ὁ ὁσιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ριλιώτης. Προλεγόμενα στὰ ὑμναγιολογικὰ ἐλληνικὰ κείμενα) [Hymnological Texts and Studies –4], editions Armos, Athens 1997 pp. 208.

Professor Demetrios B. Gones of the School of Theology of the University of Athens is known as a specialist in the History of the Orthodox Slavic Churches. He has so far produced considerable academic contributions in this area and most notably the manual of the

History of the Churches of Bulgaria and Serbia. Greek researchers in this area usually engage in problems relating to contributions of Greeks to the world of the Slavs. Professor Demetrios B. Gones has moved in the opposite direction. He labors to give us texts that express the interest of the Greek Orthodox in the ecclesiastical literature of the Slavs. It is within such parameters that his present book also moves. It presents all of the Greek texts that have been written about St. John of Rila, the greatest Saint of Bulgarian Orthodoxy (circa 876/880-946).

The author is right in pointing out in his prologue that, *"This reverse movement...honors both the Mother Church (the Ecumenical Patriarchate) and the daughter Slavic Churches (of Bulgaria, Russia, and Serbia). The Great Church feels boastful for the Saints of her daughters and wishes to become acquainted with them and to honor them as they deserve to be. This inevitably leads to mutual recognition and understanding of the Orthodox peoples. This is probably the most important fruit of this blessed movement, since gradually the Saints of each local Church become Saints of the entire Orthodoxy"* (p. 9).

The structure of the work is quite liturgical. To help the reader to understand the problems that arise, the author supplies an Introduction (pp. 13-41), which contains a brief outline of the Life of the Saint, the transference of his holy Relics and the main source of the biographical texts for the Saint. It should be noted that Greek interest in the Saint was quite old. Two of our Byzantine ancestors, Georgios Skylitzes (12th C.) and Demetrios Kantakouzenos (15th C.) are included among the biographers of Saint John. The text of the first one is extant in an old Slavonic translation while the second one was originally written in old Slavonic!

The second unit (*Lives of Saint John of Rila*) (pp. 43-115) consists of a systematic presentation of seven modern Greek adaptations – translations of the Life of Saint John which the author identified in the manuscripts and editions, i.e. those of: 1) Saint Nicodemus the Hagiorite (1819), 2) Hieromonk Damascenos of Rila (1851), 3) the same (1849-1851), 4) the Monk Iakovos Neascetiotes (1860), 5) Constantine Chr. Doukakes (1895), 6) Victor Matthaios (1950), and 7) the Archimandrite Nikolaos Protopapas (1979) who is today Metropolitan of Phthiotis. At the same time Professor Gones deals head on with a big pile of problems which relate to these texts.

The third unit (*Acolouthies and Hymns in Honor of Saint John of Rila*) (pp. 11-158) reveals interesting aspects of the honor ascribed to this Saint by the Greeks, since it was for him that the Greeks of Melenikon expressed special interest so as to warrant the composition of three Acolouthies, by the following: 1) the Metropolitan Constantine (Typaldos-Iakovatos) of Stavroupolis (1849-1860), 2) the Monk Iakovos Neascetiotes (1860), and 3) the writer Alexandros Moraitides (1917), as well as 4) separate hymns, i.e. one Megalynarion from Constantine Chr. Doukakis (1895) and two Apolytikia by the Monk Gerasimos Mikrayiannanites (1950, 1964). It should be underlined that all three Acolouthies were written at different and fatal times for Greek-Bulgarian relations. The first and the second were composed when the Bulgarian issue was at its height (1840-1870). At the Theological School of Halki the students sang in Greek (right chorus) and in Bulgarian (left chorus). This is why the first Acolouthy comprises Troparia in both languages, the second also expresses the same spirit of unity since those who inspired its composition were the former Metropolitan Gregorios of Adrianople, who had served in eparchies where St. John was honored and the presence of the Bulgarian element was noticeable (Tiberioupolis, Stromnitsa and Adrianoupolis). The third Acolouthy is connected with the existence of the right wrist of the Relic of St. John at the Monastery of Kechrovounion at Tenos and was written during the scandalous moments of the First World War by a faithful Orthodox literary man.

The fourth unit (*Recovery of the Relics of St. John of Rila*) (pp. 159-162) is very brief and has to do with a relevant text of the well known Hieromonk Damascenos Riliotes (1854), which he composed during his studies at the Theological School of Halki.

The Epilogue (pp. 163-166) and the Indices (of the most important names and subjects of the manuscripts used, of the *Initia* of biographical Greek works for St. John of Rila, of icons with letters of ancient Bulgarian manuscripts) which follow therein (pp. 167-184) transform the whole work study into a most useful and visual tool for research scholars and the most demanding of readers. There are 24 icons (Monastery of Rila, icons of the Saint, pages from editions and manuscripts, Monastery of Kechrovounion, Reliquary, etc.) (pp. 12, 42, 116, 154, 185-202) as well as photoprints of Bulgarian manuscripts with initial letters (protograms) which give this edition special attractiveness and nobility.

I will not point out the originality of Professor Gones' work, because it is self-evident. I wish to underline only certain points which show the value of the present study.

1) This is the first time that such an extensive study on a Bulgarian Orthodox Saint appears in the Greek bibliography.

2) This study reveals that the interest of the Greeks in Saint John was diachronic, since it began in the 12th Century and has continued unabated to the present.

3) This study supplies answers to a multitude of heretofore-scientific problems and prepares the ground for the edition of all the relevant Greek texts into one *corpus*, so that the Greek reader can be acquainted with a Great Saint of Bulgarian Orthodoxy.

4) This study brings into public light important elements of the life and activity of persons who directly or indirectly dealt with Saint John, such as the Hieromonk Damascenos Riliotes (pp. 59-69), the Monk Iakovos Neascetiotes (pp. 93-95), the former Metropolitan Gregory of Adrianople (pp. 95-99), the Hieromonk Neophytos Riliotes (pp. 74-75, 118-122) and the literary figure Alexander Moraitides (pp. 135-153). We knew nothing of some of these figures until this publication.

5) Finally, this study indicates in a most conspicuous manner that the Saints of the Orthodox peoples and, in this particular case, Saint John of Rila, bring down the walls which the various ethnic upsurges erected and unite the Orthodox peoples. This was made most evident in the case of the Bulgarian St. John of Rila, who was embraced by the Greeks.

I will close with wishing a speedy publication of the second volume, which will comprise all of the hymno-hagiological Greek texts concerning Saint John, as well as a modern Greek translation of the various texts of our Byzantine ancestors George Skylitzes and Demetrios Kantakouzenos, as Prof. Gones informs us in his Prologue (p. 10). In this way the contribution of our colleague will be complete and the texts will become available to our Orthodox faithful for research and praise of God's grace.

Prof. Spyridon Dem. Kontogiannes
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Archimandrite Chrysostomos Sabbatos, *The Theological Terminology and Questioning of the Pneumatology of Gregory II the Cypriot*

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Sosthenes: The Former Crispus (?)

V. REV. DR. AUGUSTINE MYROU

The name *Sosthenes* (Σωσθένης) appears only twice in the New Testament. In the first case, Sosthenes is the Judean of Corinth, who is known as “the ruler of the Synagogue.” “And they all (πάντες)¹ seized Sosthenes, the ruler of the Synagogue, and beat him in front of the tribunal. But Gallio paid no attention to this” (Acts 10:17). In the second instance, the name is referred to in the preamble of St Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians. He is his only co-sender of this Epistle and is referred to as “our brother Sosthenes” (1 Corinthians 1:1).

At first glance these two cases do not appear to have any direct connection. Therefore, it is fairly difficult to express an opinion whether the name is used in both cases for one and the same person or for two different persons.² The element that seems to decide in favor of the first case, is the fact that on both occasions the name Sosthenes is connected with the city of Corinth and the missionary work of St. Paul in that city. Based on the fact that this name is Greek and quite rare for his era³ and is found in the Jewish Synagogue of Corinth and in the small Christian community of this City⁴ which had been recently established from members of the Synagogue, it would seem reasonable to conclude that its two occurrences signify one and the same person.⁵

Apart from this argument, however, there is another one, which is found in St. John Chrysostom and which at first glance appears to be somewhat odd. The holy father holds the view that the Sosthenes of

Acts 18:17 is the same with Crispus, the head of the Synagogue at Corinth, who is mentioned in Acts 18:8⁶ as one of the first to be converted to Christ by St. Paul's preaching.

Even though William P. Dickson considers this view of St. John Chrysostom as a "completely arbitrary theory,"⁷ it is our opinion that it is not only possible but also can be supported with well founded arguments. On the one hand it is possible that on his conversion Crispus could have changed his name. On the other hand, the context of the extract from Acts 18:7-17 justifies the existence of one and only head of the synagogue, despite the fact that there is mention of two names that held the same position.

The custom of changing one's name combined with the calling of God, or the conversion of a person, is very familiar in the history of the Old⁸ and the New Testament.⁹ It is quite possible that Apostle Paul, who himself underwent the experience of a change of name, preserved this tradition and changed the name of a Corinthian Jewish official on his conversion. This was done so that the new name would remind the convert of the change of his life.

In addition to the above, it is the context of the extract from the Acts that demands the Jewish identity of the attackers of Sosthenes, because the whole situation concerns them. The unexpected appearance of the "Greeks" in Acts 18:17 seems to be unjustified.¹⁰ Besides, it is usually the Jews, who react with such violent methods,¹¹ whereas the Greeks usually confine themselves to bringing the troublemakers to the officials, or subjecting them to irony and disregard.¹²

This seems to have been the situation in Corinth, where Sosthenes, initially known by the name of Crispus, was the ruler of the Jewish Synagogue when Paul arrived there for the first time. As it is reported, the Apostle became acquainted in Corinth with his fellow tradesmen, Aquila and Priscilla, and started to preach at the Synagogue (Acts 18:2-4). It is surely there that the first meeting and acquaintance between the ruler of the synagogue and the Apostle Paul took place. Soon, however, the reaction of many Jews forced Paul to abandon the Synagogue and to turn to the "Gentiles" (Acts 18:6).

At the same time the Apostle transferred the center of his activity "to the house of a man named Titus Justus, a God-fearer (Jewish proselyte), whose house was next door to the Synagogue" (Acts 18:6-7). It was then that "Crispus the ruler of the synagogue believed in

the Lord together with all his household" (Acts 18:8). Being the first member of the Corinthian Jewish Community to be converted into the new Faith, Paul himself, making an exception (cf. I Cor 1:17), proceeded to baptize him (I Cor. 1:14). That was how the first core of the Apostolic Church was created in Corinth.

There is a strong probability that Apostle Paul changed the name of this prominent Jewish convert at the ceremony of his baptism. Besides, his name did not match his Christian status since Crispus means "unsteady."¹³ It was therefore replaced by Sosthenes, which means the exact opposite, since Sosthenes derives from Greek compound sw'o~ to; sqevno~ which means steady in strength.¹⁴

From then on, the newly baptized Sosthenes, the former Crispus ruler of the Synagogue, would have to follow Paul closely, and to be present at every meeting that was to take place at the house of Justus. He would also be present at the many public appearances of the Apostle.¹⁵ Thus his presence along with others at the judgment seat of Gallio, when "the Jews made a united attack upon Paul and brought him before the Tribunal" was quite justified (Acts 18:12).

As it is known from the Acts narrative, the Roman Tribunal was unwilling to deal with a "question about (Jewish) words, names and the law" (Acts 18:15). This, together with his subsequent refusal to judge and pass sentence on Paul's case, angered the Jews. Consequently, not being able to harm Paul, they attacked and captured Sosthenes, the former ruler of the Synagogue,¹⁶ whom they "beat him in front of the Tribunal" (Acts 18:17).

The attack of this particular person must be related to a serious cause, such as the betrayal of the Jewish faith and tradition. The Jews could not easily have attacked Sosthenes the Jew, if he was still their active ruler of the synagogue.¹⁷ His case, therefore, must have been of someone who abandoned the Synagogue and converted to the new Faith.¹⁸

That this is the case is supported by Sosthenes' reaction. He faced his capture and the attack with typical Christian behavior.¹⁹ Because there is no mention of a conversion of second ruler of the synagogue,²⁰ it must be assumed that he is one who had been previously mentioned, namely Crispus, and that he had been renamed Sosthenes.

Another significant detail is that while the Jews were beating Sosthenes in front of the Roman official, he "[Gallio] paid no attention to it" (Acts 18:17). It is obvious, that to him, Sosthenes was

simply a Jew²¹ and therefore, the episode was considered a Jewish internal affair that did not require his intervention.

A few years later, Sosthenes is with Paul at Ephesus, from where the Apostle sends his First Epistle to the Corinthians. In its preamble, Sosthenes is the only one who is mentioned as co-sender of the Epistle and is characterized as "our brother Sosthenes" (1 Cor. 1:1). This becomes particularly significant when one considers that through this Epistle Paul attempted to confront some very sensitive issues that had arisen at that time in the Church of Corinth. The choice of Paul to place Sosthenes at the beginning of this Epistle, rather than any other of his capable co-workers, shows that Sosthenes not only was well known to the Corinthian Christians but also enjoyed great respect from all the members of the Church. (1 Cor. 16:10-20).²²

The qualifications that Sosthenes must have had so as to be elected Ruler of the Synagogue were naturally appreciated and utilized by the Apostle, who chose him to be his close co-worker.²³ This thought supports the view that the Sosthenes of Acts 18,17 is identical with the Sosthenes of I Corinthians 1:1, and this, in turn, advocates the identity of Sosthenes with Crispus.

NOTES

¹ Although the more ancient codices and translations, such as P⁷⁴, à, A, B, vg, co^{bo}, hand down the pronoun "πάντες" alone, that is without a noun, a whole multitude of these such as D, E, P, Ψ, 049, 056, 0120, 0142, 33, 104, 181, 326, 330, 436, 451, 614, 630, 945, 1241, 1505, 1739, 1877, 2127, 2412, 2492, 2495, Byz, it^{ar}, d. e. g. Syr^{ph}, cop³⁹, arm, eth, and geo hand down the pronoun "πάντες" accompanied by the noun "οἱ Ἕλληνες," and some microgrammatics such as 31, 307, 431 and 453 hand down the pronoun "πάντες" accompanied by the noun "οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι." The two names must have been explanatory notes that slipped into the text in an attempt to explain the pronoun "πάντες," which seems from the context to refer to the Judeans. Characteristic in the case is the fact that St. John Chrysostom, who has received the text "πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες," in the corresponding interpretation gives the impression that those who attacked Sosthenes are the Judeans. (See *Homilies in Acts* 39,1-2; PG 60, 227-279). In any case, the abstract pronoun "πάντες" presupposes the previously mentioned persons.

² The two names are considered as referring to one and the same person by the ancient commentators: St. John Chrysostom (PG 60, 278), Theodoret of Cyrus (PG 82, 229) and Oecumenius (PG 118, 244-640). The same is the case with most of the modern scholars, e.g., J. A. Bengel, A. P. Stanley, F. Godet, H. L. Goudee, J. Moffatt, C. K. Barrett (See his *Commentary on I Corinthians* 1:1), and E. B. Redlich (*St Paul's Companions*, p. 273). There are those, however, who accept two distinct persons. We may mention, among others, W. M. Ramsay (*St Paul the Traveller and the Roman*

Citizen, p. 259), P. Trembelas and S. Agourides (cf. their *Commentaries* on I Corinthians 1:1). The issue, however, seems to continue to be unresolved. To mention an example, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* presents both views! The commentator of the First Epistle to the Corinthians says, that Sosthenes “was a well known Christian to the Corinthians, but probably he was not the Sosthenes of Acts 18:17 since nothing suggests his conversion.” The commentators of Acts, however, write that the Sosthenes of Acts is “possibly the same as the one mentioned in I Cor. 1:1.”

³ E. B. Redlich, *op. cit.*, p. 274, notes: “The name is rare, but is found in inscriptions of the royal household.”

⁴ The Church of Corinth was newly established and, therefore, the numbers of its members would have been confined.

⁵ For relevant argument see E.B Redlich, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁶ St John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolorum* 39,2. PG 60 278: “Τούτον Κρίσπον λέγει τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον, περὶ οὗ φησι γράφων· Οὐδένα ἄλλον ἐβάπτισα εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον (1 Col:14). Οἶμαι δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Σωσθένην λέγεσθαι, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἀνὴρ πιστός ἦν, ὥστε καὶ τύπτεσθαι καὶ παρεῖναι αἰετῇ Παύλῳ.”

⁷ J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*. The Chrysostomic interpretation is also rejected by E. B. Redlich, *op. cit.*, p. 273, based on the information that it was a habit of the Jewish people to have one ruler of the synagogue, at any one time. We think that this information is favorable to the position of St Chrysostom.

⁸ In the Old Testament it is by the initiative of God himself that the name of Abram is changed into Abra(h)am (Genesis 17:5), of Sara to Sarra(h) (Gen. 17:15) and of Jacob to Israel (Gen. 32:28).

⁹ In the New Testament, Jesus Himself changes Simon to Cephas, and John and James, the sons of Zebedee, to “Boanerges,” that is “Sons of Thunder” (Mark 3:17). In addition, the former persecutor of Christians Saul is renamed Paul (Acts 13:9). It is especially meaningful that this happens when he finally receives his mission from the Holy Spirit (Acts 13:1-4).

¹⁰ In the whole context of the extract there is no mention of the Greeks. Those that dominate are the Jews. This context does not justify the presence and actions of Greeks.

¹¹ For the behavior of the Jews in Lystra, see Acts 14:19, in Thessaloniki, see Acts 17:5-9 and 17:13, in Jerusalem, see Acts 22:30f. Cf. Theophylaktos, *Expositions in Acts*, PG 125 789, “Πανταχοῦ δὲ τὸ ἥθος αὐτῶν (τῶν Ἰουδαίων) ταραχῶδες.” Also see the analysis of Chrysostom with regard to the hatred of the Jews towards Paul, *Homilies on Hebrews*, PG 63 11. “Ὅταν τις ἐξ ἔθνους ἀποπηδήσει τινός, ἂν μὲν τῶν θαυμαστῶν καὶ σφόδρα ζηλωτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνα φρονούντων, μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλγύνει καὶ μεθ’ ὑπερβολῆς λυπεῖ, ἅτε μάλιστα αὐτῶν καθαιρῶν τὸ δόγμα τῷ προσελθεῖν ἄλλοις ἐκείνων ἀποπηδήσαντα.”

¹² See for the behavior of the Greeks in Phillipi, Acts 16: 19-20 and in Athens, Acts 17: 18,32.

¹³ The name comes from the Latin adjective *crispus-a-um*, which means curly, vibrant, and therefore unsteady. See C. Lewis - C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1969 (1879¹), s.v. *crispus*.

¹⁴ The name derives from the Greek adjective σωσθενής, ἐς (from the adjective σῶς and the noun σθένος, with the accent on the penultimate syllable, as is the case in these situations (See M. Οἰκονόμου, *Γραμματική τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἑλληνικῆς*, ed. University of Thessaloniki, 1995⁶).

¹⁵ See quotation 6, “ὅς (Σωσθένης) τοσοῦτον ἀνὴρ πιστὸς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ τύπτεσθαι καὶ παρεῖναι ἀεὶ τῷ Παύλῳ.

¹⁶ The title “τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγου” (the ruler of the synagogue) is referring to the position that Sosthenes held before his conversion to the Faith of Christ. It is used here to clarify his identity, as he was known to the Jews. This tradition is familiar even today, when former titleholders are referred to by their former titles, e.g. the former general, as general or the former minister, as minister.

¹⁷ The view that Sosthenes, despite being still the ruler of the Synagogue, was attacked by his fellow faithful because of his lukewarm stand against the Official and therefore causing the Jews to fail in their attempt, appears to be unsupported by the context of the extract and by the mentality of the Jews. They believed that they should be careful, as to how they present themselves in front of foreigners with regards to their internal affairs.

¹⁸ This is the first of the three alternative interpretations of Ammonius of Alexandria, “Ἡ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτυπτον τὸν Σωσθένην, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προστιθέμενος τῷ Παύλῳ, ὡς καὶ Κρίσπος ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος, ἡ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦσαν ἐλληλακότες μανίας ὅτι ἀποτυγχόντες τοῦ σκοποῦ αὐτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τύπειν τὸν Παῦλον, Σωσθένην, καὶ Σωσθένης διεκώλυνεν αὐτοὺς” (*In Acta Apostolorum*, ch. 18; PG 85,1569).

¹⁹ See St John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolorum* 39,2; PG 60 279 “Οὐκ ἀντιτύπτει δὲ (Σωσθένης), ὥστε καὶ τὸν δικαστὴν μαθεῖν, τίς ἦν ὁ ἐπιεικέστερος. Οὐ μικρὰ τοῦτο ὤνησε τοὺς παρόντας· ἐδίδαξε γάρ ἡ τε τούτων ἐπιείκεια καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων θρασύτης ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς δικαστικῆς ψήφου δεῖται.”

²⁰ It is quite impossible to have the conversion of two successive rulers of the synagogue, in such a sort space-time, especially if we are to be reminded that the Jews of Corinth were careful in their choosing to make sure that the successor of Crispus was especially trustworthy.

²¹ The conversion of the ruler of the synagogue must have been known to the official. However, the new Faith was considered by the rulers simply as a heresy of Judaism, a fact that justifies the view and stance of Gallio.

²² Characteristic is the way which Oecumenius justifies the presence of Sosthenes in the preamble of the Epistle, *In 1 Corinthians*, “Μὴ γὰρ νομίσητε ὅτι ἑμαντῶ περιποιούμενος τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀξίωμα, ὑμᾶς μέλλων καθαιρεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτῳ φρωσώσεως. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ Σωσθένην ἑμαντῶ συντάττω καὶ ἀδελφὸν καλῶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλω κοινοποιούμενος τὰ ἐμά.” See also: F. Godet and J. Moffatt in their interpretation on *1 Corinthians*. Also see the observations of E. B. Redlich, op. cit., p.97, “The Apostle associated with him (Sosthenes), hoping possibly that the name of Sosthenes would carry weight in a city where he was well known.”

²³ The leadership qualities of Apostle Paul are well known. He was especially distinctive in his choice of co-workers, such as Barnabas, Silas, Timothy and others. See Σ. Σάκκου, ‘Ὁ ἡγετικός χαρακτήρ τοῦ Παύλου, *Ἀπολύτρωσις*, v. 26 (1991), p. 81-83.

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The Alexandrian and the Antiochene Methods of Exegesis: Towards a Reconsideration

HIEROMONK PATAPIOS

INTRODUCTION

One of the difficulties that we encounter in studying the early history of Biblical interpretation is that many Patristic commentaries and homilies have not survived the ravages of time. Only in rare instances do we have the opportunity to examine more than one Patristic interpretation of an entire book of the Bible. However, we are rather well off when it comes to the twelve Minor Prophets. In the course of my research into Patristic exegesis I was pleased to discover that no less than three complete Patristic commentaries are extant, namely those by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Cyril of Alexandria. Clearly this affords us an opportunity to compare and contrast the differing exegetical methods characteristic of the Alexandrian and Antiochene schools. I am not going to suggest that we jettison the distinction between these two approaches. Nonetheless, I do believe that it needs to be re-evaluated from time to time in the light of particular Biblical texts.

METHODOLOGY

In his article on the different presuppositions and methods of these two schools Jacques Guillet observes that they both concur in seeing the history of the Hebrew people as a preparation for the Incarnation. The austerity of the Antiochene exegetes does not prevent them from

finding types of the Savior in the Old Testament. Someone like Theodoret is quite willing to acknowledge that Joshua prefigures Christ and the twelve stones of Gilgal the Apostles. Even Theodore, hostile though he is to the luxuriant allegorizing of the Alexandrians, affirms that the Law contains the shadow of all the realities of the Gospel. For the Antiochenes, as Isidore of Pelusium expresses it, "if it is not always a question of Christ, it is still sometimes a question of Him." But the Alexandrians consider it necessary to find the presence of the Lord on every page. Guillet sums up the differences between the two schools as follows: "Antioch retains the prophetic aspect of the typology of the Old Testament, while Alexandria retains its symbolic aspect and spiritual content."¹

Before going any further, let me emphasize the limitations of the present study. Granted that there are divergences between the Antiochene and Alexandrian methods of exegesis, how do we set about exploring these divergences? There is a tendency among scholars to posit a dichotomy between the two schools by comparing, for example, Theodore with Origen. But what would the results look like if we were instead to compare Theodoret, or even Theodore, with St. Cyril? Such a comparison as this, I submit, will enable us to discern more clearly that at least some exponents of each method were engaged in a common theological enterprise. Of course, the ideal procedure would be to examine all three commentaries on all twelve Prophets. Since such a project obviously far exceeds the scope of this paper, I have found it necessary to be more selective in examining these commentaries.

We are indeed fortunate in having Theodore to represent the Antiochene school, Cyril the Alexandrian and Theodoret a modified form of the Antiochene. According to Johannes Quasten, Theodoret "adopts a middle course, avoiding the radicalism of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his excessive literalness and allowing an allegorical and typological explanation, whenever this appears preferable."² Theodore "more readily admits directly Messianic passages in the prophets," but "refers many texts generally regarded, even now, as Messianic, to the restoration of the Jewish state or to the victories of the Maccabees."³ St. Cyril's interpretation of the Old Testament "is strongly influenced by Alexandrian tradition and therefore highly allegorical though he differs from Origen because of the emphasis with which he insists that not all the details of the Old Testament

yield a spiritual signification."⁴

What reasons are there, besides the fact that Christ mentions Jonah in St. Matthew's Gospel, for looking at the exegesis of Jonah rather than that of any other Minor Prophet? My purpose is to determine whether the gulf that is commonly held to exist between the Antiochene and Alexandrian approaches is quite as wide as some would have us believe.⁵ Since all three commentators concur at least to the extent of accepting that Jonah is a type of Christ, this allows us to explore how they each understood the nature of the relationship between type and antitype. Had I chosen to focus instead on the Book of Malachi, the conventional dichotomy would simply have been reinforced.

For example, let us briefly consider the following verse from Malachi: "But to you that fear My name shall the Sun of righteousness arise, and healing shall be in his wings" (4:2). According to Theodore, this means that on those who fear the Lord "great radiance will be justly bestowed from God because of [their] good will towards Him."⁶ By contrast, Theodoret maintains that these words "are applicable to the first coming of our Savior and to the second. For in the first He shone like a sun on us who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death... And in the second coming He will appear to those who are afflicted in the present life, either beyond their desire or according to their desire, and will judge them justly as One Who is just, and will bestow the promised goods."⁷ For his part St. Cyril offers an expanded form of the Christological interpretation espoused by Theodoret: "The Only-begotten Word of God shone on those in this world and, putting on our likeness, *the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us*, who were in gloom and darkness, like a sun shining around with its own rays, and injecting the bright ray of the true knowledge of God into the souls of those who believe."⁸

Let us turn now to the Book of Jonah. For the most part, all three commentators raise the same questions. For example, in what sense is Jonah a type of Christ? Why did he flee from the face of God? How is it that the Ninevites offered such speedy repentance after hearing a previously unknown foreigner preach that their city would be overthrown in three days, whereas the Israelites remained hard-hearted after all the patriarchs, judges and prophets that God had sent to them? Why did God consider Nineveh to be such an iniquitous city? Why was Jonah asleep in the hold of the ship while the tempest

was raging? Why was God pleased by the repentance of the Ninevites? Why was Jonah so aggrieved at the repentance of the Ninevites and their consequent escape from destruction? All three are at pains to establish the correct location of Tharsis and Nineveh. This is consistent with their presupposition that Jonah is a historical work and not, as modern Biblical scholars maintain, simply an edifying story. For the purpose of this paper I shall deal with just two of these questions: (1) how is Jonah a type of Christ? and (2) why was God pleased by the repentance of the Ninevites?

JONAH AS A TYPE OF CHRIST

Let us begin with the issue of typology. In his preface St. Cyril states that the Book of Jonah describes in shadows the mystery of Christ's saving work (οἰκονομία) as He Himself told the Jews (St. Matthew 12:40). This mystery of Christ is somehow typified (ἐξεικονίζεται) and foreshadowed (διαπλάττεται) in the events that befell Jonah. But when we are talking in terms of spiritual vision (θεωρία), in which a person is being interpreted as a prefigurement (ὑποτύπωσις) of Christ, we must consider which elements of the person concerned are not useful for the goal (σκοπός) we have in mind, and which are useful, necessary and advantageous to our audience. St. Cyril cites the example of Moses, who entrusted Israel to God at Mount Sinai and became an intermediary between God and His people. God Himself clearly teaches that this event prefigured (προανέτυπου) the mediation of Christ when He says: "I will raise up to them a Prophet of their brethren, like thee; and I will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them as I shall command him" (Deuteronomy 18:18). "The divine Moses, therefore, is interpreted as a type of Christ, but we shall not ascribe all the attributes of Moses to Him, lest we be caught doing and saying something absurd." Moses admits to God that he is weak in speech and slow of tongue (Exodus 4:10), and quite unsuitable for the mission God has in mind for him. "Moses, therefore, mediates as a type of Christ, but when he is slow of speech, he no longer displays the type in himself." The same goes for Aaron, who, although he typifies Christ in his capacity as a priest, is worthy of reproach for speaking against Moses and helping to make the Golden Calf.

St. Cyril's conclusion is that "therefore, not everything in letters

and types is useful for spiritual considerations, but if the person of someone who typifies (ἀνατυποῦντος) Christ for us in himself were introduced, we should rightly gloss over his human attributes, and settle upon only those that are necessary, turning around in every direction that which is naturally advantageous to the purpose of the subject at hand.” Jonah “articulates (διαμορφοῖ) for us the mystery of Christ.”¹⁰ However, he does not typify Christ in every way. He was sent to preach to the Ninevites, but sought to flee from the face of God, and was hesitant about his mission. Christ, on the other hand, was sent to preach to the Gentiles and showed no hesitation about fulfilling His mission. Jonah instructed the sailors to throw him into the sea so as to make it calm, and was swallowed by the whale and returned three days later. Christ underwent death voluntarily, spent three days and nights in the heart of the earth, rose again. Unlike Jonah, though, He was not aggrieved at seeing men saved in repentance.¹¹

Theodoret states in his commentary on chapter 2 that Jonah “was a type of Christ the Master, who spent three days and three nights in the belly of the earth.” Jonah “called the belly of the whale the belly of hades, since the beast was deadly and by the nature of the events he was dead, and was alive only by grace.” Most marvelous of all is that “the One Who truly tasted death said that He would be in the belly of the earth for three days and three nights, while the one who was under the shadow of death called the belly of the whale the belly of hades. For in Jonah’s case life was not in his power; but for Christ the Master, His death was freely chosen and His Resurrection voluntary.”¹² Unfortunately for us, Theodoret says nothing more than this about the typological relationship between Jonah and Christ. According to Godfrey Ashby, however, in his commentary on Zechariah Theodoret “makes one of his rare statements about the use of ‘types’.” “The ancient events were a type for us. But it is fitting that the image should have a resemblance to the archetype, so that what is true in the latter case (i.e. its subsequent application) is true also of the Jews. For the latter things are a shadow of the former.”¹³

Theodore says nothing at all about the Jonah-Christ typology in his commentary on chapter 2, but he does provide us with an extended essay on the nature of typology in the preface. He begins by stating that the one God Who is Lord of both the Old and the New Testaments and Creator of all “looking to one goal (σκοπὸν) dis-

pensed (ᾠκονόμησε) the events in the latter and the former.”¹⁴ Lest we should think that he was planning something new for us, he presented the coming of Christ to us in many different ways so that the Jews could look forward to it. Thus, he made promises to Abraham and David which were finally fulfilled in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. “For this reason God showed great providence for his people, because they were all being kept for the aforesaid promises and were awaiting the expected coming of Christ the Master.”¹⁵ He brought about many events in the Old Testament in order to give the greatest benefit to those living at that time and also advance information of what would subsequently be revealed. “In this way the old events were a type of the later ones, being related to the latter by way of imitation (μίμησιν), as well as serving a useful purpose in their own times.”¹⁶

According to Robert Devreesse, Theodore believed that the validity of a typological interpretation was governed by the following three criteria: “to begin with, a certain resemblance or conformity with the object of which it is the outline or the image; in the second place, the profit which it offers to the persons involved indicates the benefits contained in the promises of the future; in the third place, the profound feeling...that the future reality will be more important than its present image.”¹⁷ So when God led Israel out of slavery in Egypt, using the blood on the lintels to separate the Israelites from the Egyptians, He both benefitted the people of Israel and indicated beforehand in types (προεσημαίνετο ὡς ἐν τύποις) that Christ would separate us from death and sin—hence the anointing or shedding (χρίσει) of His own blood. But however great the gain of the Israelites, ours is all the greater and everlasting. As St. Paul says in I Corinthians, the punishments suffered by the Israelites in the desert were for the purpose of educating them by means of types to fear sin. Likewise Theodore finds the bronze serpent set up by Moses to be a type of Christ. God could have cured the disobedient Israelites differently, but He wanted them to be cured by looking at an image (ἀπεικονίσματι) of those serpents which had bitten them, “so that we should not be overly surprised that God, in destroying death by the death of Christ the Master, grants us immortal life through the Resurrection.”¹⁸ It is easy to see how in both these cases the Theodore’s criteria for valid typology are fulfilled: there is a resemblance (μίμησις, μίμημα) between the experience of the Israelites and that

of Christ; the Israelites receive benefit at the time; and the antitype is superior to the type—Christ grants deliverance from death to *all* mankind.

However, “the ‘type’ *par excellence* is Jonas and his extraordinary adventure in the course of his mission to the Ninevites.”¹⁹ God sent Jonah to the Gentiles because the Jews were disobedient and would not believe any prophecies. He had Jonah spend three days and nights miraculously in the whale and then had him preach repentance to the Ninevites in order to procure their salvation, “so that as a result of this comparison we might not disbelieve that Christ the Master, preserved incorrupt for the same length of time, and risen from the dead, provides common salvation through repentance for all the nations.”²⁰ “It is clear,” Theodore continues, “that there is some imitation of things, but that the difference between the old and the new is great; and that the Jews today, just like the Jews of that time, remain unbelieving, while the Gentiles will accept the salvation that comes from preaching.”²¹

Theodore adds that God could have found other ways of arousing Jonah to do his duty despite his hesitation and disobedience. For example, when Jeremiah was reluctant to undertake his prophetic mission, God stretched forth His hand and touched his mouth (Jeremiah 1:9). “But He clearly wanted to bring the blessed Jonah through events so novel and miraculous, since He was going to show him forth as a type of Christ the Master; so for this reason he was led through such incredible novelty, that he might become worthy of credence, manifesting in himself the type of such a great reality.”²² This was one reason for the strange events that befell Jonah. But there is another reason, also connected with the typology. It is no wonder that the Prophets felt despondent when they kept on warning the people of God of what was to come, doing so with great zeal but achieving nothing; the Israelites only continued to react negatively to the providential care extended to them by God. It was one thing for the Gentiles to be inclined to sin, but quite another for those who had been “chosen for divine knowledge.” They were as depraved and impious as the Gentiles. “Wishing to win them over, for all that they had this attitude, God, Who exercises providence over all men, but allots special care to His own, often showed them the change of the human condition that would come to pass when Christ was revealed, when all would incline by Divine Grace from the worse to

the better, but finally He worked this strange deed for Jonah to teach and console the Prophets, through whose deeds he persuaded them that the words concerning Christ the Master would come true, and that by divine grace all men would attain to their destiny."²³

Jonah, then, "provided in himself a type of the things that would come to pass in Christ."²⁴ The Ninevites listened to a man whom they did not know and who did no miracles, and they repented, although they had shown no signs of piety before. In this way God could demonstrate how by His grace all nations would turn to the better at the coming of Christ.

Alexander Kerrigan offers an illuminating comparison between Theodore and Cyril with reference to the Book of Jonah. Although he is "convinced that Christ is the centre of the Old Testament," Theodore "refuses to recognize Him save when positive proofs are adduced." As such, "he scrutinizes the texts of the Old Testament with a view to verifying whether they comply with the conditions of a 'type' stipulated by him or not." In general, "he betrays an anxiety to reduce the number of such 'types' as far as possible and actually succeeds in eliminating the many texts in which other exegetes find allusions to things Christian." For his part, St. Cyril, although by upbringing predisposed to believe that "all the details of Scripture are typical," is aware of the absurdities entailed by such a tenet if pushed to its logical conclusions. He prescribes, therefore, that "one should prescind from traits that are unsuitable and focus attention only on those that are suitable."²⁵

From this we can see that St. Cyril and Theodore concur on the first of Theodore's criteria for valid typology: that there must be some resemblance between the type and its antitype. Moreover, as Kerrigan remarks, St. Cyril states elsewhere that "the law, considered precisely as a system of types and shadows, did not constitute food which could be eaten; to become food, it needed to be transformed into an evangelical *θεωρία* and then deflected towards Christ's mystery."²⁶ In St. Cyril's view, therefore, the antitype is superior to the type.

GOD'S PLEASURE AT THE REPENTANCE OF THE NINEVITES

Theodoret and Cyril both comment on the quality of the repentance offered by the people of Nineveh. When the people ask, *Who knows if God will repent, and turn aside from His fierce anger, and*

so we shall not perish? (Jonah 3:9), this is a definition, according to Theodoret, of true repentance, because the Ninevites, “ceasing from their former sin and showing a change for the better, enjoyed the good favor of God.”²⁷ God turned aside from His wrath, not because they fasted, but because they refrained from evil deeds.

St. Cyril says much the same as Theodoret about the repentance of the Ninevites. He commends them for their great wisdom “in adding aversion from wickedness to their fast,” for “this would be a true and spotless way of repentance.” He contrasts this kind of repentance with that of the Israelites, who are chastised by Isaiah for their hypocrisy.²⁸ The Ninevites “were better, for they accomplished for God a pure and spotless fast.”²⁹ Theodore points out that they refrained from evil-doing, but does not make the same connection as the other two with the quality of their fasting.

CONCLUSION

We have now seen how three different commentators expounded the same text. Are they as different as we might have supposed? In the section of the paper dealing with methodology I observed that the choice of text would to some extent pre-determine the results of the comparison to be undertaken. Had I selected a different Prophet for consideration, I would almost certainly have discovered less common ground than there is with regard to the Book of Jonah. Even here there are some interesting divergences, but the fundamental agreement of Cyril, Theodore and Theodoret over the validity of a typological reading makes for a more harmonious task than would otherwise have been the case.

Cyril and Theodore do not define typology in quite the same terms, but they both expect there to be some appropriate degree of resemblance between the type and the antitype. Nonetheless, we can say in general that Theodore tends to emphasize the external correspondence between events, while St. Cyril stresses those attributes that are relevant to the comparison being drawn. For his part, Theodoret says very little about the presuppositions for typological exegesis, but in what he does say he stresses the need for resemblance between type and antitype.

In his essay on Theodoret, Ashby contends that Theodoret represents the standard approach to exegesis of the Antiochenes and that

by this token Theodore is a “rogue elephant” among those of his own school. He also admits that St. Cyril, at least in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets, is more faithful to the historical sense of the texts than we would expect, given his Alexandrian background, and suggests that “there is evidence of a drawing together of the two schools in the matter of exegesis in the fifth century.”³⁰ When it comes to the Book of Jonah, Theodore certainly modifies his “elephantine” approach. My conclusion, on the basis of what I have presented in this paper, is that the degree of divergence between the Antiochene and Alexandrian exegetical traditions depends very much on which Scriptural text is being expounded.

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NOTES

¹ “Les Exégèses d’Alexandrie et d’Antioche: Conflit ou Malentendu?” *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 34 (1947), pp. 272-274.

² *Patrology*, vol. III (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1992), p. 539. For example, not only does he accept the canonicity of the Song of Songs—unlike Theodore—, but

he also offers an allegorical exposition of it, dismissing Theodore's explanation of the work "as Solomon's reply to the opponents of his marriage with the Egyptian princess as 'a story not even fitting in the mouths of crazy women'" (*ibid.*, p. 540). According to Guillet, Theodoret is the most moderate member of the school and the one most faithful to the traditional heritage ("Les Exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche," p. 275).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵ It is regrettable that neither Karlfried Froehlich nor Joseph Trigg includes any material from Cyril or Theodoret in their respective anthologies of Patristic exegesis. Both books are very useful, but would have been more balanced if they had chosen some passages from these two Fathers.

⁶ PG 66:629C. It should be noted that in Theodore's view Malachi "was chiefly concerned with the internal problems of the post-exilic community of Israel, and the issues the prophet discussed with his own generation were religious, moral, and social" (Dimitri Z. Zaharopoulos, *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Bible: A Study of His Old Testament Exegesis* [New York and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989], p. 165).

⁷ PG 81:1984CD.

⁸ PG 72:357D.

⁹ PG 71:600CD.

¹⁰ PG 71:601A. According to Liddell and Scott, διαμορφοῦ can mean "gives shape or form to" or "articulates." Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* assigns to it the meaning "represents allegorically."

¹¹ In his commentary on chapter 2 St. Cyril goes into more detail about the typological relationship between Jonah and Christ. "I say that it is necessary, having interpreted the Prophet as a type of the ministry that is understood in Christ, to say in addition that the entire earth was in peril, and mankind was being storm-tossed, with the waves of sin all but leaping down on it, and terrible and unendurable pleasure washing all around it, and destruction as high as a wave rising up against it, and there was an outbreak of fierce winds, of the devil, that is, and the evil powers under him and with him. Since we were in these circumstances, the Creator had mercy on us, and the God and Father sent to us from Heaven His Son, Who was born in the flesh, and on reaching the imperilled and storm-tossed earth, subjected Himself voluntarily to death in order to still the storm, and in order that the sea might be calmed, the waves subside and the tempest cease. For we were saved by the death of Christ. The tempest passed by, the rain departed, the waves were stilled, the violence of the winds was brought to an end, a deep calm was thenceforth unfolded, and when Christ suffered for us, we came into spiritual tranquillity. You have something similar to this the Gospel writings. For the boat of the Apostles was once sailing across the sea of Tiberias; then, when a furious wind broke out on the waters, they were unendurably tempest-tossed. While withstanding extreme danger they nudged Christ Who was asleep, crying aloud: 'Master, save us, we are perishing.' On being roused, He rebuked the sea, saying with authority 'Peace, be still' and He saved the disciples. What He did was a type of the things that happen to human nature. For through Him, as I said, we were delivered from the corruption of death, sin and the passions, and the ancient storm was driven away, and He brought our situation into serenity" (PG 71:617B-D).

¹² PG 81:1729CD.

¹³ PG 81:1917C, cited in *Theodoret of Cyrrhus as Exegete of the Old Testament*

(Grahamstown, S.A.: Rhodes University, 1972), p. 53. I have made a few adaptations to Ashby's translation.

¹⁴ PG 66:317C.

¹⁵ PG 66:320AB.

¹⁶ PG 66:320B.

¹⁷ *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948), pp. 90-91.

¹⁸ PG 66:321B. This, according to Theodore, accounts for Christ's statement: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up" (St. John 3:14).

¹⁹ Devreesse, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²⁰ PG 66:321D.

²¹ PG 66:324A.

²² PG 66:324B.

²³ PG 66:324D-325A.

²⁴ PG 66:325A.

²⁵ *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1952), p. 371.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁷ PG 81:1736B.

²⁸ Isaiah 58:3-7.

²⁹ PG 71:629AB.

³⁰ *Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, p. 55. Following Guillet, Kerrigan suggests that there was far greater agreement between the two schools than is commonly believed. "In St. Cyril's instance the convergence of both currents is still more marked. Living in a period in which the methods peculiar to these seats of learning were still being perfected and evolved, St. Cyril himself adds his contribution to the final phases of development of the Alexandrian current. His outlook is characterized by leanings towards that of Antioch" (*op. cit.*, p. vii).

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The Ascetic and Sacramental Dimensions in Metropolitan Hierotheos (Vlahos) of Nafpaktos' Theological Work

FR. MAXYM LYSSACK

INTRODUCTION

The books of Metropolitan Hierotheos (Vlahos) began to appear in English translation about eight years ago. To date, eight major works of the Metropolitan have been translated into English from Greek. English-speaking readers first came to be familiar with Metropolitan Hierotheos's works with the publication of *A night in the desert of the Holy Mountain* in translation in 1991. This book has enjoyed great popularity and has been translated into many languages. The first substantial theological work of His Eminence to be translated was *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, which appeared in its first edition in 1994 (while the author was still an Archimandrite). This work is a comprehensive presentation of the author's main thesis that Orthodoxy is essentially a therapeutic science. It includes an exhaustive treatment of all the essential elements of the Orthodox ascetic-therapeutic tradition as well as important sections on spiritual pathology, spiritual therapy and the therapeutic character of the three degrees of priesthood. It would be no exaggeration to call *Orthodox Psychotherapy* a classic in the area of Orthodox pastoral theology and spirituality.

In writing this essay, I have selected passages from five of Metropolitan Hierotheos' eight works in translation. I have limited myself to the topic of the relationship between asceticism and the sacraments in the Metropolitan's works, with special reference to baptism and

the Eucharist. It is clear to me that this short article is but a modest introduction to the topic, and that further study needs to be done in order to obtain a more complete picture of His Eminence's theological teaching. Here I am thinking most especially of an analysis of Metropolitan Hierotheos' presentation of the priesthood as an ascetic-therapeutic-liturgical ministry and his strongly ascetic interpretation of ecclesiology.

Finally, I need to draw attention to the fact that Metropolitan Hierotheos writes as a pastor and teacher, and not as an academic theologian. Any student of theology needs to take this into account when reflecting on the Metropolitan's works and approach them in the right spirit. His Eminence makes no secret of his distaste for the scholastic approach to theology, both more specifically in terms of classical Roman Catholic scholasticism and its Orthodox cognates, and more generally in terms of academic theological analysis which has no concrete roots in the spiritual life. His reflection is often scholarly, but always aimed at living what he terms "the ascetic life in grace:" his is *par excellence* an empirical (experiential) theology, and I have been careful always to keep this in mind when engaging him through his works.

ASCETICISM AND THE SACRAMENTS

In his major work on St. Gregory Palamas, Metropolitan Hierotheos states that "man is cured by the sacramental and ascetical life."¹ These few words sum up the Orthodox understanding of the spiritual life. What is clear is that neither the sacraments nor asceticism on their own represent the fullness of man's life in the Church. The question that needs to be explored is that of the relationship between the sacramental life and the ascetic life. In fact, it is the Metropolitan's contention that the Orthodox theological position is precisely the balance or middle road between the two: an overemphasis on either asceticism or the sacraments leads to a heterodox position.

Metropolitan Hierotheos refers to the witness of St. Gregory Palamas in order to illustrate further the need for a balanced sacramental and ascetic life. St. Gregory, he points out, condemns two heretical positions in his writings: Messalianism and Barlaamism. In Messalianism, such an emphasis was placed on the ascetic and devotional life that the sacraments became peripheral to the spiritual life.

In Barlaamism, which the Metropolitan sees as being representative of the Latin-Augustinian position, the sacraments were valued to the exclusion of the hesychastic-ascetic life.² Both of these heretical teachings, through the imbalance, which they create, direct the human person away from the fullness of salvation.³

Throughout his many works, Metropolitan Hierotheos remains faithful to the teaching of St. Gregory Palamas on the ascetic and sacramental life, and struggles consistently to present both aspects of the spiritual life, even if it appears that he has reflected more deeply on the ascetic side. His Eminence understands the ascetic-hesychastic life to be the presupposition of sacramental life.⁴ This is a highly significant statement, which reveals Orthodoxy's uniqueness in the face of other Christian sacramental traditions. While the sacramental life is not peculiar to Orthodoxy alone, the special relationship between sacraments and asceticism does in fact give an orientation to the sacramental life in Orthodoxy, which cannot now be found anywhere else. While His Eminence is certainly not marginalizing the sacramental life, he is suggesting that sacraments without asceticism lose their proper significance and therefore cannot have the effect to which they were intended.

In commenting on the relationship between sacraments and asceticism in Orthodoxy, Metropolitan Hierotheos identifies one of the characteristics intrinsic to it: their interdependence. Asceticism cannot exist for its own sake; it must lead somewhere. The sacramental life, however, requires a context in which it can be fruitful. What is disturbing about much of the sacramental theology which is now being articulated by non-Orthodox authors is that its proper spiritual context is either very underdeveloped or absent altogether. This leads us to a very important point in Orthodox theology, which is implicit in all of the Metropolitan's writings: any discussion of the sacramental life outside of its proper context is completely nonsensical. This has enormous implications for bilateral discussions between Orthodoxy and other Christian confessions. Often the attempt is made to match up theological understandings of the sacraments in Orthodoxy and in non-Orthodox Christian communities. Where there is a disparity in theological understanding, an attempt is made to bridge the gap by developing a theological position which might be, at least on paper, acceptable to both parties. While the goal of such theological dialogue is a laudable one, the approach will not yield the desired fruit

of unity. This is because the *context* for the celebration of the sacraments in two different confessions must be the same in order for a common declaration on the theology of the sacraments to have any meaning.

If asceticism provides the context for the sacramental life, then the purpose of this context is necessarily connected to preparation. Indeed, Metropolitan Hierotheos states: "...through ascetic practice...we prepare the way of God's grace to act therapeutically and redemptively within the heart."⁵ Here the Metropolitan reveals the two goals of the sacraments in Orthodoxy: healing and redemption. The purpose of asceticism is to open the human heart to the grace of God, which is at work in the sacraments in order that their goals can be reached. This particular type of preparation finds its expression in the Orthodox Church in several different ways. It is expressed liturgically and pastorally in the retention since ancient times of the catechumenate as a formal period of preparation for baptism. Metropolitan Hierotheos places a great emphasis on the catechumenate precisely because it provides the ascetic and pastoral context in which baptism finds its greatest meaning and power.⁶

Ascetic practice in the ancient Church was, of course, not restricted to the period preceding baptism. The Church encouraged all of its members to grow in obedience and holiness, and this growth can be considered the true content of asceticism. Nevertheless, the Church required a way of dealing pastorally with Christians who, after baptism, returned to a life of sin. It therefore created for them a kind of school of repentance in which four stages could be distinguished.⁷ The stages led ideally to the full reintegration of the penitent into the eucharistic community, ending with his readmission to the Holy Eucharist. Both the catechumenate and the school of the penitents highlight the essentially therapeutic approach, which the Church took toward its members in earlier times. It also shows that the Church understood that an appropriate ascetic context for the celebration of the sacraments is absolutely indispensable.

The Church's understanding of the relationship of asceticism to baptism was also manifested in the liturgical function of deacons, priests and bishops.⁸ A specific liturgical task was committed to each of the three orders in the baptismal celebration. The tasks reveal the orientation of each of the ministers in the Church. The deacons prepared the baptismal candidate by removing his clothing. The priests

anointed the candidate with oil. The bishop performed the baptism. The ministry of the deacon was thus connected with purification, the ministry of the priest with illumination, and the ministry of the bishop with perfection or completion.

Metropolitan Hierotheos highlights the connection between the three classic stages of spiritual growth – purification, illumination, and *theoria* – and the threefold apostolic ministry, which can be found in the writings of St. Dionysios the Areopagite.⁹ The Metropolitan posits that this interpretation of the apostolic ministry was not peculiar to St. Dionysios, but was shared by the entire Church.¹⁰ What is striking in this approach to the ordained ministries is its ascetic orientation. No less significant is the idea that baptism contains within itself all three stages of spiritual growth and therefore communicates to the newly baptized the fullness of the spiritual life. Since, however, the catechumenate is associated to a great extent with purification, it is significant to note that an entire ministry was essentially committed to it. The notion of preparation, it seems, was so fundamental to the understanding of the Church that there needed to be a significant place for it in its theology of ministry and pastoral praxis.

In stating that asceticism provides the context for the celebration of the sacraments, Metropolitan Hierotheos does not mean to suggest that it is connected with preparation alone. In fact, asceticism plays an equally important role after the celebration of the sacraments by safeguarding the grace, which has been received.¹¹ Thus the divine energies of God which are received in the sacraments require not only a context in which they can be received, but also a context in which they can continue to be operative. The Metropolitan states this succinctly: “Thus God operates and man co-operates.”¹² This co-operation or *synergeia* as the Orthodox Church calls it is not some kind of abstract doctrine, which reveals the position of the Church on the free will of man; rather, it is a description of the practical response of the human person to the grace of God. In this sense, asceticism, obedience, and *synergeia* can all be equated.

In addition to preparing for and safeguarding the grace of God in the sacraments, ascetic practice also plays a key role in the rekindling of the grace received in baptism but buried, as it were, by sin. Metropolitan Hierotheos writes:

Through the “rite of birth in God”, holy baptism, man’s nous is

*illuminated, freed from slavery to sin and the devil, and is united with God. That is why baptism is called illumination. But after that, because of sin, the nous is again darkened and deadened. The patristic writings make it clear that every sin and every passion deadens the nous.*¹³

Commenting on the role of asceticism, he states:

*When we act according to the desires of the flesh, the grace of God which has been in the depths of our spiritual heart since baptism, is hidden by the passions, so our effort is to try to uncover this grace through living an ascetic life in grace.*¹⁴

Ascetic practice involves a patient stripping away of the layers of interference caused by sin, which are found in the heart. As they are removed, the grace of God is exposed and is released as a great energy throughout the entire person. It is rekindled more in the sense of being released than of being brought to life. Metropolitan Hierotheos is careful to say that the grace is "hidden" rather than "extinguished." God's grace never "dies" but its activity can be severely restricted by sin and the passions. It is a basic tenet of Orthodox teaching that God's grace does not act in a coercive fashion on man's will but requires man's active co-operation. The uncovering of the grace of baptism is in part a process of growth in *synergeia*. The more man chooses to co-operate, the more God is free to work graciously in the heart without doing violence to the human will.

It can be argued that uncovering the grace of baptism and growing in obedience or *synergeia* is itself a therapeutic process since it necessarily includes the healing of the human will and heart from the wounds of sin and the passions. I believe that Metropolitan Hierotheos is addressing this particular point when he uses the expression "living an ascetic life in grace."¹⁵ He is acknowledging that the path to the healing of the heart and the discovery in it of the grace of baptism cannot be followed without God's grace. Asceticism is not simply human effort directed toward a desired "mystical" experience. In Orthodoxy, the ascetic life is itself gracious and therefore mystical. Orthodox spirituality knows no sharp division between "ascetic" and "mystical" theology.

Establishing the gracious character of the ascetic life is of great importance for several reasons. First of all, it provides an answer for certain non-Orthodox who see the Orthodox ascetic tradition as a thinly veiled form of Pelagianism. Secondly, it makes explicit the

Biblical roots of Orthodox asceticism and thereby differentiates it from non-Christian forms of asceticism. Thirdly, it greatly enhances the relationship between asceticism and the sacraments by preventing the creation of a false dichotomy between asceticism and grace, and by attributing to the ascetic context for the celebration of the sacraments a gracious character. If the "ascetic life in grace" is the context for the celebration of the sacraments both in terms of sacramental preparation and sacramental "safeguarding," then we have a situation in which grace coupled with human effort precedes and follows grace mediated in the sacraments. What is not entirely clear in the Metropolitan's writings is exactly the source of the "grace" in the "ascetic life in grace." Is it simply God's gracious response to human effort and self-discipline? Is it the grace of baptism, which is reaching a higher level of activity because of ascetic effort? Is it grace that comes through the practice of the Jesus prayer? Is it grace given through participation in the Eucharist? Is it grace given through the sacrament of confession, which is itself a second baptism? Might the other sacraments, which we have not mentioned, play an important role here? No doubt His Eminence could answer "yes" to all of these questions. It would, however, be an aspect of his theological thought, which he might choose to develop further. Specifically, he might address the question of how *all* the sacraments contribute to the "ascetic life in grace." Can they be considered a source of the ascetic life, which is just as important as the life of prayer and fasting?

BAPTISM AS A SOURCE OF THE ASCETIC LIFE

While the question of the role of the sacraments in the ascetic life remains an underdeveloped theme in Metropolitan Hierotheos' writings, there are clear indications that he has given it some serious thought. He appears to have reflected on the role of baptism and Chrismation more, perhaps, than the role of the other sacraments. Returning to the Metropolitan's presentation of St. Dionysios the Areopagite's ascetic interpretation of the threefold apostolic ministry, we see two things: Baptism represents the end or objective of an ascetic process; Baptism contains within it the three stages of the spiritual life, and therefore can be considered a source of the ascetic life. Baptism brings to an end the ascetic process of the catechumenate, which in the ancient Church lasted from one to three years.¹⁶ At the same time, baptism inaugurates an entirely new process of growth in

grace by imparting to the newly illumined Christian full potential to experience purification, illumination and perfection. These three stages of the spiritual life are mediated to the baptismal candidate through three significant moments of the baptismal liturgy, celebrated in order by the three orders of priesthood: the Diaconate, the Presbyterate, and the Episcopate.¹⁷ Since these three stages describe the progression of the "ascetic life in grace," it would be entirely consistent with the Metropolitan's presentation of St. Dionysios' teaching to identify both baptism and the priesthood as sources of the ascetic life.

In his work *Life after death*, Metropolitan Hierotheos elucidates in greater detail how, in effect, baptism acts as a source of the ascetic life. Explaining the reasons why we baptize infants, he states:

*This is how we understand the baptism of babies. We baptize them so that they may become members of the Church, members of the Body of Christ, that they may pass over death, overcome the garments of skin, decay and mortality. That is to say that as they grow, whenever the nous becomes darkened by passions and the darkness of the surroundings, they may have the ability to conquer death in Christ, to overcome the passions and to purify the noetic part of their souls once more.*¹⁸

While the context for the baptism of an adult is different, the same spiritual dynamism is imparted. Through baptism, we are granted the ability "to overcome the passions and to purify the *noetic* part of [our] souls." This is a very clear reference to the ascetic struggle, which pertains to the first stage of the spiritual life: purification. A tremendous amount of self-discipline and self-denial is required to win the war against the passions, but this necessary human effort is propelled by the grace of God received in baptism.

Metropolitan Hierotheos continues his discussion of baptism by indicating that "through holy Chrism, illumination of the nous is received."¹⁹ We can infer from what His Eminence writes in *Orthodox Psychotherapy* that, while the nous is darkened by sin after baptism, the grace of illumination originally received in Chrismation can, through the "ascetic life in grace," be uncovered and reactivated.²⁰ Chrismation, therefore, can also be considered a gracious source of ascetic life.

Commenting on the baptism of adults, but addressing the theme of baptism in general, the Metropolitan writes:

*Furthermore, through holy Baptism they become members of the Church and, being united with Christ and participating in the sacraments, they acquire the power to defeat death and attain deification. The deepest purpose of Baptism for both infants and adults is to attain deification, which is achieved only in Christ and the Church.*²¹

Here we discover a reference to the third stage of the spiritual life, which is described here as the defeat of death and the attainment of deification. What is of particular interest is the means by which death is defeated and deification is attained: union with Christ and participation in the sacraments. Here again there is a sacramental source for the ascetic life. This time, however, the Metropolitan does not refer to one sacrament in particular, but to the sacraments in general. We have seen already that, in the Orthodox Church, the sacraments have a therapeutic and redemptive character. Now we see the *telos* of the sacraments: deification and the defeat of death. This *telos* is more than just a description of the third stage of the ascetic life; it has a very strong eschatological orientation. By eschatological I do not mean something restricted to the distant future, but a reality currently experienced by the Church, which nevertheless gives a foretaste of a future fullness.

The implications of what Metropolitan Hierotheos writes are very powerful. In the Orthodox Church, the ascetic and the eschatological are one single reality, and the marriage of the two represents a continuation of the dynamic eschatological asceticism, which characterized the Church in the apostolic period.²² In some non-Orthodox Christian confessions, asceticism lost its eschatological identity and with time was considered irrelevant or even dangerous. In Orthodoxy, the "ascetic life in grace" still initiates the Christian into the experience of the heavenly. So strong is this ascetic-eschatological dynamism in Orthodoxy that it has become a hallmark of Orthodox ecclesial life. Since all of the sacraments in the Orthodox Church operate as sources of this dynamic asceticism, we can conclude that they have an ascetic and eschatological orientation, which is intimately connected to their therapeutic and redemptive character.

EUCCHARIST AS A SOURCE OF THE ASCETIC LIFE

Although the references to the Eucharist in Metropolitan Hierotheos' work are neither frequent nor detailed, they do reveal his

conviction that the sacrament plays an indispensable role in the life of an Orthodox Christian. There is, however, an ambiguity that can be detected in his presentation of the nature and place of that role in the "ascetic life in grace." Sometimes, he appears to place the Eucharist outside of the therapeutic and ascetic process, preferring instead to reserve it as a goal of asceticism. On other occasions, His Eminence gives the impression that the Eucharist is very much a part of man's therapy, leading the reader to infer that the Eucharist is a source of the ascetic life. In *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, he writes:

It may well be regarded as a shortcoming that we have not also listed Holy Communion within therapeutic treatment. But we must underline and lay great stress on the fact that we regard the Eucharist, the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ as indispensable for man. The Lord emphasized: "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink of his blood, you have no life in you" (John 6, 53). But it is well known that holy Communion is preceded by purification and preparation. If the therapy about which we are speaking here does not come first, then the receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ is "unto judgement and condemnation." Ecclesiology and eschatology cannot be understood without therapeutic training. So we are not undervaluing the Holy Eucharist, but by emphasizing the value of ascetic practice and therapy we are exalting the great gift of the Eucharist. On the other hand, the aim of what we have written is mainly to make clear the precise path, which ends at the altar, so that Holy Communion may become light and life.²³

In this passage, the Eucharist is quite separate from "ascetic practice and therapy." The latter is seen as the path, which leads to the former. His Eminence feels that "by emphasizing the value of ascetic practice we are exalting the great gift of the Eucharist," but must the two be considered two separate moments, with one leading to the other? Or can the ascetic path which "ends at the altar" not also be intersected by it along the way?

In Metropolitan Hierotheos' reflection on the Eucharist we find an overriding pastoral and theological concern: proper preparation is required in order for the Eucharist to be redemptive. This is a well-established principle of Orthodox spiritual practice. Having acknowledged it, however, is it not possible to allow a place for the Eucharist in the therapeutic process? Could we not say that the "ascetic practice and therapy" that precede the Eucharist are also in fact

nurtured by it? Indeed, the encounter with Christ in the Eucharist becomes the source of the desire to know Him and be known by Him. It provides a true impetus and direction for asceticism. It would seem that the Metropolitan's position on the Eucharist and asceticism would in no way be weakened by admitting the Eucharist into the therapeutic process so long as the integrity of the ascetic preparation were fully retained. "Ascetic practice and therapy" provide the indispensable context for the Eucharist, but they are in turn nourished by the Eucharist, which is itself therapeutic. In this way the Eucharist, taken in its ascetic context, is both a source and a goal of the ascetic life.

In another passage on the Eucharist, Metropolitan Hierotheos adds a dimension to his teaching, which is not visible in the first quotation. Commenting on the basic qualities of priest-therapists, he writes:

*Through the Eucharist we may enter into holy humility and acquire that sacrificial way of life. Therefore in celebrating the Divine Liturgy we are not simply looking for the bread and wine to be transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ but seeking to acquire Christ's way of life. And this is humility. We seek to clothe ourselves in the spirit of the Eucharist, which is self-emptying.*²⁴

Here the Eucharist is an entrance into the life of Christ and a means of acquiring His "holy humility." What His Eminence is describing pertains to deification and certainly seems to be connected to the therapeutic process. In this instance, we do not acquire humility through ascetic discipline; rather, we enter into it through the Eucharist. This stands in contrast to several other references to humility in *Orthodox Psychotherapy* in which we see humility as a virtue gained through ascetic struggle.²⁵ We may conclude from this that humility is acquired both through living the ascetic life and through participation in the Eucharist. In the first case, it is the fruit of patient and persistent obedience and self-sacrifice; in the second, it is a gift graciously received through the eucharistic celebration. The former does not contradict the latter; both represent essential aspects of the spiritual life. We do find here, however, an example of how the Eucharist can be a source, and not only a goal, of the ascetic life.

In his work *The Person in the Orthodox Tradition*, Metropolitan Hierotheos stresses the uniqueness of Orthodox spirituality and differentiates it from pseudo-pietism²⁶:

Pietism is a movement which developed in the protestant domain

*and is inspired by external acts of piety, which have no reference to the inner domain. In Orthodoxy when we speak about movement from the image to the likeness and about man's union with God, which is achieved through the sacraments and asceticism, and especially through partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, when we look at this teaching within the teaching of our deified saints, this is not pietism.*²⁷

His Eminence reiterates a theme found in his earlier works regarding asceticism and the sacraments with one important addition: "...especially through partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ...." The Metropolitan is ascribing a primacy to the Eucharist, which is not apparent in other places where he discusses the essential elements of the Orthodox spiritual life.²⁸

While there are insufficient grounds to posit an evolution or shift in the author's perception of the relationship between sacraments and asceticism, there does seem to be ample evidence to suggest that the Metropolitan has an intuition that the Eucharist must be more than the goal at which one arrives after the requisite preparation of "ascetic practice and therapy." It is my contention that the ambiguity which can be detected in the Metropolitan's presentation of the place of the Eucharist in the spiritual life comes from this intuition.

CONCLUSION

Metropolitan Hierotheos has made a very significant contribution to twentieth-century Orthodox theological reflection in several important ways. In his many books, he has presented a very compelling argument from patristic sources that the main hallmark of the Orthodox ascetic tradition is its therapeutic character. He has done this without marginalizing the sacramental life; rather, he has convincingly articulated the relationship between asceticism and the sacraments, which is intrinsic to Orthodox spiritual life. The nature of that relationship has not been fully explored in the Metropolitan's works, but an important basis for further discussion has been established. Particularly noteworthy is the Metropolitan's presentation of the priest as a therapist, an image of the priesthood, which is certain to leave its mark on Orthodox pastoral theology for many years to come.

In the context of this essay, I have examined briefly some of the

main references to baptism and Eucharist in His Eminence's work and have highlighted their connection to "ascetic practice and therapy." Metropolitan Hierotheos has done a very thorough study of the fathers in order to provide us with a summary of their teaching on the ascetic life. A task awaiting the Metropolitan and other Orthodox theologians, however, is the elucidation of the connection between sacraments and asceticism based on *liturgical* sources and practice. A very rich resource for this study could be the Lenten liturgical cycle, which contains within it much of the Church's teaching on this topic. One specific example of this is the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts; it is a classic illustration of how the Eucharist can function simultaneously as a source and a goal of ascetic practice. How interesting and edifying it would be to see Metropolitan Hierotheos bring all of his pastoral experience and reflection on patristic readings to bear on this and other expressions of the Church's liturgical life.

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¹Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, *Saint Gregory Palamas as a Hagiorite*, trans. Esther Williams (Leviaia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, 1997), 372.

²Hierotheos, *Palamas*, 70. Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, *Orthodox Spirituality*, trans. Effie Mavromichali (Leviaia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos

Monastery, 1998), 68-69.

³Hierotheos, *Palamas*, 370.

⁴*Ibid.*, 371.

⁵Hierotheos, *Orthodox Spirituality*, 66.

⁶*Ibid.*, 73-75.

⁷Hierotheos, *Orthodox Spirituality*, 75.

⁸Hierotheos, Archimandrite [Metropolitan of Nafpaktos], *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, trans. Esther Williams (Levadia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, 1994), 73.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 73.

¹¹Hierotheos, *Orthodox Spirituality*, 66.

¹²*Ibid.*, 67.

¹³Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 37-38.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 160-161.

¹⁵Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 161.

¹⁶Hierotheos, *Orthodox Spirituality*, 74.

¹⁷Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 73.

¹⁸Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, *Life after death*, trans. Esther Williams (Levadia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, 1996), 101-102.

¹⁹Hierotheos, *Life after death*, 102.

²⁰Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 161.

²¹Hierotheos, *Life after death*, 102.

²²For a description of the eschatological asceticism practised by the apostolic Church, see Jordan Aumann, *Christian Spirituality in the Catholic Tradition*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989), 25-27.

²³Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 54-55.

²⁴Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 85.

²⁵Hierotheos, *Orthodox Psychotherapy*, 240, 285, 291, 294, 306, 308.

²⁶The Metropolitan's description of pietism does not correspond to the character of classical Protestant pietism. Spener, Francke, Zinzendorf and other pietistic authors placed a great emphasis on an inner transformation which they connected to a personal experience of conversion and a conscious awareness of the presence of God in the heart of the believer. It would be helpful to know what exactly the Metropolitan has in mind – a decadent form of Puritanism, perhaps? In any case, if the idea is to point out some differences between Orthodox spiritual life and pietism then His Eminence's point is well taken, not so much, however, because pietism is "inspired by external acts of piety, which have no reference to the inner domain," but more because pietism was (and is) overly individualistic and subjectivist. Orthodoxy, while engendering experiential theology, is also a therapeutic *science*.

²⁷Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Nafpaktos, *The Person in the Orthodox Tradition*, trans. Esther Williams (Levadia, Greece: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery, 1998), 149-150.

²⁸Cf. *Palamas* 372 and *Orthodox Spirituality* 66, where the sacraments and asceticism are presented as important aspects of Orthodox ecclesial-spiritual life without any special emphasis on the Eucharist.

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The Challenge of Metaphysical Experiences Outside Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Response *

**METROPOLITAN MAXIMOS OF AINOS
AND PRESIDING HIERARCH OF PITTSBURGH**

Time Magazine carried the following article in its June 15, 1988 issue: *Will it be coffee, tea, or He?* Religion was once a conviction. Now it is a taste. The author, Charles Krauthammer, reports on his hospital visit, when the nurse asked him: "What is your religious preference?" He responded: "I like Buddhism; but it happens that I am a Jew." Consecutively, the author speaks of developments regarding religion. From a conviction, religion became a preference. It is like entering a supermarket, and honor your preference.

Orthodoxy remains a good challenger, when it comes to truth. The opportunity is now given to it to present its truth. I thank His All Holiness for giving me the opportunity to address the topic of supernatural experiences outside Orthodoxy, the challenge they present for Orthodoxy, and the Orthodox response to them. The topic is rather vast. I have tried to limit it to the most well known metaphysical experiences, and especially those which have an impact upon the lives of our Christians in the U.S.A. These same experiences impact everyone else. The main body of my paper will deal with methods which seek these experiences on the basis of religious data. Thus, three of them are related to the so-called Eastern Religions, Hinduism and Buddhism. They are the method of Transcendental Meditation

* *Editor's Note:* This challenging and informative essay was delivered in Greek at the Hierarchical Synaxis in the Phanar and published in *Orthodoxia*. We are pleased to publish here the English version, which was submitted to us by the former Archbishop Spyridon of America.

(TM), Yoga, and Zen. I will also touch upon Dikr, the corresponding method of the Muslims.

The next category of metaphysical experiences are American, with elements coming from abroad. They are the Relaxation Response, New Age, and Scientology. Finally, I will dabble on "life after life" experiences, the apparitions of the Mother of God at Zeitoun, Cairo, Egypt; Shentena El-Hagar, Menufiya, Egypt; and Medjugorje, Croatia, former Yugoslavia. Finally, I will dabble with the most recent developments of the Protestant charismatic movement, namely the Toronto Blessing, or the Revival of Laughter.

Before we deal with the aforementioned metaphysical experiences and offer an evaluation from an Orthodox point of view, it is important to repeat 10 important points offered to us by His All Holiness, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew in his Keynote Address to the Synaxis of Patriarchal Ruling Bishops at the Phanar, August 29, 1998. The Patriarch gave the foundation of these experiences, both authentic and unauthentic, and established criteria for the examination of these experiences and their classification. His All Holiness said:

1) Western scholasticism reduced the divine truths and God Himself to concepts. Even communion with God is a conceptual enterprise. Thus, genuine experience of God beyond concepts and ideas and the participation in the uncreated light and the energies of God in general become an impossibility for the West.

2) Consequently, for the West, all metaphysical experiences of all religions are nothing but deception, illusion, trance, and the like. As a proof of this, just remember the position of Barlaam and Akindynos regarding the Uncreated Light of the Holy Hesychasts, and the dispute regarding this Light between them and Saint Gregory Palamas.

3) Unfortunately, even today, some Orthodox theologians are influenced by these positions of the enemies of Saint Gregory Palamas. These theologians doubt the authenticity of well attested metaphysical experiences, even of those which are indisputably accepted as such by the Church (as, for example, those of St. Symeon the New Theologian). It follows that the experience of the divine presence is prohibited to the Christian, not only of the West, but also of the Westernized East.

4) As a consequence of this, the experiential contact with the non-

earthly world is left to the devil-lead non-Christians, and to those Christians who are deceived by them. The situation has arrived at the explosive dissemination of various like-minded and Satan-led movements. Some of them lead their followers to suicide or to criminal acts against innocent people. Such an example was the movement led by Jim Jones at Guyana. It is our pastoral responsibility to confront the flood of the messages coming from these movements for the information and protection of our Orthodox flock.

5) On the one hand, Orthodox Christians believe that there is a reality which is different from the earthly one: it is the reality comprised of the All Holy Trinity, whose life is made accessible to man through Christ and the Holy Spirit; this reality is also comprised of the saints, whose leader is the All Holy Theotokos. On the other hand, there are Orthodox Christians who, influenced by a Westernized spirit, live and behave as if this non-earthly reality does not exist.

6) However, tens of thousands of their fellowmen, from all religious traditions, reassure them of the existence of genuine and touchable spiritual, metaphysical experiences.

7) The dilemma regarding these experiences is an existential one: are they real or not? The traditional Orthodox answer, grounded in the Holy Scripture, in the correct one: Orthodoxy neither accepts, nor rejects these experiences, but evaluates them on the basis of Saint Paul words: "Beloved, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits, whether they are from God" (I John 4:1).

8) Most of the metaphysical experiences outside Orthodoxy are the product of deception (*πλάνη*, *prelest*). This deception is not so much physical as is spiritual. These experiences are existential experiences caused by evil spirits of deception, which are vested with the garment of truth and appear as angels of light.

9) The Orthodox Church has the responsibility to give the right answer regarding each of these experiences. This is so not only for the sake of its own children, but also for the sake of every human being, especially when these experiences are considered by some as the work of the Holy Spirit (as, for example in the case of the so-called "charismatic movement"). Thus, the following criteria of authenticity of the metaphysical experiences have been established: a) The first criterion is the faith of the saint, who has the genuine metaphysical

experience and has the gift of discerning the spirits. b) The second criterion is the faith of those who were led astray by a spirit of deception, and returned to the Church. They know the spirits of deception, because they were their victims. c) The third criterion is the wisdom of those who may not have the metaphysical experience themselves, but are well versed in the knowledge of genuine metaphysical experiences as described in Philocalia and the teaching of the Neptic fathers. These last ones give detailed descriptions of the characteristics of both the genuine, and the deceitful experiences, which are the result of the interference of evil spirits.

[To these Patriarchal criteria one may add the Orthodox *sensus fidelium* (sense of the faithful) in general, and, in particular, the counsel of the spiritual father and the decision of the local bishop, or, if warranted, the decision of a council of bishops.]

10) Unfortunately, the Patriarch remarks, spiritism, the occult, black magic, magic celebrations and the like, have flooded the earth. They are projected by the news media, provoking curiosity and participation. Just a negative stand against them is not adequate. Responsible study of these phenomena and appropriate response are very much needed.

In the light of these Patriarchal remarks, we undertake the brief study which follows regarding metaphysical experiences outside Orthodoxy and the Orthodox response.

I. TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION

So-called "Transcendental [Deep] Meditation" (hereinafter TM) is presented as a method for reducing or completely eliminating the stress that characterizes modern man.

The aim of this method is to transcend the senses and mental activity, and to acquire full and transcendental self-consciousness beyond the intellect, where self-consciousness opens up to itself.

In principle, according the advertisements for TM, the immediate results of using this method are the improved spiritual and physical health of the user; the increase and use of his creativity; the support of the Law of Nature; increased productivity in industry; healing and improvement of human relations in general, and specifically of the relationships of family members; decrease of crime in society; and finally the creation, acquisition, and advancement of personal and

worldwide peace.

Moreover, and inasmuch as additional religious elements from Hinduism are added to this method, he who practices this method is given extraordinary, seemingly “supernatural” powers of the mind (*siddhis*), through which seemingly supernatural phenomena are displayed, such as becoming invisible, passing through walls, levitation, oscillation, flying, hallucinations, and other similar seemingly “metaphysical” phenomena. All these phenomena are known to Hinduism and the *fakir* tradition.¹

The method was created in India by Guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, a disciple of the famous Guru in India named Guru Dev. Maharishi went off to a cave for two years, where he cultivated the simplified method of TM based on the Hindu tradition called *Vedic*. He tried to teach it in India without results. He then decided to go West, “where people are favorably disposed to new ideas,” he said. In 1959 he went to San Francisco, California and founded the “Institute for Spiritual Regeneration” for the promotion of TM.

After two-years of no success, Maharishi’s movement progressed when the rock music band “The Beatles” joined for a while. Many actors and artists followed. Among these were Shirley McLaine and Mia Farrow. Around 1971 the movement gained about 100,000 followers, with 2,000 trained teachers. In 1975 the movement advanced to its height with 600,000 followers, and 40,000 new followers each month. At this time the movement infiltrated the American army, public schools, prisons, hospitals, and unfortunately Christian groups and parishes, among which, according to Fr. Seraphim Rose were also parishes of our own Archdiocese in America.²

The reason the movement spread was that it advertised that TM demands nothing. No preparation is necessary, neither natural (e.g. fasting), nor intellectual, nor spiritual. TM is for everyone, regardless of religion or philosophical, moral or other presuppositions. According to Maharishi, his method is as easy “as brushing your teeth.” Hindu teachers of meditation (*Yogis*) criticize Maharishi for debasing the Hindu meditation tradition (*Yoga*) for financial gain. In fact, in 1975 tuition for lessons in TM was \$125.00 for adults, \$25.00 for college students, and even less for high school students and minors. Maharishi’s income then was around “twenty million dollars a year. Pretty good for a technique that came out of a cave,” observes Fr. Jack Sparks.³

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the founder of TM, insists that TM does not have a religious shade. This is what advertisements for TM maintain to this day. In fact, particularly characteristic is the book by Robert Roth, *Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's TM, Transcendental Meditation, revised and updated edition: A New Introduction to Maharishi's Easy Effective and Scientifically Proven Technique for Promoting Better Health, Unfolding Your Creative Potential and Creating Peace in the World*.⁴ The last time this book was revised and published was in 1996. In 194 pages, the author of this book maintains that Maharishi's method is based only on scientific and psychological data, without any religious or philosophical basis and presupposition whatsoever. While he repeatedly mentions the simple, practical method, he never says anything about the specific rite of initiation, its place, manner and time, and the specific consequences, particularly the method's "failures." Such failures include demonic influence and possession, depression, mental and emotional illness, the inclination for suicide and homicide, and other such things that affect at least some of those who practice the method and that are due, unfortunately, to its religious character.⁵

Actually, the reason one cannot learn the method from the books, the videos or the cassettes, as the author says (p. 153), is because there must be a religious rite of initiation, in a suitable room full of incense smoke, with lit candles (the only dim light), and a huge photograph of Guru Dev to which offerings are made and idolatrous worship is rendered. The offerings include a seemingly strange collection of three sweet fruits, at least six flowers, and a clean handkerchief.⁶ The offerings are offered during the religious rite *Puja*, which is performed in Sanskrit (a language unknown, of course, to the non-Indian young followers and users of the method), during which rite glory and worship are offered to the (pagan) "god" Guru Dev.⁷

Finally, the initiate receives a so-called *mantra*, an exclusive word known only to himself and which he may not disclose to anyone; otherwise the word becomes useless. The initiate repeats this word insatiably when practicing TM twice a day for twenty minutes at a time. The method is effective, as documented scientific studies show.⁸

The question is: How is the TM of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi evaluated from an Orthodox Christian point of view? Can the method, in fact, be reconciled with Christian presuppositions, faith in Christ,

and the life in Christ?

The answer is simple: We are talking about a method that is based on pagan pseudo-worship and deification of a common mortal, Guru Dev. Many Christians in the past would have sacrificed their lives rather than offer sacrifice and worship to the idols. In this sense, Guru Maharishi's TM is wholly unacceptable and hence rejected. As far as its overemphasized results, apparently these are offered "for a price," not so much monetary as spiritual. What we are talking about is that the "initiated" victim of TM gives his soul possibly unwillingly and unwittingly, inasmuch as the pagan character of the *Puja* rite evades him.

The unhealthy conditions that in some cases accompany the users of the method can be easily explained. They are due to the use of the *mantra*, (a *mantra* is a short word in Sanskrit, alliteration of the word *Om*), during which the false gods of Hinduism are invoked. Phenomena such as bouncing in the air, hovering and flying, invisibility, passing through walls, increasing the transcendental powers of the mind, mind reading, etc. are easily explained. They occur through the mediation of "unclean spirits," i.e. demons. This is precisely the case of so-called "fakirism," in which all these seemingly transcendental and supernatural phenomena occur by means of demonic intervention.⁹

According to St. Basil the Great, it is true that a man's mind (*nous*), if given over to demonic influence, leads the man to destruction. However, says the Saint, "the *nous* is good, and in it we have the image of the Creator." He continues: "When the *nous* is given over to the influence and acceptance of the Holy Spirit's indwelling and illumination, it leads the man to knowledge of God and theosis (participation in divine life)."¹⁰ Hence, in the life in Christ there can be no justification for transcending and belittling the *nous* in the quest for "transcendental experiences" without the *nous*. The "transcendental experiences" of the life in Christ are the results not of human spiritual powers, but the work of the All-holy Spirit and the Name of the Lord Jesus. An example of this is the illumination by the eternal divine Light given to hesychasts through the practice of noetic prayer.

TM is essentially a new version of Hindu Yoga. The French Benedictine monk J. M. Dechanet was correct in saying that the experience of the user of the method reeks of Hindu pantheism: "The art of the yogi is to establish himself in a complete silence, to empty

himself of all thoughts and illusions, to discard and forget everything but this one idea: man's true self is divine; it is God, and the rest is silence."¹¹

What is curious is that this same French monk uses the method, "Christianizing" it and calling it "Christian Yoga." Fr. Rose rightly considers Dechanet's conviction and effort to be "spiritual deception" or *prelest*, the outcome of demonic influence. Actually, the true version of a "Christian Yoga" is, according to Fr. John Meyendorff, the Hesychastic Method itself, which uses the same as Yoga technique to arrive at the contemplation of the uncreated divine Light.¹²

II. RELAXATION RESPONSE

In 1975, the year "Transcendental Meditation" was at the height of its success, a very important book was published by the physician and Harvard professor Herbert Benson: *The Relaxation Response* (i.e. rest from fatigue and relaxation from stress by means of meditation).¹³

Noah Gordon, editor of the periodical *The Journal of Human Stress*, wrote characteristically about this book: "Herbert Benson, M. D., has combined the results of some of the leading stress research with the lasting humanistic wisdom of the great religions, to produce a work that is more than a fascinating reading experience. *The Relaxation Response* can show those of us who are trapped in the Twentieth Century how to lower our blood pressure, change our harassed personalities, and, perhaps, even save our lives."¹⁴

Also, the renowned Harvard Divinity School professor Harvey Cox writes about the same book: "In the midst of all the blather about mind cures and faith healing and the angry refutations of both, Dr. Herbert Benson has written an unsentimental, astonishingly sensible book about stress, relaxation and how certain techniques known to religious people for eons can actually help ordinary people to better health. There is no legerdemain here, just good research, solid reasoning and good sense. This book will not end causes of stress in anyone's life. That may be impossible. But it may help many of us to live with stress more comfortably and maybe even to live longer because we do."¹⁵

The book immediately became the nationwide number one best seller. The technique it describes is applied in many hospitals throughout America. There are special centers for this technique at Beth Israel/

Deaconess Medical Center and at Mind/Body Medical Institute at the Queen's Medical Center. Special ads offering Dr. Benson's method, revised, improved and updated, are available to subscribers of the Internet.

The pocket edition promotes the book as "a simple, meditative technique that has helped millions to cope with fatigue, anxiety, and stress." The regular edition is more explicit: "The Relaxation Response — A simple meditative technique that will unlock hidden asset and help you: Relieve inner tensions; Deal more effectively with stress; lower blood pressure; [and] Improve your physical and emotional health."¹⁶

The technique of "Relaxation Response" meditation, which is the basis for all later adaptations, is described in the main text of the book. Dr. Benson says: "From the age-old techniques we have extracted four basic components necessary to bring forth the response." He then enumerates these components: a) *A Quiet Environment*; b) *A Mental Device*, like a *mantra*, or the *Jesus Prayer*, on *ONE*; c) *A Passive Attitude*, considered as the most important element for the response; and d) *A Comfortable Position*, like sitting, but not lying down to avoid the tendency to fall asleep.¹⁷ There follows the description of the technique:

1. Sit quietly in a comfortable position.
2. Close your eyes.
3. Deeply relax all your muscles, beginning at your feet and progressing up to your face. Keep them relaxed.
4. Breathe through your nose. Become aware of your breathing. As you breathe out, say the word "ONE" silently to yourself. For example, breathe IN ...OUT, "ONE," IN...OUT, "ONE;" etc. Breathe easily and naturally.
5. Continue for 10 to 20 minutes. You may open your eyes to check the time, but do not use an alarm. When you finish, sit quietly for several minutes, at first with your eyes closed and later with your eyes opened. Do not stand up for a few minutes.
6. Do not worry about whether you are successful in achieving a deep level of relaxation. Maintain a passive attitude and permit relaxation to occur at its own pace. When distracting thoughts occur, try to ignore them by not dwelling upon them and return to repeating "ONE." "With practice, the response should come with raffle effort. Practice the technique once or twice daily, but not within two hours after any meal, since the digestive process seem to interfere with the elicitation

of the Relaxation Response.¹⁸

So what should we think about the "Relaxation Response" method? It is certainly safer than so-called TM. There is no danger of demonic influence. There is no danger of idolatry. What we have here is a purely medical and psychological method, without any religious overtones. Dr. Benson succeeded in doing what Guru Maharishi only promised, that is he "dereligionized" and secularized Hindu Yoga.

Instead of the Hindu mantra (*Om*), Dr Benson uses the neutral word "ONE." The results are similar with those promised by TM, but of course, safer.

It should be noted here that similar to the "Relaxation Response" method is the *Hesychastic Method*, in conjunction with the Jesus Prayer. Quite simply, in place of the word "ONE" is the Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me the sinner." The difference is that the Prayer is divided into two parts: the first half ("Lord Jesus Christ") is said while inhaling, the second half ("have mercy on me the sinner") while exhaling. In other respects Dr. Benson's method could be considered a copy of the Hesychastic Method. Dr. Benson is aware of the Hesychastic Method.¹⁹ However, he fails to mention the experience of the divine (uncreated) light at the end of the process. He does mention this experience while talking about the teaching of St. Augustine.²⁰

To be sure, the similarity between other methods and the Hesychastic one is due to the technique, and only to the natural results. But there is no comparison as regards the spiritual results: the peace of Christ "that surpasses all understanding" that fills the heart and being of the Hesychast; and the Light of Christ that is not the product of fantasy and demonic influence, which could be the case with "metaphysical experiences" outside of Christianity, but that is the very uncreated light of the Lord that the disciples saw on Mount Tabor, the Light of Christ's Resurrection that the disciples saw, and that modern-day disciples see every Holy and Great Saturday afternoon as it flows out of the Lord's All-holy Sepulcher.

It should be said here in passing that similar to Hindu Yoga is also the *Dhikr* of Islam. Instead of the Hindu mantra, according to the Sufi tradition, there is an invocation of the name of God. This repeated invocation receives a life of its own and becomes continuous and the cause of illumination for him who is praying. Among the numerous invocations are the following: *Allah* (God), *Huwa* (He),

Allahu Akbar (God is great), and *La ilaha ill'llah* (no one is god but God).

Of course, this God is not the Christian God Who is communion of persons and hence a God of love. As far as the experience of light is concerned, it cannot be the "uncreated light" seen by the Hesychasts. But, in my opinion, it might be a small bit of illumination leading to the fullness of light, the Light of Light, the light of True God from True God, the Light of Christ that "illumines every man coming into the world," the Light of Christ that "shines on all."

III. THE 'METAPHYSICAL EXPERIENCES' OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism was created by the Indian monk Gotama Sidhartha Sakyamouni Buddha and has a history five hundred years older than Christianity. It numbers from 150 to 350 million souls, i.e. 5.55%–12% of the entire population of earth. Gotama Sidhartha "understood creation as a valley of tears and sighs, and he sought redemption from this dismal reality through purification, gazing, expression, and concentration." In this effort of his, he founded a religion bearing his name as "Buddha" (the Enlightened one), Buddhism, without a god at first, then later pantheistic, "which in the effort to annihilate the core of human distress finally together annihilated life as well."²¹

Panotes writes: "Concerning the illumination of Sidhartha Gotama the texts bear witness with great precision. In the seventh year of his ascetic life, after long spiritual exercises and systematic self-concentration, he fell into a very deep ecstasy under the fig tree. For seven days, having gradually loosed himself from the impressions of the environment, the bonds of the world and his own imperfections, he ascended step-by-step into the highest serenity and self-bliss (Nirvana). ... Then he recalled all his incarnations and those of the other creatures, and he understood the law of universal order.... Having attained this highest knowledge, from *Bodhisatva* (learner) he becomes Buddha (Illumined, Perfect, Most High); and the tree under which the revelation occurred became the tree of divine illumination (*Bodhi*)."²²

Buddha addresses his brother Buddhists, exhorting them to remove distress from their life by "fully removing the will to live," so that they might attain "liberation, wisdom, perfection, [and] Nirvana."²³ According to Buddha, "each man is the creator of his own prison."

Consequently, "salvation comes from within, not from without," and "it is open to all." Panotes writes more about the Buddha's doctrine:

Redemption is for all beings. The way to knowledge depends on recognizing the fact of distress and ascertaining its origin, and also on the need to expunge it. The effective medicine for erasing distress is the eradication of the insatiable desire for self-preservation, the "will to live" (*tanha*). Only this stops the motion of the wheel of successive and repeated rebirths and transmigrations (*samsara*), and it leads to the attainment of the absolute ballast, Nirvana, which is not the annihilation of existence, but the disappearance, the erasure, the stillness of the personal Ego.²⁴

In the *Glossary* that accompanies the proceedings of the first Buddhist Conference in America (Boston, Jan. 17-19, 1997), the word *nirvana* is defined as follows: "Nirvana (Skt.) lit. "extinction," the final liberation from the cycle of rebirths, or *samsara*, and deliverance into a wholly new mode of existence. This is the ultimate goal of Buddhist practice and is attained by ceasing all desire and being in the complete absence of all desire."²⁵

The above stated doctrine of Buddhism has a peculiar ring in America, especially since, as Buddha would say, "salvation comes from within, not from without," and it is "open to all." In the first pages of the recently republished book *The Complete Guide of Buddhist America*, we read the following: "We Americans can no longer look outside ourselves for peace and happiness. We have reached the limits of our external expansion. It is now time to listen to and practice the principles of the *Buddhadharma* [Buddha doctrine], to turn our energy inward, and to discover that the search for paradise that has always brought people to America ends ultimately in the discovery and the purification of one's own mind."²⁶

More than one thousand Buddhist Centers for Meditation operate in America and Canada. A full catalogue is provided in the recent edition of the *Guide of Buddhism*, with a documented introduction to Buddhism by researchers, teachers and students of Buddhism, and with an introduction by the Dalai Lama. A vast amount of literature can be found in every American bookstore. Among the Buddhist Centers in America is also the Institute for Buddhist Studies/Narngyal Monastery in Ithaca, New York. It should be noted that this is the "personal monastery" of the Dalai Lama, and it does quite a bit of

proselytizing among Americans. The Dalai Lama himself participates in scientific, medical and other conferences, presenting the teachings of Tibetan Buddhism on a variety of topics.²⁷

Among the branches of Buddhism in America, Tibetan Buddhism holds a special place. One of the positions of its followers is that “we are all Buddhas,” and we are responsible “to awaken the Buddha within us.”²⁸

The traditional Hindu method of Meditation with Buddhist and Tibetan application takes up many pages in the aforementioned Buddhist writings. In the aforementioned work by Lama Surya Das, the sixth and final step of ascent to Buddhist illumination is that of meditation.²⁹ The traditional method is examined and presented in detail. It consists of concentration, controlled breaking, the use of a mantra, the transcending of the barriers of the thoughts and their dissolution, knowledge of things as they truly are, knowledge of self, and eventually nirvana through transcending the Ego. At the end of his book’s introduction, Lama Surya Das offers the following characteristic poem relevant to the method of meditation: “*Breathe. Breathe again. Smile. Relax. Arrive where you are. Be natural. Open to effortlessness. To being rather doing. Drop every thing. Let go. Enjoy for a moment this marvelous joy of meditation.*”³⁰ An Orthodox Hesychast could not have better described the correct disposition that ought to precede the use of the method of meditation.

The same author says more about the method in his article “We Are All Buddhas: The Joy of Meditation and the Natural Great Perfection,” in the aforementioned work *Buddhism in America*.³¹ Another documented study in the same book dealing with the subject of Meditation and the Buddhist method is “The Unique Teachings of Tibetan Buddhism Meditation and its Future in the West,” by Lama Sherab Dorje.³² A new element of the Tibetan Buddhist method, about which both of the above-mentioned Lamas write in their aforementioned articles, is mental “visualization.” The theory claims that one can change his identity and become whatever he desires, for within himself exist all the potentials. What is problematic with this teaching is that he who is in meditation can visualize Buddhist deities whom he desires to imitate.³³

We said that this element of Tibetan “visualization” is problematic because the Buddhist deities, whose actual existence some doubt, are in fact demons, as are all pagan gods.

Concerning the method itself and its results, the same applies as does to TM. As in TM a mantra is used, which, according to its definition in the aforementioned Buddhist *Glossary*, is sacred in character. As for Buddhist illumination, in one sense (Fr. Rose) it cannot but be the false illumination of the demons (Satan appearing as an angel of light). Or in another sense, it is the weak illumination of fallen man and the fallen image that finds its restoration and full illumination only in Christ Jesus.

In a general way, Buddhism is of a rather humanistic character. Regarding its common teaching with Hinduism on transmigration of souls and reincarnation we shall say more in our refutation of the malicious doctrines of the "New Age." Suffice it to say here that this malicious doctrine is foreign to and completely rejected by Christianity, for it does not take seriously the uniqueness of the human personality and the teaching of Holy Scripture concerning man as God's image refashioned in Christ Jesus.

IV. ZEN BUDDHISM

For Zen Buddhism, which is of Japanese origin, we depend mainly on the work by Fr. Seraphim Rose, *Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future*.³⁴

The Irish priest William Johnston wrote a book titled *Christian Zen*. This book is as reprehensible and condemnable as the aforementioned book on Christian Yoga. The author is motivated by the need Christians in the West feel to respond to the demands of modern man's heart. The author finds that Zen Buddhism "has opened up new vistas, teaching me that there are possibilities in Christianity I never dreamed of." One may "practice Zen as a way of deepening and broadening his Christian faith," the author says.³⁵

The technique of Zen is similar to that of Yoga, although it is much simpler. The same physical position, controlled breathing, repetition of the mantra, and the like hold for Zen as they do for Yoga. Just as in Yoga and Tibetan Buddhism, the aim of this technique is the destruction of rational thought and the acquisition of silent and still meditation. The user of this method descends into the depths of his being in silent meditation without images. This experience is similar to what drug abusers feel.³⁶

For the author, this experience brings one closer to Christ, for it is a new approach, less dualistic and more oriental [eastern]. Through

Zen, even absolute beginners can attain “a sense of union and an atmosphere of supernatural presence” (our emphasis). Through Zen, the state of meditation, which used to be the exclusive privilege of the few is now attainable to all, for anyone can have visions, and anyone can receive the illumination (*samadhi*).³⁷

The author of Christian Zen maintains that the Zen experience is neutral, the same for Christians and non-Christians. At a Zen conference in Kyoto, no one was asked which faith they represented, for faith was not necessary. This “agnostic character of meditation” has a great advantage for “missionary” purposes, for “in this way meditation can be taught to people who have little faith,” the author says. Thus, those who are attracted by Zen can eventually join the Christian faith.³⁸

The Zen experience of illumination is described by the author in such a way as to identify it with the “universal” experience of Shamanism (pagan religion of the Urals that believes in spirits) and other pagan religions. The author says, “I myself believe that within us are locked up torrents of joy and can be released by meditation—sometimes they will burst through with incredible force, flooding the personality with an extraordinary happiness that comes from one knows not where.”³⁹

It is very interesting that when the author returned to America after spending twenty years in Japan, he found that the experience of the Pentecostals very nearly approached the Zen experience. He himself received the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” during a “charismatic meeting.” The author concludes: “Retuning to the Pentecostal Meeting, it seems to me that the imposition of hands, the prayers of the people, the charity of the community—these can be forces that release the psychic power that brings enlightenment to the person who has been consistently practicing *zazen*.”⁴⁰

Clearly, the response to the positions taken by the author of Christian Zen is the same as that given to the author of *Christian Yoga*: Just because two people say similar things does not mean they are the same! Only someone who has no idea whatsoever about the Orthodox ascetic, hesychastic tradition and spiritual life could make the connection between Zen and Christianity and indeed citing the *Philokalia* and the so-called “Jesus Prayer.” Fr. Rose says: “Such ignorance is positively dangerous, especially when the professor invites the students at his lectures, as an experiment in ‘mysticism,’ to ‘sit in *zazen* for forty minutes each evening.’ How many sincere,

misguided false prophets there are in the world today, who think they bring benefit to their fellow men, whereas in fact they lead them to psychic and spiritual disaster!"⁴¹

On the other hand, Fr. Rose has very positive things to say about the Zen Buddhist Monastery in Northern California, on Mount Shasta, the "holy" mountain of its original Indian inhabitants. The Monastery was founded in 1970 by Jiyu Kennet, an English woman and Buddhist by birth who was taught the Zen method in Japan. The success of the "monastery" (where Buddhist priests, men and women, are trained) lies, on the one hand, in that it combines faithfulness to the Zen tradition and experience, which is guaranteed by the "abbess;" and on the other hand, in the closeness of this Buddhist tradition to the contemporary thought and inclinations of the American public, and particularly the youth.

In conclusion, Fr. Rose says about Zen Buddhism that it lacks theology, and therefore, as in the case of Hinduism, it cannot discern between good and bad spiritual experiences. In his own words, "Zen, without any theology, is no more able than Hinduism to distinguish between good and evil spiritual experiences; it can only state what *seems* to be good because it brings 'peace' and 'harmony,' as judged by the natural powers of the mind and not by any revelation—everything else it rejects as more or less illusory. Zen appeals to the subtle pride—so widespread today—of those who think they can save themselves, and thus have no need of any Saviour outside themselves."⁴²

It should be noted here that there is some literature that serves to advocate the "values" of Zen, such as the very popular novel by Robert M. Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, with characteristic subtitles such as, "An Inquiry into Values," and "The Fabulous Journey of a Man in Search of Himself."⁴³

V. THE "NEW AGE" MOVEMENT

Many of the elements which we already mentioned in relation to Eastern Religions (Hinduism, Buddhism) and the medical method of relaxation through meditation found their final place in the Gnostic religious movement of the West which answers to the name "New Age." The phrase "New Age" (known to the Orthodox from the *Akathist Hymn*, which characterizes it as "beguiling") was popular in the generation of the Hippies in the 60's (*The New Age of Aquarius*). This phrase was likewise used in esoteric circles of "fraternal or-

ders" (as in Masonry).

However, the year 1975, when TM was at the height of its success, and Fr. Seraphim Rose's book on *Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future* was first published, was also the year of the "revelation" of the "New Age" movement. The signal was given by the avowed enemy of Orthodoxy, Alice Baily, who also became one of the principal members and founders of the movement. Ms. Baily ordered her disciples to begin distributing the already formulated evil doctrines of the heresy. The disciples, of course, obeyed.

The time was right for this attack of the Antichrist on the Christian West. Modernism was until then the avowed opponent of Christianity. As far as Modernism was concerned, Christianity, as well as any other revealed religion, could not be taken seriously, because revealed truth and faith cannot withstand the trial and torture of the science lab. The transition to the post-modernist years freed Christianity from Modernist attack, but it simultaneously permitted every other religion and pseudo-religion to claim equal rights. In the post-modernist age objective truth no longer exists. Consequently, every personal idea and false teaching has to be respected, inasmuch as it is truth for him who considers it as such. This Relativism is what allowed the advancement of Eastern Religions in the West and of the false doctrine of the Western religious movement "New Age."

This amorphous false doctrine of "New Age" is a syncretistic mixture of Gnostic and pagan elements, some of which were already "around in pre-Christian times." To these were added false doctrines of Eastern Religions, such as the transmigration of souls and reincarnation; pantheism (according to which every human being is a god); the abolishing of the idea of evil and hence of the moral code; the use of demons and mediums (channeling) to attain supernatural experiences and cures; visualization, by means of which one accomplishes whatever he desires to accomplish and other such.

To these false doctrines is added the open assault and blasphemy against Christianity as follows: The Creator creates celestial companion energies, some of which travel to earth and become earthly companion energies. The latter, subject to the laws of nature, began to have the experience of pain, anxiety, isolation and loneliness, illness and death. They lost their "higher self" and became "lower self." Left to themselves, the earthly companion energies would be able to rise to "higher self" and become celestial after much effort and suc-

cessive reincarnations. Fortunately for them, help arrived from the celestial companion energies that had never landed. And this is precisely where Christianity comes in. One of these celestial energies is Jesus Christ, who voluntarily makes every effort and transcends every obstacle in order to attain his own perfection and to come to the aid of the other earthly energies. It is understood that Jesus' contribution is through example and direction, helpers being the "guardian angels" and the "guiding spirits," Satan, that is, and his "angels"! Moreover, every other earthly energy has the same potential as Jesus Christ to become, through perfection, whatever Jesus is. As in Tibetan Buddhism, where "We are all Buddhas," so in the "New Age" movement, "We are all Christs!"

The blasphemy of the "New Age" does not stop here. The "New Age" continues: Jesus is not the Son of God. He too goes through successive reincarnations. The first of these is that of Adam in Eden. There, when he sinned, he realized that he would become "Savior" of humanity (to be sure, not through the Cross, for neither the incarnation of the Son of God nor the Cross have a place in the system of the false doctrine of "New Age"). Later he was reincarnated as Enoch, Melchizedek, and Joseph. He went to India, Tibet, Persia, and the Far East. There he was initiated into the method of Yoga and was invested with many spiritual powers. As for the All-holy Virgin, she was the "sister soul" of Jesus. The blasphemy regarding her is that she was one of the cult prostitutes of Solomon's Temple. Yet another blasphemy about Christ is that Jesus had sexual relations with Mary Magdalene!

Unfortunately, the evil doctrine of the "New Age" immediately found, and still continues to find, acceptance among people of all classes and age groups. After Shirley McLaine, many more actors followed as members of this pan-heresy. Among musicians is listed the Greek-American "Yannis." Businessmen, merchants, doctors, teachers, scientists, laborers, taxi drivers, politicians, government officials, all types of people, are potential victims of this mythical evil doctrine. The most pitiful (needy of pity) victims are the innocent school children, who are exposed to the "New Age's" evil doctrines which have entered everywhere, including the public education system. At school they are taught that "everything (including God) is within them," that they can become whatever they "visualize" that they desire to become. They participate in TM meetings; they are exposed to demonic influences; they are taught the relativity

of truth and the relativity of the moral code.

Here are some of the reasons the “New Age” is attractive to the masses.

1) It has to do with Hot New Trends.

2) It offers altered states of consciousness (meditation, past-life regression, sensory-deprivation tanks, hypnosis, and metaphysical experiences).

3) It offers natural healing.

4) It encourages personal transformation.

5) It offers them personal power and control over themselves and others.

6) It offers “mystical spiritual knowledge” of ancient or alien cultures.

7) It promises spiritual fulfillment.

8) It responds to people’s curiosity.

9) And finally, it offers social fulfillment and acceptance.

The doctrine, practice, and metaphysical experiences of the “New Age” are, from an Orthodox standpoint, reprehensible for the same reasons as the previously examined meditation methods based on Eastern Religions and paganism. Specifically,

1) the use of mediums and the attainment of metaphysical experiences by means of them are of the same quality as those belonging to the other methods, namely they are of demonic origin.

2) “Visualizations” cannot magically effect personal changes nor attain what is naturally unattainable. This is the solely work of God’s grace.

3) The pantheistic doctrine concerning man being a “god” is an ancient pagan heresy, and hence rejected as such.

4) The doctrine of reincarnation is contrary to the uniqueness of the human personality, which is an unrepeatable psychosomatic union, to which is granted the potential for perfection in one and only earthly life.

5) The doctrine concerning the creation of celestial fellow powers, the trip to earth, their “fall” into “lower self” and the necessity of their return to heaven and their rise to “higher selves” (celestial companion energies) reeks of Greek mythology.

6) The story of Jesus as a “heavenly companion energy” reeks of American mythology (compare it with Mormonism). The accounts of Jesus’ visits to the Orient, relations with Mary Magdalene, and the Virgin Mary in the Temple are impious blasphemies, with absolutely no basis in historical reality.

7) The abolishing of sin and evil as a reality, and the abolishing of

the moral code and future judgment serve to paralyze the moral order. It is the beginning of the creation of the "religion of the future" under Satan's influence, about which Fr. Rose correctly wrote.

8) The naming of the evil spirits as "guiding spirits" and "helpers" that act through mediums is an erroneous teaching (*prelest*) that only Satan himself could inspire.

9) The ceasing to view Satan as being the opponent of God and man is of satanic origin.

10) The insensibility to sinfulness and man's deification without God are an ancient sin of man: such was the sin of the first-created humans in Eden and of the builders of the Tower of Babel.

11) Finally, instead of the impossible "self-fulfillment" and "self-perfection" subtly promised by the "New Age," he who desires this fulfillment and the fullness of divine life can find it only where it is, with the Lord of Life, in Christ Jesus, through Whom we have access to the Father and Source of Life, in the All-holy, Good and Life-giving Spirit.

For more on the evil doctrine of the "New Age" see the popular "new age" publication, *A Course in Miracles*,⁴⁴ and Richard Webster's *Spirit Guides and Angel Guardians*,⁴⁵ wherein the evil doctrine concerning evil spirits as spirit guides may be found.

For an Orthodox point of view, see the epilogue in Fr. Seraphim Rose's *Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future*, article by R. Damascene Christensen on the "Signs of the Religion of the Future in the 1990's."⁴⁶

Also from an Orthodox point of view, see Fr. George Nicozisin's unpublished work, *New Age: An Orthodox Christian Response*.⁴⁷

Regarding the "New Age" book, *A Course in Miracles*, please keep in mind that these are the goals of the book: a) to teach that there is no such a thing as *guilt*, and that we are forgiven as we forgive one another; b) the book overemphasizes the "gentleness" (read weakness) of Jesus; and c) the book tries to "correct" all the "mistakes" of Christianity, especially those according to the "New Age" "non-existing guilt" and "not needed salvation."⁴⁸

VI. SCIENTOLOGY

From an Orthodox point of view, no official response was yet given to the other American pan-heresy, so called "Scientology." Theologian priests of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America have

attempted provisional responses. One of them is Fr. George Nicozisin.⁴⁹

However, the main response has been given by American Evangelicals. Of special importance is the thorough study of John Weldon.⁵⁰

Let me begin with the summary of John Weldon's article:

The Church of Scientology is a controversial new religion developed by L. Ron Hubbard as an extension of his earlier psychological theories of Dianetics. Drawing on ideas from Buddhist and Hindu religious philosophy, science fiction, and Western concepts in psychology and science, L. Ron Hubbard produced a religion that sees all human beings as immortal spirits (thetans) who have forgotten their identity and become deceived by the very universe they mentally emanated in order to amuse themselves. Scientology claims it can free the thetan to realize his or her true nature and powers through certain controversial procedures that allegedly heal the mind and free the spirit.

Although the [so-called] church claims its beliefs are not incompatible with Christian faith, an evaluation of what Scientology teaches in the areas of God, man, the creation, salvation, and death proves this is not so. Scientology is a powerful new religion whose teachings are inconsistent with the beliefs of orthodox Christian faith. *Ours is an age of religious cacophony as was the Roman Empire of Christ's time.* From agnosticism to Hegelianism, from devil-worship to scientific rationalism, from theosophical cults to philosophies of process: virtually any world view conceivable is offered to modern man in the pluralistic marketplace of ideas. Our age is indeed in ideological and societal agony, grasping at anything and everything that can conceivably offer the ecstasy of a cosmic relationship or of a comprehensive Weltanschauung [world view]....

One of the most intriguing and controversial items found in today's religious marketplace is The Church of Scientology. The [alleged] church was founded by Lafayette Ronald Hubbard (1911-1986) in California in the 1950s as an extension of his earlier nonreligious theory of Dianetics.... (Dianetics is believed to deal with mind and body; Scientology with the human spirit, although they necessarily overlap in places. According to the [alleged] church, technically, "para-Scientology" is that branch of Scientology involving past lives, mysticism, the occult, and so forth.... For our purposes, the term Scientology is employed in its broadest sense.)

Today Scientology boasts over 700 centers in 65 countries and is one of the wealthiest of the new religions. Celebrities such as Tom Cruise, John Travolta, Kirstie Alley, and Sonny Bono are only a few of the Hollywood faithful who actively endorse Scientology. But this new religion also has its critics, as still circulated issues of Readers Digest (May 1980, September 1981) and Time Magazine (May 6, 1991) reveal.⁵¹

From this summary it is clear that Scientology is not a “church.” Instead, it is a gnostic/theosophical system of thought. As Fr. Nicozisin said, “it is a kind of thought and an art which aims at conducting man to the highest level of self-knowledge and self-confidence.”

The reason why Scientology is successful in America is, first of all, its syncretistic character. According to Hubbard, Scientology borrowed most of its elements from all over, but especially ancient wisdom, especially religious. After it organized its system, it is the only one which succeeded in reaching the goal of all religion, that is the liberation of the human soul through wisdom. The other important reasons are its practicality, and the assurance it gives that through the use of its method (Dianetics) the improvement of the function of the human mind is guaranteed, and so is success in human life.

The basic teaching of Scientology is epistemological. According to it, the mind is divided into two components, the analytical, and the reactive. The first one conceives the ideas, reasons, and remembers. The second one registers the experiences of the analytic mind, and especially the negative ones: pain, extreme shock, trauma, sudden disturbance, unconsciousness, and the like. These registered feelings, impressions, and mental pictures are called “engrams” (from the Greek *Engramma*, a thing which is registered). These “engrams” are the cause of our emotional, but even physical problems. Only Scientology can free us from the “engrams,” through the use of the “dianetic” method. Specifically, through the method the “engrams” are transferred from the reactive mind; they are faced, and deleted. Thus, the mind becomes “clear,” and man regains control of himself.

Unfortunately, Scientology informs us, through reincarnations “we have all been accumulating engrams for trillions of years.” Each of us is a thetan, that is an immortal spirit, which at death abandons the body and enters a new body. This thetan brings with it the engrams from previous incarnations. It forgets its immortal and divine nature. It forgets its true nature, and thinks it is a body, whereas it has abso-

lute control over the body. Thus, the thetans lose their freedom, and become bound to the MEST (matter, energy, space, time) universe. Only Scientology can liberate the thetans. As advertised, this is Hubbard's great discovery.

Through Dianetics, the user of the method manages to discover his true nature, which is that of an enlightened theta free from engrams whether old or new. In 1954, Hubbard discovered an instrument which can help to detect engrams: it is called an e-meter (electrometer). Allegedly, through the use of this meter there is more control of the engrams and the healing from them is guaranteed!

The critics of Dianetics have a different opinion. They doubt the efficacy of Dianetics, and the cleansing and healing of the human mind it advocates.

Generally speaking, Scientology is the object of strong criticism, especially from the Christian point of view.

There are several points of contention including: its teachings regarding God, man, creation, salvation, death, and, finally, metaphysical powers and experiences and the influence of unclean spirits (spiritism, or demonology).

(1) Regarding theology, Scientology is pantheistic. God is the totality of thetans. Where is the Teaching of the Bible regarding the One and Triune God?

(2) Man is not a thetan, as Scientology teaches. This thetan actually does not exist! Man is not a spirit imprisoned in a body (Platonism!) which becomes re-incarnate at death. Man is not a spirit, which is divine. According to the Christian teaching, man is a unique psychophysical being. He is created in the image of God, and invited to participate in the life of God (theosis).

(3) Creation is not the result of a game of the thetans, as Scientology teaches. It is the product of the Will of God the Father, who creates through His Son, and perfects His creation through His Holy Spirit.

(4) Man's salvation is not the cleaning of the thetan from its engrams. It is the washing away of man's sin, to be understood as failure to reach the life of theosis. It is the healing of man's selfishness. Salvation cannot be achieved by the self-consciousness and self-realization of the thetan. Salvation is only granted by the only Savior, Jesus the Lord, in the Holy Spirit.

(5) Death is not the liberation of the thetan so that it may be re-incarnate. For Scientology, man's death is of no consequence and

significance because death is repeated innumerable times. For Christianity, death is unique for each human person, as life is also unique, and eternity depends on it.

(6) Finally, regarding demons, Scientology teaches that psychic powers, (evil) spirits and out-of-body events can be used in order for the thetans to rediscover their true powers. This for us Christians means that Scientology uses the occult (spiritism). The son of Ron Hubbard admitted that "black magic is the inner core of Scientology." And Ron Hubbard himself confessed that "a spirit entity guided him throughout his life." Finally, a good number of scholarly researchers have verified the occult nature of Scientology.

Indeed, in spite of Scientology's affirmations according to which its purpose is to enhance mental health, the reality is that the use of the famous Dianetic method has already damaged many people. The call upon unclean spirits has already created many problems. The same can be said regarding the processes of Scientology and the inexperience of its "auditors" (counselors). The problems include hallucination, irrational behavior, severe disorientation, strange bodily sensations, physical and mental illness, unconsciousness, and suicide. Hubbard admitted most of the above hazards, "although he maintained that they occurred only through misapplication of the technology of Scientology."

For verification and completion of the above information, I recommend the reading of two of the most popular books. They are: (1) Lafayette Ronald Hubbard, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*;⁵² and (2) same author, *Scientology: The Fundamentals of Thought*.⁵³

VII. OTHER METAPHYSICAL EXPERIENCES

This last section of my talk will dabble with the following: first, the "life after life" or "after death" experiences, a universal phenomenon well attested by physicians. Second, the apparitions of the Mother of God outside the canonical boundaries of Orthodoxy, and their significance for the Orthodox; and third, the so-called "Toronto Blessing," or "The Revival of Laughter," a ridiculous event of the contemporary so-called charismatic movement, so characteristic of our post-modern times.

a. *'Life After Life,' or 'After [Temporary] Death' Experiences*

In the 70s, thanatology acquired special importance as a result of the publication of an exciting book by a young doctor. It was the work of Dr. Raymond A. Moody, *Life After Life*.⁵⁴

The doctor collected information from 150 persons who had the experience of a temporary death, and who returned to life. These experiences included: leaving the body, encountering familiar people who died, and the encounter of a "being of light." This last being receives the temporary dead with goodness and love and encourages him. What is the Orthodox interpretation regarding these events?

An involved Orthodox response was given to these findings of Dr. Moody by Fr. Seraphim Rose, in his book *The Soul After Death*.⁵⁵ The experiences of death as separation of soul and body are well known to Orthodoxy, Fr. Seraphim says. Dr. Moody has revealed to us nothing, which is strange regarding this point and regarding these experiences.

With regard to the second point, "encounter with others," Fr. Seraphim establishes that these "others" are not the souls of the departed ones, but unclean spirits. The presence of the saints, men and angels, is an exception. They, as well as the Lord Jesus Himself may appear, in the case of righteous Christians to encourage them at their death, whether temporary or final.

Regarding the third point, that of the presence of a "being of light," Fr. Seraphim thinks that this is the result of satanic deception (prelest). The Bible instructs us that at times Satan appears "as an angel of light" to deceive the Christians.

The interpretation of these experiences of temporary death needs further discussion. However, one thing is certain, that these experiences of "near death" or "after [temporary] death" situations confirm the Orthodox Christian teaching regarding life after death, as well as the presence of spirits (clean and unclean) during the experiences of death, whether temporary or final.

b. *Apparitions of the Mother of God in "non-orthodox" space*

When we speak of "non-Orthodox" space, we understand the space, which is not covered by the visible canonical boundaries of the Eastern Orthodox Church. We shall briefly examine the following recent manifestations of the Mother of God:

(1) Zeitoun, Cairo, Egypt (1968-1970)

From April 2, 1968 and on, for two years, the Mother of God appeared repeatedly over the domes and the roof of the church which bears her name at Zeitoun, Cairo, Egypt. Thousands of Christians, not only Coptic, but also Roman Catholics and Protestants, and even Muslims and tourists became eyewitnesses of the event. They saw the Mother of God appearing and blessing the faithful in the shape of bright light formations. The Mother of God was accompanied by luminous doves moving in high speed.

The Coptic Patriarch Kyrillos the VI issued a special announcement confirming the authenticity of the event. The apparitions were accompanied with many miraculous healings, and with great renewal of the Christian faith. The faith gained many converts as a result of these apparitions. What should we think?

There is no doubt that this is a genuine miracle, in support of the Christian Faith and Church in Egypt, at a time during which this support was very much needed. In view of the Orthodox dialogue with the Coptic Church, Orthodoxy may rejoice at this special blessing given to the Coptic Church by the Mother of God.

(2) Shentena El-Hagar, Menufaya, Egypt (1997)

Nearly thirty years later after Zeitoun, the Mother of God appeared again in Egypt. This time it was at a small and poor village church, which also bears the name of the Mother of God, in Shentena El-Hagar, Menufaya. Tens of thousands of pilgrims were eyewitnesses of the apparitions, which were also accompanied by miraculous healings. The Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Coptic Church, Bishop Bishoy, made the following statement to the press, confirming the news: "The Virgin appears here even more clearly than in Zeitoun. I have never seen Her that way. I have presented a report to his Holiness [Coptic Pope Shenouda III]."

As with the previous apparition, Orthodoxy may rejoice at this new blessing of the Mother of God to the Coptic Church.

(3) Medjugorje, Croatia, former Yugoslavia (1981)

On June 24, 1981, 15 year old Ivanka Ivankovic and 16 year old Mirjana Dragicevic were returning home from work. Looking toward the hill called Crnica, Ivanka saw a bright silhouette of a woman.

She said to Miriana "It is Gospa" (Our Lady). The next day the girls returned with four more children. In her conversations with the children, the Mother of God was calling herself "the Queen of Peace." The Mother of God gave innumerable messages to the children, addressed to their compatriots, the Roman Catholic Croatians. Among these messages, the following are the basic ones: conversion, prayer, fasting, faith, peace, and reconciliation. The Mother of God also entrusted the children with 10 secrets, which will be revealed at an appropriate time.

At the beginning, the Croatian Roman Catholic Bishops rejected the supernatural character of these visions and messages. The present Roman Catholic Bishop of Mostar also rejected the supernatural character of the same, saying that this is his personal opinion. When Rome was recently asked regarding the authenticity of these apparitions, Rome decided that a new synod of the Croatian Bishops should be convened to re-discuss the topic. In the meanwhile, Roman Catholic Christians may visit Medjugorje as pilgrims. How do we evaluate these apparitions from an Orthodox perspective?

It was reported in the press that the Franciscan Croatian monks are behind these miraculous apparitions of the Mother of God in Medjugorje. These same monks are linked with the massacre of 800 thousand of Serbian Orthodox Christians in Croatia. The center of the massacre was Medjugorje. If this is true, one can understand why the Mother of God appeared in Medjugorje, why she gave the messages and entrusted the 10 secrets to the innocent children.

This is my personal conviction.

c. To "Blessing Of Toronto" Or The "Revival Of Laughter"

A great part of the book of Fr. Rose, *Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future*, deals with the refutation of the so-called "charismatic movement" among Protestants. Fr. Rose considers it a deception and an apostasy. He calls upon the Orthodox to reject it.

With regard to "laughter in the Holy Spirit," Fr. Seraphim wrote: "Here perhaps more clearly than anywhere else the 'charismatic revival' reveals itself as not at all Christian in religious orientation."⁵⁶ The so-called charismatic phenomenon of "laughter in the Holy Spirit" is widely spread in our days. It is considered as the most significant event in the bosom of liberal Protestantism following the event, which

started the charismatic movement in Azusa Street, Los Angeles, California, in 1906.

The laughter movement started in 1944 at the Airport Vineyard Church of Toronto. It is known as the "Toronto Blessing," or "The Revival of Laughter." It spread quickly throughout the Protestant liberal world. The worshippers of this Protestant charismatic worship burst in uncontrollable laughter, weeping, groaning, shaking, falling on the floor, behaving like drunks, and, most recently, crawling on the ground, barking like dogs, pawing the ground and snorting like bulls, and emitting other animal noises, a behavior which is described as a "cross between a jungle and a farmyard."⁵⁷ From an Orthodox point of view, this behavior is regarded as a clear case of demonic possession.

In the same way there are supporters of this laughter movement, considering it to be healing, renewing and refreshing, there are also its severe critics. No one doubts that joy is one of the main fruits of the Holy Spirit. No one among the Orthodox doubts that "behold, through the Cross, joy came to the world." But is this great joy of the Cross the same as that of the charismatic laughter? The Orthodox have reason to doubt it.

EPILOGUE

Fr. Rose cleverly stated that through, on the one hand, the relativistic approach to truth by the post-modern man, and, on the other, the use of deception and pretext, Satan prepares for the "religion of the future." It is a religion under his own satanic influence and control. For Fr. Seraphim, the deception of the devil to begin with is to hide himself under the methods of meditation, the metaphysical experiences and phenomena connected with the Eastern Religions, and the Protestant charismatic movement.⁵⁸

Indeed, a non-critical acceptance of these methods and a non-critical acceptance of the "metaphysical experiences outside Orthodoxy" would have been a victory for the Antichrist. For it is through them that he prepares for his own religion of the future.

To the contrary, a careful examination of these methods and the metaphysical experiences, which are their result, allows us to "examine the spirits if they come from God." Thus, we will undertake the work of which St. Basil speaks, when he asks us to imitate the

honey bees, which know how to distinguish between the nectar that God put in His creation, and the poison introduced to it by the devil.

In a very concrete way, I would like to submit the following:

(1) I suggest that all the metaphysical experiences, the above and those similar to them, be carefully examined by our Holy Orthodox Church and an official response be given to them.

(2) A small committee of five experts should be established in order to create a textbook regarding all these experiences. The textbook will be used by parish priests and catechists.

(3) The remarks of His All Holiness regarding the principles which regulate the authentic metaphysical experiences whether within or outside Orthodoxy will be utilized by the experts. It is important to realize that the authentic metaphysical experiences are not only allowed, but are desirable and necessary part of the religious experience of the fully aware Orthodox Christian.

(4) Our Sunday Schools should teach the Hesychastic Method of meditation and the experiences which result from it, namely that of inner peace and that of the uncreated divine Light, according to the teachings of St. Gregory Palamas, the Holy Hesychasts, and the Neptic Fathers.

(5) The fine criteria established by His All Holiness should be taught to the students of Orthodoxy, in order for them to be able to distinguish between authentic and unauthentic metaphysical experiences. The extra criteria of the spiritual father, the *sensus fidelium*, the bishop and episcopal assemblies (synods) may be added to the Patriarchal criteria.

(6) Let the mass media be utilized for the propagation of the Orthodox faith in general and for the metaphysical experiences in particular. Among these media we should include: the Internet and Cyberspace (WWW), Radio and Television, periodicals and newspapers, tracts, videocassettes, cassettes, and the like.

(7) In a few words, let us make every possible effort to share the teaching of Holy Orthodoxy in general, and that concerning the metaphysical experiences in particular, with everyone who is willing to know the teaching of our Church, a teaching which is always based upon the Gospel and the totality of revealed truth.

In some strange way, the relativistic spirit of our post-modernistic times favors the propagation of our Orthodox Christian faith. Now more than ever the opportunity is given to us to "give a defense to

everyone who asks us a reason for the hope which is in us" (I Peter 3:15). Let us not miss this opportunity.

Simultaneously, the interest of the Western World in Eastern Religions, gives a fair opportunity to Orthodoxy to compete. Being oriental, it has its own attraction, and stands a good chance to introduce its own precious merchandise of revealed and total truth into the religious Western supermarket of the post-modernist times.

As His All Holiness, our Ecumenical Patriarch has repeatedly stated, the hour of Orthodoxy has come. The hour has come for us to share our treasure. The hour has come to share the Kingdom within us. The hour has come to put the Light of Christ on the lamp stand, in order for it to shine to all those who still sit in darkness and the shadow of death. Let us share the light of holy Orthodoxy! Let us listen to Christ, Who tells us: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father [Who is] in Heaven" (Matthew 5:16).

NOTES

¹ Unsigned article on "Γιόγκα" (Yoga) in *Θρησκευτική και Ήθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 4 (Athens: Athanasios Martinos Publisher, 1964), pp. 517-519.

² Seraphim Rose, *Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future* (Platina: Saint Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1966), p. 46.

³ Jack Sparks, *A Look at the Current Cults: The Mind Benders* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc., Publishers), p. 35.

⁴ Robert Roth, *Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's TM* (New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1994).

⁵ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 51.

⁶ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 47; Sparks, *Mind Benders*, p. 30.

⁷ Sparks, *Mind Benders*, pp. 30-32.

⁸ Roth, *TM*, in many places.

⁹ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, "A Fakir's 'Miracle' and the Prayer of Jesus," pp. 30-35.

¹⁰ St. Basil the Great, *Letter 233*, 1-2; PG 32:864C-65C.

¹¹ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 39.

¹² John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London: The Faith Press, 1964), pp. 139-40.

¹³ Herbert Benson, *The Relaxation Response* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1975).

¹⁴ Quoted on the back cover of Benson, *Relaxations*.

¹⁵ Benson, *Relaxation*, back cover.

¹⁶ Benson, *Relaxation*, front cover.

¹⁷ Benson, *Relaxation*, p. 112.

¹⁸ Benson, *Relaxation*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁹ Benson, *Relaxation*, pp. 85-87.

- ²⁰ Benson, *Relaxation*, p. 80.
- ²¹ A. Panotes, "Buddhism," in *Encyclopedia of Ethics and Religion* [in Greek], vol. 4, p. 966.
- ²² Panotes, *Buddhism*, p. 975.
- ²³ Panotes, *Buddhism*, p. 976.
- ²⁴ Panotes, *Buddhism*, p. 978.
- ²⁵ Al Papaport-Brian D. Hotchkiss, *Buddhism in America, Proceedings of the First Buddhism in America Conference*, (Boston: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1997), p. 560.
- ²⁶ Don Morreale, *The Complete Guide of Buddhist America* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1998), p. vii.
- ²⁷ It should be said in passing that the Buddhist monks in Ithaca are knowledgeable users of computers and the Internet. They make wide use of them to promote not only Buddhism, but also political ideas, such as backing certain parties and defending their homeland of Tibet. Lately they were invited to bless Cyberspace (www), and they addressed an appeal for its positive and not negative use. This, as they said, depends "on those who use the Internet and Cyperspace."
- ²⁸ Lama Surya Das, *Awakening the Buddha Within* (New York: Broadway Books, 1997), pp. 3-22.
- ²⁹ Surya, *Awakening*, pp. 334-375.
- ³⁰ Surya, *Awakening*, pp. 21-22.
- ³¹ Lama Surya Das, "We Are All Buddhas: The Joy of Meditation and the Natural Great Perfection," in *Buddhism in America*, pp. 202-215.
- ³² Lama Sherab Dorje, "The Unique Teachings of Tibetan Buddhism Meditation and its Future in the West," in *Buddhism in America*, pp. 36-53.
- ³³ Lama Surya Das, *Awakening*, pp. 366-7; and Lama Sherab Dorje, *Unique Teachings*, p. 49.
- ³⁴ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 42-45, 62-67.
- ³⁵ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 43.
- ³⁶ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 43.
- ³⁷ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 43.
- ³⁸ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 44.
- ³⁹ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 44.
- ⁴⁰ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 45.
- ⁴¹ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 45.
- ⁴² Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 66.
- ⁴³ Robert M. Pirsing, *Zen and the Motorcycle Maintenance* (New York: Bantam Books, 1984). Please note that I found the following comment in a review of this book on the Internet. "The book is not about Zen, art, or motorcycles, so please don't mind the title. The protagonist is a rhetorician. The title is a rhetorical title. Pirsing defines a 'classic-romantic split' that explains why we have too many technology products that are more frustrating than useful. He argues that quality can't be found in objects (products) or subjects (critics), which explains why evaluating quality is difficult."
- ⁴⁴ Foundation for Inner Peace, *A Course in Miracles* (New York: Viking, 1996).
- ⁴⁵ Richard Webster, *Spirit Guides and Angels Guardians* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1998.)
- ⁴⁶ R. Damascene Christiansen, "Signs of the Religion of the Future in the 1990's," in Rose, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 201-213.

⁴⁷ George Nicozisin, *New Age: An Orthodox Response* (Boston: 1986), unpublished.

⁴⁸ For the details on this see: Bob Larson, *Straight Answers on the New Age* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1989), p. 196.

⁴⁹ George Nicozisin, *Scientology: An Orthodox Christian Response* (St. Louis: 1994), unpublished study; the same year the lecture was translated in Greek and distributed in Athens.

⁵⁰ John Weldon, "Scientology: From Science Fiction to Space-age Religion; Understanding Scientology in simple terms!" An article from the *Christian Research Journal*, Summer 1993, page 20 ff.

⁵¹ Weldon, *Scientology*, p. 20.

⁵² Lafayette Ronald Hubbard, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health* (Los Angeles: Bridge Publications, Inc., 1995).

⁵³ L. Ron Hubbard, *Scientology: The Fundamentals of Thought* (Los Angeles: Bridge Publications, Inc., 1997).

⁵⁴ Raymond A. Moody, *Life After Life* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976).

⁵⁵ Seraphim Rose, *The Soul After Death* (Platina: St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1995), specially pp. 1-21.

⁵⁶ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 205.

⁵⁷ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 205-206, and Daina Doucet, "Toronto: God's 'Meeting Place'," in *Charisma Magazine*, February 1995.

⁵⁸ Rose, *Orthodoxy*, p. 188.

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The Challenge of Patristic Ontology in the Theology of Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon

DR. ATHANASIOS G. MELISSARIS

One of the most original and most profound theologians of our age.

Yves Congar, Bulletin d'Ecclésiologie

I. Born in Greece in 1931, John D. Zizioulas originally enrolled in the University of Thessaloniki, but soon transferred to the School of Theology at the University of Athens from which he graduated in 1955. He did graduate work in Patristics at Harvard Divinity School with G. Florovsky, G. Williams, and K. Stendahl, and at Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. In 1965 he submitted his now classic dissertation "The Unity of the Church in the Holy Eucharist and in the Bishop in the First Three Centuries"¹ (in Greek) to the School of Theology faculty in Athens, Greece, which earned him his doctoral degree.

He has held faculty positions as Professor of Systematic Theology at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow for fourteen years, and as Visiting Professor in King's College, London, in the University of Geneva, and the Gregorian University, Rome. He is currently Professor of Dogmatics at the University of Thessaloniki School of Theology. In 1973, he was elected a member of the Brussels International Academy of Religion, and in 1993 a member of the Academy of Athens, thus receiving the most prestigious academic honor in Greece. He has also served as Secretary for Faith and Order, World Council of Churches in Geneva, and has been a key member in the Anglican-Orthodox dialogue. In 1986, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople honored his contribution to theological letters and

to the modern ecumenical movement by calling him from the ranks of the laity to be a bishop, under the title Metropolitan of Pergamon.

His highly original, creative thought attracted world attention with the publication of his long article on personhood based on the Cappadocian Fathers' Trinitarian Theology ("From Mask to Person: The Birth of an Ontology of Personhood"), now published, with additional essays, in *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (in French *L'Être Ecclésial*, Genève & Paris: Labor et Fides, 1981). Among his more recent noteworthy articles, are "Human Capacity and Incapacity: A Theological Exploration of Personhood" (A paper read at the Annual Conference of the British Society for the Study of Theology at Oriel College, Oxford, on 6 April, 1972, and later published in the *Scottish Journal of Theology*), which works out a new understanding of human nature, informed not by the now defunct matrix of "consciousness and rationality," but by the patristic belief in the possibility of theosis and the ensuing relational anthropology; "Christology and Existence: The Dialectic of Created-Uncreated, and the Doctrine of Chalcedon" (Published in the Greek journal *Synaxe* in 1982, it stirred a controversy in Greek Orthodox theological circles) wherein Zizioulas identifies death as the crucial existential problem of humankind, and interprets the salvific Christ event in ontological, not juridical terms; "The Church as Communion," and "Communion and Otherness," both published in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, in 1993 and 1994, respectively, which further build on the notion of otherness implied by the patristic concept of the person.

Zizioulas' thought remains provocative and challenging, because he is "actually dealing with the most contemporary, the most urgent, the most existential issues" (John Meyendorff)² facing the Christian faith, and beyond that, Western societies, today, and not least because his writings, shedding unexpectedly fresh light on the richness and depth of the great patristic tradition, are not always easy reading. As the late John Meyendorff points out in the Foreword to the American edition of *Being as Communion*, "Zizioulas' disciplined and critical mind finds itself in constant dialogue with others, either giving them credit, or criticizing them—mostly on grounds of one-sidedness, i.e. on the ground that they lack an authentically 'catholic' grasp of ecclesial reality."³ Running throughout his entire corpus is a passionate concern to demonstrate, in contemporary terms, the

existential significance for men and women of all ages of the Church, which he calls "a 'mode of existence,' a way of being,"⁴ rather than an institution based on the *a priori* acceptance of fleshless, abstract or dry doctrines. His interpretation of Church doctrines and patristic thought has drawn fire time and again from the more scholastic and conservative quarters of Orthodox theological scholarship,⁵ but has been hailed as profound and penetrating by most members of the younger generation of scholars, and many from the "old guard" as well.⁶ His name has become a frequent reference in books on Trinitarian and Systematic Theology beyond Greece, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world (for example, in Catherine Mowry LaCugna's *God For Us*, and more recently in *Persons, Divine and Human: King's Theological Essays in Theological Anthropology*, ed. by Christoph Schwobel and Colin Gunton, and *Trinitarian Theology Today*, ed. by Colin Gunton).

ZIZIOULAS' ONTOLOGY OF PERSONHOOD

*The Theological Enhancement of the Person: The Cappadocian Contribution*⁷

II. "Respect for man's 'personal identity' is perhaps the most important ideal of our times,"⁸ writes John D. Zizioulas in what is probably his most insightful, refreshing work, *Being as Communion*. In it he offers a dramatic exploration of Personhood and the authentic human Being, the two ideals highlighted by the sages of modern Existentialism, that nevertheless were ultimately ignored or down-trodden by the rising tide of commercial utilitarianism, on the one hand, and legalistic, infantile religiosity, on the other, lurking within the heart of modern industrial societies.

The search for true personhood, however (the very core of our being, and the significance of its meaning), has intensified in an astonishing way during the past decade, to the point of almost bringing forth an about-face in recent epistemology, shifting its orientation from a purely linguistic, fleshless pursuit, as it were, to an urgent introspection: Who am I? What am I?

For all the secular character of this quest, and its openly hostile treatment of religious worldviews (particularly because the latter tend to swallow up the individual, submitting him to the tyranny of doctrine), Zizioulas nonetheless maintains that the origins of authentic

personhood are intrinsically theological. In his own words,

Thus, although the person and "personhood" are widely discussed nowadays as a supreme ideal, nobody seems to recognize that historically as well as existentially the concept of the person is indissolubly bound up with theology. The person both as a concept and as a living reality is purely the product of patristic thought. Without this, the deepest meaning of personhood can neither be grasped, nor justified.⁹

What the author has in mind here is the Trinitarian understanding of God, which by extension applies to human personhood as well.

So they loved, as love in twain,
Had the essence but in one;
Two distincts, division none;
Number there in love was slain.

William Shakespeare's above verses on the human love of two people, writes Bishop Kallistos Ware,¹⁰ may be applied also to the divine love of the eternal Three. The Christian God, according to the Eastern tradition, is not just a unit, but a union, not just unity, but community; there is, in God, genuine diversity as well as true unity.¹¹ But why believe that God is Three in the first place?

In the last chapter [Ware explains in his book], we found that the two most helpful ways of entry into the divine mystery are to affirm that God is personal and that God is love. Now, both these notions imply sharing and reciprocity. First, a "person" is not at all the same as an "individual." Isolated, self-dependent, none of us is an authentic person, but merely an individual, a bare unit as recorded in the census. Egocentricity is the death of true personhood. Each becomes a real person only through entering into relation with other persons, through living through them and in them. There can be no man, so it has been rightly said, until there are at least two men in communication. The same is true, secondly, of love. Love cannot exist in isolation, but presupposes the other ... Personhood and love signify life, movement, discovery. So that the doctrine of the Trinity means that we should think of God in terms that are dynamic, rather than static.¹²

Zizioulas' explicit and unwavering commitment to ontology in his theory of personhood stems from his deep conviction that without it, otherness (the heart of what being a person is all about) cannot be sustained, but runs the constant risk of being, by way of reduction, swallowed up into cultural and hermeneutic practices. In this case,

selves are at best created by the discourses that purport to be about them. At worst, personhood lapses from a *who* to a *what* question.¹³ For example, human beings are classified into rigid categories in accordance with few distinct characteristics which are given an improper and unfair ultimacy, as in the case of the answer given to women by our culture (to this day) when they ask "who am I?" namely *you are a woman*. Here the implication is that people "have" personhood rather than *being* persons. Zizioulas operates instead with the view that personhood has the claim of absolute and irreducible being, which persistently refuses to see the self as a collection of various cultural, psychological and biological elements which may be subject to Reconstruction. Herein lies precisely the core of his theological struggle, that is, to protect the sanctity of the person, which lies in its otherness, by grounding otherness in the secure foundation of an absolute ontology.¹⁴

Zizioulas' point of departure for working out an ontology of personhood based on early patristic thought, has been the formulations of Trinitarian and Christological doctrines, through which the Church responded to heretical views distorting the faith. Zizioulas has striven to demonstrate the immediate relevance of true and sound doctrinal theology to human life, so that "Orthodoxy concerning the being of God is not a luxury for the Church and for man: it is an existential necessity."¹⁵ As he repeatedly points out throughout his corpus, Christian theology, especially as exemplified by the celebrated philosophical achievements of the Eastern Fathers, was never an "abstract" metaphysics or (even worse) a speculative philosophy that was meant to integrate or conform to the various prevailing "schools" of the times. It was rather *practical* and *pastoral* from the very beginning.

The meaning of these terms is twofold: it indicates, first, that Church doctrine did not come into existence in the abstract, so to speak, as the product of individual theologians thinking and writing in isolation, but sprung instead from the communal worship of the Church. Had it not been for the challenges posed by heretics (i.e., those who distorted the faith), the Church might have continued its worship without an explicit concern for a written theology. In Zizioulas' own words, "The Creed is not there for theologians to study, but for the communities to sing."¹⁶ Likewise, he charges such otherwise giants of "Christian" or religious philosophy as Origen and

Clement with an academic preoccupation that prevented them from arriving at a theological vision with far-fetching existential consequences:

The *ecclesial* experience of the Fathers played a decisive role in breaking ontological monism and avoiding the gnostic "gulf" between God and the world. The fact that neither the apologists, such as Justin Martyr, nor the Alexandrian catechetical theologians, such as the celebrated Clement and Origen, could completely avoid the trap of the ontological monism of Greek thought is not accidental: they were above all "doctors," academic theologians interested primarily in Christianity as "revelation." By contrast, the bishops of this period, pastoral theologians such as St. Ignatius of Antioch and above all St. Irenaeus and later St. Athanasius, approached the being of God through the experience of the ecclesial community, of *ecclesial being*. This experience revealed something very important: the being of God could be known only through personal relationships and personal love. Being means life, and life means communion.¹⁷

Zizioulas' words are echoed by Carrie Doering's own theological vision as a pastoral psychologist:

No matter what shape our ministry takes, we are continually called to be practical theologians. This means in part that our theology is continually formed and reformed in the midst of our practice ... This illustration of practical theology involves pastoral care and counseling; we could as easily illustrate the process of practical theology by reflecting upon the practice of teaching, preaching, administering or leading worship.¹⁸

It must be immediately added here, however, that for Zizioulas a theology shaped from *pastoral* experience is not arbitrary or simply conventional, since it comes from the heart of *ecclesial* experience, as well. Patristic doctrinal theology makes truth claims about God. Thus, patristic theology is not the bearer of genuinely existential significance because it is drawn from human (i.e., sociological) experience, but precisely because it is rooted in the being of God, which is reflected, however dimly and inexhaustively, by human beings, His icons. Because the theology Zizioulas puts forward based on the Fathers is *iconic* in this sense, it is also *ontological*, inasmuch as it is grounded in God as the only true "existent."

The term ontology is a key for understanding Zizioulas' overall

thought. It is inextricably connected with true life, as it was envisioned by the Fathers (who identified it with God and His uncreated, Trinitarian mode of being), and with the problem of death.¹⁹ Zizioulas' account of personhood owes its significance, to a large part, to the attribution to it of an ontological status, which turns otherness into an *absolute* category. "A study of the Trinity," he says, "reveals that otherness is *absolute*. The Father, the Son and the Spirit are absolutely different (*diaphora*, none of them being subject to confusion with the other two)." Otherness is moreover, he adds, "not moral or psychological but *ontological*. We cannot tell *what* each person is; we can only say *who* He is. Each person in the Holy Trinity is different not by way of difference of qualities but by way of simple affirmation of being who He is."²⁰

Hence, Zizioulas comes to a formulation of personhood affirmative of the concrete specificity and uniqueness of each person based on traditional Trinitarian doctrine. He sees, in fact, the modern quest of existentialist philosophers for an adequate personalism doing justice to the sanctity of our uniqueness, as having already been fulfilled in the Greek patristic endowment of personhood with ontological content, which came about as a result of the Cappadocian Fathers' removal of the category of *hypostasis* from that of *substance* (essence, *ousia*), and its identification with the unheard of in the ancient Greek world category of the *person*, namely the Trinitarian Persons. Zizioulas persistently underscores the existential (as well as the logical) need for theology not to give priority to substance over and against the person if it hopes to make this doctrine relevant to the human being. His words are worth quoting again:

From this a new concept of person will emerge, which in its ontological primacy over *ousia* will signify the aspiration of man towards true freedom, and thus make the Christian God, the Trinity understood properly, the only truly meaningful God. This notion of person emerging from such a doctrine is to become relevant for Man.²¹

What this reversal implied was that ontological primacy was now legitimately claimed by the "partial, insignificant person," previously consigned at best a secondary status by the Greeks, compared to the greater categories of the *polis* (the City-State) and the *cosmos*. This remarkable philosophical revolution changed forever the history of ontology, which was till then dominated by the "closed monism" of

the Greeks, and is worth exploring in some detail, since it is upon this turning-point that Zizioulas built his understanding of personhood.

The ancient Greeks, as is generally accepted, operated with a closed, monistic framework which posited a necessary attachment of God to the world (which deprived God of His freedom, to a certain extent), and also submitted the particular to the general, humankind to the *cosmos*, the being to the impersonal substance, and freedom to necessity, from which "not even the gods could escape," as the ancient saying goes. This beautiful, harmonious, but closed and engulfing world view was preserved as late as the last representatives of neo-Platonism, and may be called (in our idiom) a metaphysics of *substance*, since everything in it was subjected to the impersonal, general, and ahistorical "substance," which assumed different forms (for example, it may be identified with Plato's Forms, Aristotle's species, the Plotinian One, etc.). Zizioulas quotes Plato from his *Laws* as offering a classical instance of the above substantialist tendency:

But thou fairest to perceive that all partial generation is for the sake of the whole in order that for the life of the whole blissful existence may be secured. For it (the whole) is not brought into being for thy sake, but thou art for its sake.²²

This contrasts sharply, Zizioulas goes on to add, with the world views presented by the Bible and patristic literature, which see humankind's creation as *following*, not preceding the rest of creation, and indeed for the sake of humankind. But such a reversal of traditional ancient Greek (and Oriental, one may add) cosmology would only be anathema to the philosophers, as well as to the Greek tragedians, who underscored the hubris committed by human beings whenever the latter challenged their fate above their "naturally" appointed place in the *cosmos*. What reason dictated was that we were handsome, but still insignificant creatures compared to the forces, cosmic or divine (the two were never really apart) that stood above us mortals. It was only natural that such a persistent mentality would not easily suffer a breach, a radical challenge as the one Christianity was to offer in its Biblical and patristic expressions. The Fathers, inspired from what is offered in original form in Scripture, took it to its ultimate conclusion, and made their revolution by removing the category of the hypostasis from the general, impersonal substance, and attaching it to the partial and particular person, so that it was

now the person, not substance (or its surrogates, e.g., the *cosmos*) which claimed ontological ultimacy. This is how personhood was endowed with ontological content.

In more specific terms, *hypostasis*, previously identified with substance, including divine substance, was now attached to the Trinitarian *persons*, whose distinctiveness was elevated to the point of a previously unheard of, and even blasphemous, ontological ultimacy. Most significant of all is the fact that what now mattered was the freedom exercised by each Trinitarian Person to be unique and different from the other two, and yet remain in relation with them. Thus, "communion does not threaten otherness," Zizioulas concludes; "it generates it."²³ Moreover, a study of Trinitarian theology teaches us that "otherness is *constitutive* of unity, and not consequent upon it,"²⁴ since the Eastern Fathers made their starting-point the Persons rather than the divine substance common to all Three of them.

But what was the ulterior motivation of the Cappadocian Fathers in elevating the person to such a provocative degree? The reason behind their move was theological, as was also in the case of St. Augustine, who moved in the opposite direction from them.²⁵ The Cappadocians responded to the heretical views of Sabellius, who claimed that the three Trinitarian Persons were in the last analysis but different modes of appearance or "masks" for the one, true God, so that no true personhood, in the ontological sense, lay behind the names "Father," "Son," and "Holy Spirit." To counter the nominalist emptiness of the Triune God suggested by Sabellius, the Fathers saw it fit and indeed necessary to endow the Trinity with ontological content, a move that inevitably prioritized the three Persons at the expense of their common substance; not that the latter was, of course, denied. On the contrary, it is an intrinsic aspect, a vital part of patristic Trinitarian theology. But the only way that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit could be affirmed as real Persons in their uniqueness was precisely by first stressing their uniqueness, and then moving to their common essence. Augustine, by contrast, commenced from the opposite place, i.e., from the common substance of the Trinity,²⁶ because he, too, had to respond to a different problem. Timothy Ware's remarks are right on target:

The Cappadocians, followed by later Orthodox theologians, answer that there is one God because there is one Father.²⁷ The other two

persons trace their origin to the Father and are defined in terms of their relation to Him. As the sole source of being within the Trinity, the Father constitutes in this way the principle or ground of unity for the Godhead as a whole ... Latin theology, emphasizing as it does the essence at the expense of the persons, comes near to turning God into an abstract idea. He becomes a remote and impersonal being, whose existence has to be proved by metaphysical arguments—a God of the philosophers, not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Orthodoxy, on the other hand, has been far less concerned than the Latin West to find philosophical proofs of God's existence: what is important is not that we should argue about the deity, but that we should have a direct and living encounter with a concrete and personal God.²⁸

Anxious to remove the sting of an unduly "Orthodox triumphalism" that the above statement seems to entail, Ware hastens to add an essential corrective to it:

it is not true to assert, in any blunt and absolute fashion, that the principle of divine unity is personal in Orthodoxy but not in Roman Catholicism; for the Latin West as well as the Greek East upholds the doctrine of the 'monarchy' of the Father ... on this level, we are speaking only of general tendencies, and not of *irreconcilable oppositions* [italics mine] or of specific heresies. If pushed to extremes, the western approach leads to modalism and Sabellianism, just as the eastern approach leads to tri-theism, to the notion of "three Gods." Yet the great and representative thinkers, in both East and West, did not push their standpoint to extremes.²⁹

The existential ramifications of the pre-eminence of hypostasis over substance are made more evident if we take into consideration the crucial, in Orthodox Christian theology, faith in *theosis*, i.e., the real possibility of the human being's divinization, our entrance into the divine, uncreated mode of existence. The difference in essences between God and man makes it prohibitive for the latter to aspire to step beyond his biological fabric. The answer to this urgent question lies in the divine mode of being. Even though we may have absolutely no access to the essence of God (for the Christian Church rejects all forms of pantheism), we can still emulate His personal existence, where after all, as Zizioulas points out, the ontological freedom of God is exercised. In his own words,

The manner in which God exercises his ontological freedom, that precisely which makes Him ontologically free, is the way in which he

transcends and abolishes the ontological necessity of the substance by being God as Father, that is, as He who “begets” the Son and “brings forth” the Spirit. This ecstatic character of God, the fact that His being is identical with an act of communion, ensures the transcendence of the ontological necessity which His substance would have demanded ... For this communion is a product of freedom as a result not of the substance of God but of the Person, the Father.³⁰

The Existential and Philosophical Implications of the Patristic Concept of the Person: A Response to Modernity

Anticipating by several centuries the modern Existentialist demand for the priority of existence over essence, the Cappadocian Fathers of the fifth century have amply demonstrated in their Trinitarian understanding of God that “the only exercise of freedom in an ontological manner is *love*,”³¹ which is what makes God what He is—His communal mode of being, not his substance.³² For us humans it means that we are left with the following dilemma: Either freedom as love, or freedom as negation. It is therefore possible for finite human beings to join God in His eternity, by attuning themselves to the divine ontological mode of being, which is love.

What is at stake here is nothing less than the freedom of a human being, which, as we saw, is primarily of an existential, not an ideological or moral nature. It is our freedom to move beyond the constraints of our one-dimensional created hypostasis. To recapitulate: human freedom and dignity are safeguarded by the inexhaustible mystery, and the uniqueness of every single person, which gives each of us the right to be different, to resist classification in Freudian, Marxist, or other absolute categories that ultimately tend to dehumanize us. This is, however, a theological contribution to a non-substantial understanding of man, for if God does not exist, the person does not exist either!³³

The importance of all this cannot be stressed enough; inasmuch as communion is not anything determined by the divine essence, we may also share fully in the uncreated life of the Trinity, for all the real gap between the two natures. The entire point of salvation, in spite of its tragic reduction to the crippling legalism of an absolute ethical code, is nothing less than an existential stance, one involving the whole man in becoming an active *verb* rather than the passive *noun*

that it now is, hence not denying, but only transcending our biological texture, constrained as it is by the limits of space-time.

Starting from the distinctiveness of the Trinitarian Persons, and not, as we just saw, from the divine substance, eastern patristic thought saw human beings primarily as relational, ecstatic entities, whose true nature is fully completed and blossoms in communion and fellowship with one another. More than that, "the person," writes Zizioulas, "cannot be conceived in itself as a static entity, but only as it *relates to*. Thus personhood implies the 'openness of being,' and even more than that, the *ek-stasis* of being, i.e., a movement towards communion which leads to a transcendence of the boundaries of the 'self' and thus to freedom."³⁴ This statement must be accompanied by a caveat. The freedom and transcendence from the boundaries of the self referred to here should by no means be taken to be identical to an annihilation of the self. Christianity, in Zizioulas' account of it based on patristic literature, preaches the affirmation of personhood and the sanctity thereof, which, however, is attained through the paradox of self-denial. The person, distinguished from the selfish individual, is called to join the Triune, personal mode of existence that knows no death, is not to be dissolved into an impersonal abyss, like a drop of water in the ocean. It is precisely by its investment with ontology, that the person resists the modern anthropological reduction to historicity, which sees human beings as conglomerates of cultural, social, and psychological elements that may just as easily be scattered.

This insistence on the indissolubility of the person is more finely argued in Zizioulas' Christology, which is less developed in comparison with his Trinitarian theology, and less well known too. It is a safe assumption that the concern for personhood imbues every aspect of his thought, but different sides of it are explored in his various writings. His article "Χριστολογία καὶ Ὑπαρξη" (Christology and Existence) discusses the existential significance of the two Chalcedonian terms *without division and without confusion* applied to the person of Jesus Christ, reaching conclusions that concern personhood in general. The two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, are conjoined in a dialectic way that brings them into full and ceaseless communion, and yet keeps them sufficiently apart, so that the two will not fuse into one another, nor will one be absorbed into the other. The same holds true for the communion shared by the

Trinitarian Persons. This should be the model for a sound theological theory of personhood according to Zizioulas, one that acknowledges our ecstatic and relational nature, without sacrificing the uniqueness of each person to the broader purposes of communion and relationality. "Soteriologies which are not inspired by genuine patristic theology," he argues, "have created the following dilemma: either hypostasis without ecstasy (a kind of individualist pietism), or ecstasy without hypostasis (a form of escape from the body, an ecstasy of the type of the Hellenistic mysteries)."³⁵ His reading of the Cappadocian Fathers and their Trinitarian formulations suggests a creative way out of this dilemma: "The key to the soteriological problem lies in the safeguarding of both the ecstatic and the hypostatic dimensions of the person equally, without the 'passions' of ontological necessity, individualism and death."³⁶

Herein lies a point of contrast between Zizioulas' and other contemporary theologians' relational theologies. Martin Buber's *I-Thou* dialectic, for example, raises relatedness to the level of ontology, as also does that of Harold Oliver. Oliver describes this dialectic in the following manner:

The relational self is the 'I' of 'I-Thou.' In the words of Feuerbach who proposed the 'I-Thou' paradigm of experience, "The 'I' is merely a linguistic ellipse, that, merely for brevity's sake, leaves out half of what is understood by itself." In the thought of Buber who enriched the notion by his deeply perceptive insight into reality, the 'I-Thou' signals a unifying 'between' (das Zwischen). Feuerbach's and Buber's 'I-Thou' is equivalent to the relational self advanced in the relational metaphysics outlined above. The 'I' of 'I-Thou' is no subject and the 'Thou' is no object ... The 'I-Thou' relation is a function neither of a subject-I nor of an object-self. Rather the subject-I and the object-self, are co-derivatives of relations.³⁷

The significance of the promotion of relatedness as constituting true being by Feuerbach, Buber, and Oliver cannot be underestimated, and stands parallel to the Orthodox Christian understanding of the ultimate reality that is God in relational terms. Christos Yannaras, for instance, echoes several neo-patristic scholars in differentiating the relational entity that is the person from anything conceptual, by pointing to empirical relatedness (in contrast to propositional or quantitative knowledge) as the exclusive means of coming to know the person, since its otherness is manifested as an event of communion.³⁸ Oliver

makes explicit references to Zizioulas and to the Cappadocian Fathers' contribution to the formation of a sound personalism. As he says,

The Eastern view of selfhood inspired by the Trinitarian doctrine of the *perichoresis* or Mutual Interpenetration of the Divine Hypostasis stresses eucharistic (communal) personal existence, the term "personal" affirming that persons are "distinct but not separate," that is, they are in unity with other persons. To the contrary, the individualism, so prominent in Western theology and culture, in that it "presupposes separation and division," is a distortion of the nature of human existence based on a misunderstanding of the Divine Mystery of the "One and the Many."³⁹

What is implicit in Oliver's passage, namely, the attribution of western individualism to the lasting influence of the Augustinian legacy on Western thought, is made explicit in Catherine Mowry LaCugna's exploration of Augustine's Trinitarian theology. In her summary of the *De Trinitate*, LaCugna exposes what is at stake in the reversal of the Cappadocians' prioritization of the divine Persons over their common substance.

Augustine's emphasis [is] on the unity of the divine substance as prior to the plurality of persons. If divine substance rather than the person of the Father is made the highest ontological principle—the substratum of divinity and the ultimate source of all that exists—then God and everything else is, finally, *impersonal*. The metaphysical revolution of the Cappadocian doctrine of the Trinity had been to see that the highest principle is hypostasis not ousia, person not substance: the hypostasis of the Father, Unoriginate yet Origin of all, even Origin of Son and Spirit... the consequences of Augustine's digression from the Cappadocian ontology of the Trinity were more than merely doctrinal. The changed metaphysical options for the theology of God changed politics, anthropology, and society as well.⁴⁰

At the same time, however, the Patristic tradition of Orthodoxy parts company from Feuerbach, Buber, and Oliver, by denying that only *relations* are fundamental, and that the *relata* are merely derivatives of relations with no ontological significance. The contrast between Zizioulas and these scholars on the ultimacy of relatedness over personhood may be a matter of some dispute, especially in light of the fundamental similarities among them. However, this study must

complete its delineation of Zizioulas' own formulation of personhood for that is what must then be brought into the dialogue with Hillman. And crucial to the personalism of Zizioulas is the notion of *causality*, which complements *perichoresis*. The addition of causality to relatedness makes a dramatic change to one's understanding of relatedness, with further existential consequences for personhood as well. A few words on this distinct aspect of Zizioulan personalism are now in order.

It has been mentioned time and again that the particular ontology to which Zizioulas subscribes is personalistic through and through, not simply relational. In other words, it always seeks to make manifest that the ultimate reality (i.e., God) is personal above all, not an abstract structure standing over and above the person. Herein lies the philosophical-existential significance of the patristic assignment of cause in the Trinity, which safeguards *volition* in the communion shared by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The latter two Persons owe their existence to the Father, in which case God is one not because of the substance common to all three Persons, but as a result of the *monarchy of the Father*, who as a Person, freely begets His Son and sends forth the Spirit, unconstrained by substantial, structural, or other necessities:

Since the Person in its identification with hypostasis is an ultimate—and not a secondary—ontological notion, it must be a Person—and not a substance—that is the source of divine existence. Thus the notion of “source” is complemented by the Cappadocians with the notion of “cause” (*aitia*), and the idea emerges that the cause of God's being is the Father. The introduction of “cause” in addition to “source” was meant to indicate that divine existence does not “spring,” so to say, “naturally” as from an impersonal substance, but is brought into existence, it is “caused,” by *someone*.⁴¹

He continues

If God's being is not caused by a Person, it is not a free being. And if this Person is not the Father alone, it is impossible to maintain the divine unity or oneness without taking resort into the ultimacy of substance in ontology, i.e. without subjecting freedom to necessity and Person to substance.⁴²

Such a personalism must be accompanied by an appropriate ontology, if it is to mean more than a nominalist definition would allow,

and if it is to avoid a pernicious reduction to historicism. The history of ontology is long and extremely complicated, having meant different things to different people through the ages. Zizioulas employs the term in the sense in which it was posited for the first time by ancient Greek philosophy, and applies it here to the more specific problem of personal identity. As he explains in his own words,

we operate with the view that the assertion of personal identity, the reduction of the question of "Who am I?" to the simple form of the "I am who I am," i.e. the claim of absolute metaphysical identity independent of qualities borrowed from other "beings," is an assertion implied in the very question of personal identity. Personhood, in other words, has the claim of absolute being, that is, a metaphysical claim, built into it.⁴³

Viewed from this perspective of ontological absoluteness, each person is considered to be a unique, unrepeatable, and inexhaustible being,⁴⁴ one that might not be made to fit the *a priori* theories and definitions of any system, but may only be known (and never exhaustively, at that) through the immediacy of communion and love. Thus, "the Cappadocian Fathers gave to the world the most precious concept it possesses: *the concept of the person, as an ontological concept in the ultimate sense*,"⁴⁵ resistant to ousianic reduction and reification that are suggested by scientific, mechanistic materialism. "In stark contrast to the Scholastic attempt for objectivity, the Greek East, by perceiving God's image in man, struggled to protect the mystery of the divine and human modes of existence from objective, cerebral formulations,"⁴⁶ writes the Greek theologian Christos Yannaras in his monumental work *Person and Eros*, who along with scholars like Vladimir Lossky and Olivier Clement trace many of the contemporary impasses of western lifestyles to a loss of the sanctity and mystery of personhood. Despite the differences among Scholastic, Rationalist, and Empirical epistemology (only the first of which being theistic, while the latter two embrace an almost nihilistic atheism), the common denominator behind them all consists in the tendency to subject all reality, including inner life and psychology, to quantitative tests and measurements, to the demand for an utter objectivity. Ironically enough, the latter would end up later shaking up the foundations, and the very possibility of science itself.

Sigmund Freud may quite properly be considered an outspoken

heir to this tradition. As Peter Gay mentions in his biographical introduction to Freud's works, "He was privileged to work under professors with national reputations, almost all German imports and tough-minded positivists who disdained metaphysical speculations about, let alone pious explanations of, natural phenomena."⁴⁷ The suggestion made here is hardly against Freud's atheism (which has been aptly called a "purifying" one, along with those of Marx and Nietzsche, by Olivier Clement), much less about his presumed ignorance of theological issues. What might be deemed problematic instead is his life-long ambition to reduce all of human behavior into an "algebraic formula" as it were, into a single theory sufficient to explain personality in repeatable, predictable patterns. In the words of Hans Kung, "Freud applied the principles of the physicalist-psychological science empirically to clinically observed psychological processes, the human psyche being introduced as a kind of machine, as a 'mental appliance.'"⁴⁸

Such a mechanistic view of our inner world betrays, in my opinion, a poor anthropology, hardly unrelated to similar efforts made in Freud's time (and long before him) to encapsulate man in dualist terms, believing us to be either "mind" and "spirit," on the one hand, as did Descartes and the German idealists that followed in his wake, or some kind of an "inanimate machine," as in the case of the empiricists and the entire positivist movement, to which Freud fervently belonged. A corrective to such reductive tendencies, Zizioulas suggests, would be the attachment of personhood to ontology as delineated above, and the insertion into our anthropological categories of an *apophaticism* akin to that employed in our language about God. An apophatic anthropology would protect the sanctity of the mystery of the human person from reification, preserving the *Imago Dei* in us, which stands, in Zizioulas' understanding, for existential freedom, for freedom from the "givers" of existence, that are unknown to God.

The search for our true self, the discovery of this *Imago Dei* in us, implies a transition from the "mask" or *persona*, to the "person." *Persona* is defined in strikingly similar terms by both Zizioulas and Carl Gustav Jung, in what seems to be a fruitful intersection between the two discourses. The theologian sees as *persona* "the role which one plays in one's social or legal relationships, the moral or 'legal' person which either collectively or individually has nothing to do

with the *ontology* of the person," since in this case true identity, "that vital component of the concept of man, that which makes him *he who is*—is guaranteed and provided by the state or by some organized whole."⁴⁹ Similarly, Jung charged that society, today especially, forces us to wear a mask, a facade that is, of social conformity that will simply enable us to function in an intolerant world. He, too, calls the putting on of a fake exterior the *persona*, which is

nothing real ... a compromise between individual and society as to what a man should appear to be. He takes a name, earns a little, exercises a function, he is this or that. In a certain sense all this is real, yet in relation to the *essential individuality of the person concerned* [italics provided] it is only a secondary reality, a compromise formation ...⁵⁰

Perhaps we should see the legendary dispute between Freud and his disciple, and later associate, Jung, not merely from the limited perspective of the personal/collective unconscious disagreement, or from that of the role of libido in personality formation, but in terms of a disagreement on what constitutes a healthy person. Whereas for the Viennese master successful social integration was an unfailing sign of an individual's cure from neuroses, the Swiss doctor held the antithetical view expressed in the above quote. It is easy to see that of the two Freud was a determinist, and as such dismissive of an apophatic notion of personhood, such as that conceived by the Cappadocian Fathers and interpreted by Zizioulas in our contemporary idiom.

The theological notion of personhood, as delineated by Zizioulas and others before him, has suffered the same suspicions with other transcendental personalisms, on the ground that these schemes constitute no more than an anthropomorphic thinking in disguise. Religious beliefs exhibit, in the light of this criticism, "the creative work of human imagination," as the pastoral theologian Leroy T. Howe indicates, while in actual fact "they bear no relationship to objective reality whatsoever," being as they are "wishful-thinking mired in confusion, however dedicated they may be religiously."⁵¹ Ludwig Feuerbach and Sigmund Freud are two of the most prominent exponents of this critique of religion which sees the latter as a projection of humankind's own image into "heaven." This challenge does not concern the purposes of the present study directly, except

only to the extent that Hillman, as a psychologist, subscribes to it, and insofar as Zizioulas' notion of personhood inspired by the Cappadocian Fathers, is apt to respond to "projective" theories of religion. We shall see how the endowment of the patristic understanding of personhood with ontology, based on revelation, safeguards our problematic from a reduction to a "wish-fulfillment anthropology."

NOTES

¹ The contribution of Zizioulas' dissertation to ecclesiology is considered incalculable even to this day, and serves as a constant point of reference in the contemporary ecumenical movement. It first appeared in 1965, when the Christian Churches joined the ecumenical dialogue in search of an ecclesiological identity. Zizioulas' research into the ecclesiology of the first three centuries A.D., showed that the Church is constituted by the Eucharistic assembly of the faithful, centered around the bishop. The Eucharist is the central sacrament of the Church, and the vision stemming from the "Eucharistic Materialism" of the Greek Fathers and the Eastern Church has profound existential and personalistic consequences, which the present study hopes to explore and indicate. Chief among these is the application of Trinitarian theology to ecclesiology, wherein the Church orders (such as those of the bishop, presbyter, deacon, and laity) are expected to reflect the *otherness-in-relation* exemplified in the Triune God.

² John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion. Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), from the Foreword, 12.

³ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵ The most recent criticism to Zizioulas' theology in Greece is offered by Professors Ioannis Panagopoulos, "Οντολογία ή Θεολογία τοῦ Προσώπου;" (Ontology or Theology of the Person?) *Synaxe* 13 (1985): 63-79; 14 (1985): 35-47, and Savas Agourides, "Μποροῦν τά Πρόσωπα τῆς Τριάδας νά Δώσουν τή Βάση γιά Περσωναλιστικές Ἀπόψεις Περί τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου;" (May the Trinitarian Persons Provide the Basis for Personalistic Views of Man?) *Σύναξη* 33 (1990): 67-78. The objections raised by the two scholars are distinct, though not unrelated. Panagopoulos contests Zizioulas' confident employment of patristic Trinitarian theology toward the formulation of a theory of personhood with existential and anthropological applications. Panagopoulos' reserve consists in the alleged downplay of apophaticism by Zizioulas, who seems forgetful of the prevailing mystery and unknowability surrounding the Being of God. Agourides, on the other hand, advances a critique based on historical grounds, arguing that a survey of the original sources (philosophical and patristic, alike) and of Church history in general, fails to support Zizioulas' conclusions. Both critics share a dislike, perhaps rather a fear of ontology and its insertion in theology, on the ground that an ontological reading of the Gospels and the Fathers may absorb and delegitimize other, more urgent concerns of theology, such as the on-going struggles of liberation movements. Zizioulas has come forward with lengthy and adequate responses to the valid criticism to his overall work by Agourides, Panagopoulos and others, and has

shown, the validity as well as the urgency of ontology, not just for theology today but for every discipline dealing with human beings, one way or another. Cf. "Τό Εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ καί τό Εἶναι τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου," (The Being of God and the Being of Man) *Synaxe* 37 (1991): 11-36 and also an earlier article "Ἡ Ἀπάντηση τοῦ Καθηγητῆ Ζηζιούλα," (The Response of Prof. Zizioulas) *Synaxe* 3 (1982): 7782. In this study, we shall demonstrate the need for the enrichment of psychology by ontology, particularly in regards to the problematic of *otherness*.

⁶ A younger scholar praising Zizioulas' personalism is Marios Begzos, Professor of Philosophy and Psychology of Religion at the University of Athens School of Theology, whose *Τό Μέλλον τοῦ Παρελθόντος: Κριτική Εἰσαγωγή στή Θεολογία τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας* (The Future of the Past: Critical Introduction to Orthodox Theology) (Athens: Armos Publications, 1993) lends substantial support to Zizioulas, adding to the latter's response in his debate with Agourides on personhood. While keeping a critical distance from Zizioulas on certain points as well, Begzos is one of the many enthusiastic followers of the "neo-patristic" synthesis of the '60s in Greece, a movement responsible for the rediscovery of the patristic notion of the person in Orthodox theology, of which Zizioulas is one of the most prominent stars, along with Christos Yannaras, and the French Olivier Clement. In the United States, the leading personalist Harold H. Oliver, Professor of Philosophical Theology at Boston University School of Theology, makes extensive use of Zizioulas in his article "Relational Personalism" *The Personalist Forum*, 5 (1989): 27-42, and relied on his reading of the Fathers, particularly Maximus the Confessor, as normative for Trinitarian thought and the relational doctrine of *perichoresis*.

⁷ For more on the Cappadocian Fathers' contribution to the theological concept of personhood, see the following works: Vassilios Tatakis, *Ἡ Συμβολή τῆς Καππαδοκίας στή Χριστιανική Σκέψη* (The Cappadocian Contribution to Christian Thought) (Athens, 1960); Markos A. Siotes, *Ἡ Χριστιανική Διδασκαλία Περί τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου ὡς Προσώπου* (The Christian Teaching on Man as Person) (Athens: Ecclesiastikon Epistemonikon kai Morfotikon Hidrema Ioannou kai Eriettes Gregoriadou, 1984); Andreas Fytrakis, "Ἡ Ἀξία τῆς Ἀνθρώπινης Προσωπικότητος Κατά τούς Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχας," (The Value of the Human Personality According to Three Hierarchs) in *Epistemonike Epeteris Theologikis Scholis Panepistemiou Athenon (1956-1957)* (1958): 59-99; Ioannis D. Karavidopoulos, *Προσωπεῖο καί Πρόσωπο Κατά τούς Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχας* (Mask and Personhood According to Three Hierarchs) (Thessaloniki, 1979).

⁸ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 27.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Bishop Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996), 27.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 28.

¹³ John D. Zizioulas, "On Being A Person: Towards an Ontology of Personhood," in *Persons, Divine and Human: King's Theological Essays in Theological Anthropology*, Christoph Schwobel and Colin E. Gunton, eds. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 33.

¹⁴ Zizioulas specifies ontology in the metaphysical sense of the transcendence of beings by being, i.e., in the sense of going beyond what passes away into what always and truly is (*Ibid.*, 35). *Personal* ontology for him is an assertion of the metaphysics of particularity; it is the endeavor to raise the particular to the primacy and ultimacy which

transcends the changing world of coming and going particularities, to attach fixity to the "many" as if they were the "one," i.e., absolute, unique and irreplaceable. Hidden behind this, adds Zizioulas, is the cry for immortality, the desire not simply of the *being* but of the *being for ever*.

¹⁵ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 15.

¹⁶ John Zizioulas, "The Church as Communion," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 38 (1994): 12.

¹⁷ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 16.

¹⁸ Carrie Doehring's statement in Boston University School of Theology Bulletin (1996-97), 61.

¹⁹ Zizioulas' wish to redefine salvation in existential, not in juridical terms, is nowhere more evident than in his effort to introduce ontology in soteriology at the downplay of a sadly still prevailing idealist morality centered on the "salvation of the soul." Christ, he insists, saves us primarily from death, which threatens our uniqueness with complete annihilation. Platonizing anthropologies of the "immortality of the soul," often accompanied in Christianity with an "achievement ethic," will simply not do for him. Cf. "Χριστολογία καὶ Ὑπαρξη: Ἡ Διαλεκτικὴ Κτιστοῦ καὶ Ἀκτίστου καὶ τὸ Δόγμα τῆς Χαλκηδόνος," (Christology and Existence: The Dialectic of Created-Uncreated, and the Doctrine of Chalcedon) *Synaxe* 2 (1982): 9-20. Interestingly enough, Zizioulas' and Hillman's views on death seem to converge in their realism; see the Conclusion to this study.

²⁰ John Zizioulas, "Communion and Otherness," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 38 (1994): 353. The full doctrinal issue of the Son and the Holy Spirit versus the Father and one another is spelled out in detail in Markos A. Orfanos. 'Ο Υἱός καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν Τριαδολογίαν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου (The Son and the Holy Spirit in the Triadology of St. Basil the Great) (Athens, 1976) esp. chp. I "The Triune God," 17-47.

²¹ John Zizioulas, "The Doctrine of God the Trinity Today: Suggestions for an Ecumenical Study," in *The Forgotten Trinity*, edited by Alasdair I.C. Heron (London: BCC/CCBI, 1991), 26.

²² Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 32.

²³ Zizioulas, "Communion and Otherness," 353.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ As Emmanuel Clapsis explains, "Augustine, in his desire to assert the unity of the Godhead, emphasized more the substance over against the hypostases and thus he is accused of obliterating the distinct hypostatic qualities of the Persons of the Trinity. This can be understood as the result of his method of studying and explicating the doctrine of the Trinity." "The Filioque Question," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 2 (1982): 131.

²⁶ According to the same source, "Augustine and the Cappadocians are believers of the Catholic tradition of God's trinitarian nature. Their difference began when they attempted to explain the eternal relations between the three persons of the Trinity. What is exactly their basic difference? T. R. Martland in his article "A Study of Cappadocian and Augustinian Trinitarian Methodology" points out: 'Whereas the Cappadocians knew God as three persons before they knew Him as one God, Augustine knows Him as one God before he knows Him as three persons.' This is an accurate statement describing two different methods of approaching the reality of God's triune existence. The Cappadocians developed their theology from the empirical reality of God's revelation

as God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and then they struggled to affirm the Unity of the Godhead. Augustine departed from the Unity of the Godhead as he wanted to clarify how God can be a trinity. One of the reasons why Augustine proceeded in developing his own theological understanding of the triune nature of God was because he had some difficulties in understanding the theological meaning of *ousia* and *hypostasis*." *Ibid.*, 130-31. Again, it must be stressed that the Augustinian point of departure was merely a matter of emphasis than a doctrinal deviation from orthodoxy, one, however, destined to affect many areas of Western culture and thought beyond theology. For a recent Orthodox Christian appropriation of Augustine's thought and legacy, Cf. George C. Papademetriou, "Saint Augustine in the Greek Orthodox Tradition," *Summary of Proceedings, Fiftieth Annual Conference of the American Theological Association* (Denver, Colorado: Iliff School of Theology, 1996): 232-242.

²⁷ The significance of assigning a cause in the Trinity cannot be overemphasized, and constitutes a major philosophical achievement on the part of the Cappadocians, for a consistent theological notion of personhood demands that ultimacy be given not to an abstract, impersonal principle, such as relatedness, but to a personal first cause of the existent. As Zizioulas indicates early on in *Being as Communion*: "... the ancient world heard for the first time that it is communion which makes beings "be:" nothing exists without it, not even God. But this communion is not a relationship understood for its own sake, an existential structure which supplants "nature" or "substance" in its primordial ontological role—something reminiscent of the structure of existence met in the thought of Martin Buber. Just like "substance," "communion" does not exist by itself: it is the *Father* who is the "cause" of it. This thesis of the Cappadocians that introduced the concept of "cause" into the being of God assumed an incalculable importance. For it meant that the ultimate ontological category which makes something really be, is neither an impersonal and incommunicable "substance," nor a structure of communion existing by itself or imposed by necessity, but rather the person. The fact that God owes His existence to the father, that is to a person, means (a) that His "substance," His being, does not constrain Him (God does not exist because He cannot but exist), and (b) that communion is not a constraining structure for His existence (God is not in communion, does not love, because He cannot but be in communion and love). The fact that God exists because of the Father shows that His existence, His being is the consequence of a free person; which means, in the last analysis, that not only communion but also *freedom*, the free person, constitutes true being. True being comes only from the free person, from the person who loves freely—that is, who freely affirms his being, his identity, by means of an event of communion with other persons" (*Ibid.*, 17-18). Here Zizioulas contrasts sharply with those theologians of relatedness like Harold H. Oliver who assign a priority to relation over individuals. Says Oliver: "My fundamental thesis is that... (1) only relations are regarded as real, and (2) the *relata*—to use classical language—are regarded as derivatives, that is, functional dependencies of relations (to use Ernst Cassirer's language)" Harold H. Oliver, *Relatedness. Essays in Metaphysics and Theology* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 13. The problem with Prof. Oliver's schema is that if personhood is a derivative of something higher then it cannot make claims to ultimacy, nor can God claim to possess freedom in the maximum, ontological sense, since his existence would depend not on his own free will, but to relationality, which would be set up over against His personhood. But the meaning of the term "Uncreated," which the Cappadocians ascribed to God the Father, is precisely

not to be faced with any given of existence. Nor would it be more correct from a Cappadocian point of view to consider individual and relation "ontologically coincident," as Alistair I. McFadyen does in *The Call to Personhood. A Christian Theory of the Individual in Social Relationships* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), wherein he tries to offer a corrective to Oliver's position: "My position is therefore to be distinguished from that of Harold H. Oliver in *A Relational Metaphysic* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), who, by affording relation an ontological priority, destroys individuality as anything but a 'turn' in a particular relation" *Ibid.*, 285.

²⁸ Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 214-15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 216-17.

³⁰ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 44. Put otherwise, God (at least in the eastern Orthodox tradition) does not act because He exists, but exists by virtue of the fact that He acts! It is in this sense that God is personal, i.e., the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because He is known not by His essence (forever denied to us), but through His energies, in other words by the ways He relates to us. It is significant to underline here the Palamite affirmation that God in His energies is no less God. Furthermore, the traditional endeavor of the philosophers of religion to prove (or challenge) God's existence (an inevitable strife, once the wrong starting-point of the remoteness of God is taken) is in this context largely discredited.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 43. "Non-substantial" by no means implies "spiritual." As always, the totality of man is being considered here; it is his mode of being that the term refers to.

³⁴ John Zizioulas, "Human Capacity and Human Incapacity: A Theological Exploration of Personhood," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 28 (1975): 408. Cf. also Christos Yannaras, "Τό Ὀντολογικό Περιεχόμενο τῆς Θεολογικῆς Ἐννοίας τοῦ Προσώπου" (The Ontological Content of the Theological Notion of the Person) (Th.D., University of Thessaloniki, 1970), esp. "The Ecstatic Character of the Person," 13-15.

³⁵ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 53 n. 47.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Harold H. Oliver, *Relatedness: Essays in Metaphysics and Theology* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1984), 40.

³⁸ Christos Yannaras, *Τό Πρόσωπο καί ὁ Ἔρως: Θεολογικό Δοκίμιο Ὀντολογίας* (Person and Eros: A Theological Essay on Ontology), (Athens: Papazisi Publications, 1976), 33.

³⁹ Harold H. Oliver, "Relational Personalism," *The Personalist Forum* 5 (1989): 32.

⁴⁰ Catherine Mowry LaCugna, *God for Us: The Trinity and the Christian Life* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1991), 101.

⁴¹ John Zizioulas, "The Teaching of the 2nd Ecumenical Council on the Holy Spirit in Historical and Ecumenical Perspective," in *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, edited by J. S. Martins (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983) 1:37.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴³ Zizioulas, "On Being a Person. Towards an Ontology of Personhood," 33.

⁴⁴ It would be worthwhile here to bring to the reader's attention the concurrence of the German psychologist Philipp Lersch with John Zizioulas on what constitutes personhood. The former sees personhood as constituted by immutability (Unverweschelbarkeit), uniqueness (Einmaligkeit), and unrepealability

(Unwiederholbarkeit): the emphasis on otherness is hard to miss here as well. Cf. Philipp Lersch, *Aufbau der Person* (Munchen: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1954), 141.

⁴⁵ John Zizioulas, "The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity: The Significance of the Cappadocian Contribution," in *Trinitarian Theology Today Essays on Divine Being and Act*, edited by Christoph Schowbel (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 56.

⁴⁶ Yannaras, *Τό Πρόσωπο καί ὁ ἑξῆς*, 74.

⁴⁷ Peter Gay, "Sigmund Freud: A Brief Life," in *Sigmund Freud The Standard Edition*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989), xi.

⁴⁸ Hans Küng, *Freud and the Problem of God* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 1 S.

⁴⁹ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 34.

⁵⁰ Carl Gustav Jung, "Two Essays in Analytical Psychology," *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*. Edited by H. Read, M. Fordham, and G. Adler; translated by R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 7: 246.

⁵¹ Leroy T. Howe, "God's Power and God's Personhood," in *The Illif Review*, 37: (1980), 39.

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The Church's Mission: Patristic Presuppositions

PROF. ANDREW LOUTH

This is a much more problematic issue than one might suppose, for while the New Testament itself presents a picture of a missionary movement, both during the period of Jesus' ministry, and after His Death, Resurrection, and especially Ascension and Pentecost — indeed the latter two events seem to be presented as the two events in the history of salvation that empower the distinctively apostolic mission — while this seems indisputably true, it is difficult to uncover any clear teaching on the mission of the Church from the teaching of the patristic period, if we understand this period as following the apostolic period, properly so-called. Let me just give two illustrations of this contrast between apostolic and patristic views on mission.

The New Testament itself contains two very clear assertions of the mission of those who follow Christ. First there is Matthew 28:19f. "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age." Secondly there is Jesus' commission in the longer ending of Mark's Gospel, generally regarded by scholars nowadays as a later addition to the Gospel, but nonetheless part of the Church's canonical text: "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He who believes and is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned. And these signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick

up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover" (Mark 16:15-18). How are these texts interpreted by the Fathers? Almost invariably they are interpreted *historically*, that is, they are taken to refer to the historical situation of the apostles to whom Jesus was speaking. So St John Chrysostom, in the last of his homilies on St Matthew, speaks of the way in which the remembrance of that day remained with the apostles to encourage them in all the trials and difficulties of their mission. He then goes on to say how much easier it is for *us*: all that is laid on us is to observe Christ's commands — in other words *we* are the *them* of the commission, not the successors of the apostles (*Hom. 90 on Matthew*, 2-3). It is the same in Eusebius' account of the mission of the apostles, consequent on the Ascension: he quotes Matt. 28:19 as fulfilled in the history of those years.

When these passages are interpreted as having a contemporary message, that message is not about mission as such: it is about the doctrine of the Trinity (Athanasios, *Ad Serap.* 1. 6, 8, etc.; Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 7. 1; 8. 7), or baptism (Tertullian, *de Bapt.* 13. 3; Cyprian, *Ep.* 27. 3), or about the necessity of obeying Christ's commands (as with Chrysostom, already cited, or Cyprian, *Ep.* 63. 18), or that what Christ commanded the apostles to teach was "Christianity" (Eusebius, *Dem.* 1. 6.74-5).¹

Another example only sharpens this point. In the *Didache*, which I think belongs to the first century AD, there is mention of two groups of Christian ministers: on the one hand, apostles and prophets, and on the other, bishops and deacons. The latter are clearly local officials of the Christian communities (*Did.* 15), while the former are travelling missionaries (*ibid.* 11-13), who are not, as a rule, meant to settle down, though the *Didache* does envisage the possibility (*ibid.* 13). If this reflects the Christian situation in the first century (and I see no reason to doubt that, though I would add the *caveat* that the *Didache* probably envisages a particular local situation), then we have a contrast between missionaries — who are called apostles and prophets — and the local officials of the Christian communities — called bishops and deacons — whose ministry concerns the local community that appointed them. If we then look at the Church as it has existed at the end of the second century, if not earlier, then we see a church in which any specifically missionary ministry — that of the apostles and prophets — has died out, and the formal ministry of the Church

has been replaced by an essentially pastoral ministry — of bishops, priests and deacons. If then the Church in the decades after the Ascension and Pentecost was fashioned, through the ministry of apostles and prophets, to be a missionary Church, it would seem that by the end of the second century that function had been fulfilled, and the Church became a group of settled communities, with an essentially pastoral ministry of bishops, priests and deacons. If this is the case, then the fact that the Fathers interpret Jesus' commission to the apostles as historically limited is hardly surprising: it is simply confirmation of the way in which the Church had developed away from being conscious of having any missionary vocation. Put that bluntly, then the patristic presuppositions about mission are simply that it was an historically early phase of the Church, that is now past.

And there is a great deal of evidence that confirms such a judgment. Let us look again at the way the Church had developed by the end of the second century. It was, we have seen, a Church that had settled down with an essentially pastoral ministry. This pastoral ministry, led in each community by a single bishop, served a community defined by the basic unit of Mediterranean civilization from at least the time of Herodotus: the city (formerly the independent city-state) with its hinterland (*cwra*), which formed, in most cases, an economically self-sufficient unit. How deeply this fundamental fact impinged on the Church's self-consciousness is evident in the petition of the litany: "Ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ...πάσης πόλεως, χώρας, καὶ τῶν πίστει οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν — people live in cities and their *χῶραι*, and the local church is the church of the city. This identification of the local church with the fundamental unit of the Mediterranean world — for the Church the Roman Empire — was part of the way the Church nestled into the administrative structures of the Roman Empire, with the local churches grouped into provinces, each governed by a metropolitan, the bishop of the provincial metropolis, something confirmed as "ancient custom" at the Council of Nicaea in 325 (see canons 4 and 6). As the Empire gradually embraced Christianity in the wake of Constantine's conversion, the modelling of the structures of the Church on those of the Empire yielded a sense of symbiosis between Church and Empire, evident from the way in which the Emperor's government of the inhabited world (the *οἰκουμένη*) was seen to reflect the cosmic rule of the Word of God, to the ceremonies of lighting candles and burning incense,

with which the simplest of the faithful honoured the icons. "Christian" and "Roman" became the same thing: an equivalence most startlingly manifest in the way Patrick, one of the few Christians in the early centuries to establish a church outside the Imperial frontiers, uses *Romani* when he means "Christians."²

If we look at what evidence there is after the second century of what might be called missionary activity, what we find largely, though not entirely, supports the picture that is already emerging. First, there is St Gregory the Wonderworker, Origen's disciple, bishop of Neocaesarea and evangelizer of Pontus in northern Asia Minor. This case, I must admit, does not fit the pattern I have been painting at all. For Gregory is presented as a *bishop* who evangelized his diocese: when he arrived there were only seventeen Christians, by the time of his death there were only seventeen pagans! He achieved this success by his preaching, but mainly by his miracles, and in this he conforms to the pattern of apostolic missionary activity depicted in the Acts of the Apostles. Next, there is another Gregory: Gregory the Illuminator, the evangelizer of Armenia. But in this case it is as a lay Christian that he sows the seeds of Christianity in Armenia, and in particular by his own near-martyrdom, when he is tortured by King Tiridates for his refusal to participate in a pagan feast. It is only after the conversion of the King and the kingdom, that he is consecrated bishop of Etchmiadzin, Catholicos of Armenia, as the supreme pastor of a church that he has brought into being. It is similar in the case of Frumentius, the evangelizer of Ethiopia: he is consecrated bishop by Athanasios to be pastor to the church that already exists as a result of his, and his friend Aidesios', missionary activities as lay Christians. My final example is that of Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths. This is an interesting case, because of the curious way in which Ulfilas was caught in the contingencies of history. He himself became a Christian in Constantinople in the 340s, when the capital was a centre of Arianism, and it was thus Arian Christianity that he preached to his fellow-Goths, who were auxiliaries or federate in the Imperial army, charged with defending the Danube. As more and more Goths entered the Empire, notably during the reign of the ill-fated Valens (364-378), they embraced Imperial Christianity, that is, Arianism. Under Theodosios I, the Empire came to embrace orthodox Christianity, but the Goths remained faithful to their traditions, an Arian Christianity with its Gothic Scriptures. It seems to me that for the next

century or so this resulted in an illogical, but very convenient situation: the Goths remained archetypal barbarians, and only individually did they assimilate to the Empire — and their Arianism marked them off from the Catholic Empire, creating a religious apartheid that confirmed a deeply-valued political and social apartheid. So the Goths became Christian, as Roman allies, who at that stage might have become assimilated to Roman ways, as had happened in the third century, but remained Arians, as a sign of the barbarian status to which they were relegated by the political exigencies of the fourth and fifth centuries. It is a curious confirmation of the identity of Roman and Catholic Christian!

But let us look now, not at historical examples of missionary activity (even if presented in a much-mythologized form), but at the *stories* of missionary activity that were popular in the fourth and later centuries — by which I mean the apocryphal acts of the apostles, many of which are earlier than the fourth century, as well as tales that belong to the fourth century like the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. Here I think we find further confirmation of my general case: for these popular tales look back to the apostolic age as the age of missionary activity, and see that activity as the preserve of apostles and those “equal to the apostles” — bishops hardly figure at all. There is the story of Abgar of Edessa, his correspondence with Jesus, and subsequent conversion by Thaddaeus, sent at the command of Thomas — the story with which Eusebios ends the first book of his *Church History*. Then there are the further stories about Thomas that take him to India, as related in the *Acts of Thomas*. Similar stories are told about other apostles: Andrew finds his way to Patras, where he is martyred, for instance. But these stories do not only concern the apostles themselves, they also tell of those “equal to the apostles,” the isapostoloi, women like Thekla: she is presented in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* as a preacher and missionary like Paul, equal to him, isapostoloj. But this brings in another element of the picture portrayed by these apocryphal writings, so popular in the fourth century and later: the rapidly expanding church of the apostolic age is not just the result of the apostles’ teaching, miracles and heroic martyrdom, it is closely bound up with the ideal of virginity, or celibacy. (Thekla’s popularity was enormous, and by no means plebeian: the secret name of Macrina, the sister of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, was Thekla.)

It seems to me that there are some general patterns emerging from this extremely impressionistic glance at the notion of missionary activity in the Church of the Fathers, especially the Fathers of the fourth century. First, apostles and bishops seem to represent two different ideals of church leadership: the apostles are roving missionaries, preachers, wonder-workers, martyrs, while the bishops are pastors who remain with their flocks (bishops were forbidden to move from see to see — Nicaea 1, canon 15 — though it is a canon followed more in the breach than in the observance). Secondly, this contrast was seen in the patristic period as a contrast between the historical age of the apostles, which is past, and the present age. But this contrast between past and present was a contrast that reached deeply into the consciousness of the Church of Constantine and his successors. It was a contrast between a church at war with the political authorities and a church increasingly hand-in-glove with them — a contrast between the church of the martyrs and a church where martyrdom was no longer called for — a church over and against the world, and a church at home in the world. But Christians knew that they could never be wholly at home in the world — they were to be “strangers and aliens,” “seeking a homeland”, desiring “a better country, that is, a heavenly one: therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he has prepared for them a city” (Hebrews 11:13-16). It is interesting — more than that, I suggest — that this sense of being a perpetual alien, the ideal of *xeniteia* or *peregrinatio*, is the source of some of the striking examples of missionary activity in the later patristic period. The most obvious example is that of the Irish monks: Columba, leaving his native Ireland, and setting up a monastery in Scotland, whence Christianity spread; his disciple Aidan, going to Lindisfarne and bringing Christianity to Northumbria; Columbanus, travelling across Europe as far as Bobbio — a tradition that remained valid for their Anglo-Saxon successors, notably Boniface. But it is not an example confined to the Western fringe of the Roman world. Vailhé spoke of John Moschos, the author of the *Leimonarion* or *Spiritual Meadow*, as “ce juif-errant monastique.”³ This “monastic Wandering Jew” did not simply travel from monastery to monastery, collecting marvellous stories, but spent a decade or so in Egypt, assisting John the Almsgiver in his attempts to restore his diocese to Chalcedonian orthodoxy — not just from Monophysitism, but also from recalcitrant paganism.

This sense of not being at home in the world can be put another way: we can talk of a sense of the imminence of the coming kingdom of God, of an *eschatological* awareness. Most modern New Testament scholarship would emphasize the eschatological dimension of the missionary activity of Jesus and the apostles: in Mark 13:10, Jesus says that the Gospel must be preached among all nations before the end comes; and in I Cor. 9:16-23, Paul claims to be under just such a compulsion. Hence it seems to me not at all surprising that the picture of the mission of the apostles in the apocryphal acts links it with miracles, martyrdom and the ascetic ideal of virginity: miracles are "signs," *shmeia*, not just works of power, but palpable evidence of the kingdom encroaching on this world: martyrs, in the early Church, were front-line soldiers in the apocalyptic struggle between the forces of evil that hold sway over this world and the forces for good of the coming kingdom (that is why the accounts of the early martyrs are shot through with imagery from Jewish apocalyptic literature); and virginity, within Christianity, is not primarily a piece of personal asceticism, but a sign of the kingdom. It is not surprising, then, that monks have often been in evidence in Christian missionary activity from the fourth century onwards: apart from the examples of the missionary impact of monastic *xeniteia*, just mentioned, one thinks of the monks St Gregory the Great sent to England just fourteen centuries ago at the end of the sixth century, or of SS. Cyril and Methodios, the apostles of the Slavs, in the ninth century, and their monastic disciples, or of the role of what Professor Dimitri Obolensky has called the "hesychast international" in the evangelizing of Russia.

What then are the patristic presuppositions of missionary activity? Most essentially that "mission," "preaching," or whatever, is not at all a human activity whereby one group tries to change the minds of others so that they join the "evangelizing" group. It is not that Christians in the patristic period did not engage in such activity, though we hear much more about it in relation to other Christian groups, but that they did not see such activity as the apostolic mission of the Church. Mission, in that sense, is to proclaim the imminence of the kingdom of God, to awaken a sense of that other world — the city God has prepared for us — which is our homeland, where we truly belong. As a specific activity, mission was seen as something that belonged to the apostolic age — otherwise, it seems to be something implicit in an attempt to live under the shadow of the coming king-

dom, of which attempt monasticism came to be the archetype. Perhaps the reason for the lack of much sense of missionary activity as a specific activity, incumbent upon followers of Christ, lies deeper, in the sense that awareness of the imminence of the kingdom does not separate Christians from others, as the saved from the damned, but reveals our deepest solidarity with the whole human race in the realization that all of us, saint and sinner, believer and unbeliever, need to hear the same call — the call to metanoia, repentance.

NOTES

¹ See Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, 106f., from whom most of the patristic texts cited have been taken.

² See Patrick's *Ep. ad Coroticum* 2 (with L. Bieler's note: Idem, *The Works of St Patrick*, Ancient Christian Writers 17, London: Longmans, Green and Co., Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1953, 90f., n. 3), and *Dicta* 3.

³ S. Vailhé, "Jean Mosch," *Échos d'Orient* 5 (1901), 107-116.

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The Dialectic Relationship between God and Human Beings in Origen and Maximus the Confessor

DR. CHRISTOS TEREZIS – EUGENIA TZOURAMANI

The present article represents an analysis of some texts from the work of Maximus the Confessor *De variis difficilibus locis*. The reason, which led Maximus to write the above work, was his intention to render theologically reliable some ambiguous texts by two writers. This endeavor took place in a period when a heretical monotheistic sect had come to the foreground and a systematic attempt was made by its followers to establish their beliefs in the Christian Orthodox Church. Indeed it was in the first half of the 7th century that the Monenergist danger threatened the Christian Church since the sect which bore its name tried to use the teaching of Gregory the Theologian and to incorporate it into its own doctrine. It was in this theological climate that the Archbishop of Cyzikos sent a letter to Maximus requesting his written comments regarding the texts in question, because Maximus had already expressed his views on this issue during a previous visit to Cyzikos. Maximus accepted this offer and so he earned the distinction of becoming a defender of Orthodoxy, while at the same time he defined precisely his position against the newly established sects of Monenergism (μονοενεργητισμός) and Monotheletism (μονοθελητισμός).

It is in this same work that Maximus also examined Origen's views regarding the creation of man. It should be noted, however, that Maximus did not embark on a polemic against the Origenist positions, but rather tried to expose their doctrinal basis as theologically unfounded using solid evidence.¹ The tentative manner in which Maximus tried to approach the Origenist standpoint has been seen by some scholars

as an inclination on his part towards an adoption of Origenism and accordingly it has been suggested that Maximus' works exhibit influences from the Alexandrian theologian. With regard to this issue, however, P. Sherwood maintained that a careful analysis would prove otherwise. In other words, it would make clear that in fact Maximus' views and arguments contain a radical and systematic refutation of Origenism.

Origen argued, by means of recasting the early Plato in familiar Christian terms, that there was in the divine region an original unity of rational entities which was interrupted due to their own choices. These entities, he argued were imprisoned by God in bodies as a punishment but they would return to their original unity abandoning their bodies within a context of a universal restitution (*ἀποκατάστασις*). For Maximus, these positions are very closely related to the anthropological issue and in a way usurp the original relationship between God and man which is based on love as the Christian faith advocates. For this reason such positions should be rejected.² We may note here in advance that the argumentation of Maximus, despite its clear theological orientation, is expressed in such a manner that satisfies two of the most basic needs of contemporary man. It satisfies the need for completeness of and a rational and philosophically reliable approach to the substance of the natural world in the wider context of a universal cosmology.

In the specific paragraphs which will be analyzed Maximus the Confessor attempts to illustrate his theological and partly philosophical thought embarking from the Platonic–Origenist theory about the relation between the divine and the human. It should be noted, however, that Maximus does not use this theory as a theoretical basis for articulating and presenting his theological and philosophical speculation about God and man. On the contrary, after lining up all of the basic principles of this theory, which are indicative of its basic directions, he pursues a solid and methodical refutation of it. Furthermore, he does not establish his argumentative line on powerless theological data and methodological ambiguities but on a rational and flexible scheme of thought, which at some points resembles the mathematical precision and intuitive consistency of positive sciences.

Maximus starts his analysis with methodological flexibility and qualifies the adoption of a position derived from Greek, or similar to

the Greek, theories (dogmas) as an “easy solution.” He retains this position because he holds that these theories do not reflect the truth – a factor particularly demanding – but constitute an oversimplified notion of it, a point that he will personally attempt to prove, as he states, as he proceeds further.

The main points that make up the Platonic-Origenist theory are connected with a certain version of the creation of man. They include the relationship between God and man, the process of the creation of the physical world and the transposition of rational beings from the region of the spiritual or contemplative situation to the corporal and carnal way of existence. According to this theory there was originally a unity, namely a coexistence of the souls within a divine orbit in a close interrelation with God in an eternal contemplation of him. In other words these spiritual beings in their totality constituted with God a unique, undivided and cohesive unity. Moreover, the way this unity was presented was developing according to the nature of God:

“Φάσκοντες τὴν τε ποτὲ οὔσαν κατὰ τὸ δόξαν αὐτοῖς
τῶν λογικῶν ἐνάδα, καθ’ ἣν συμφεῖς ὄντες θεῷ τὴν
ἐν αὐτῷ μονὴν εἶχομεν καὶ ἴδουσιν.”

In the process of time, however, there was a friction and an estrangement, which had as a result a negative movement of the rational creatures, namely their estrangement from God and the quest for a different way of “being.”³

According to the way Maximus conceives of Origen’s theory this specific movement of estrangement from the divine region and transition from unity to a totality of interspersed entities had taken place before the creation of the material world. This is why the world of corporeal perception derived from God as a form of punishment, exactly because the rational beings left the region of the divine and rational life. It is obvious then that the material world is in a sense the price which man is obliged to pay due to his own decision to exist independently and not in relation to God.⁴

After this concise description of the Platonic-Origenist theory Maximus attempts to refute it by focusing his analysis on certain axioms and trying to prove their relativity and inaccuracy. This attempt is methodically articulated and takes the form of six oppositions. It is to the first two of these oppositions that this paper seeks to focus attention providing an appropriate analysis.

1st opposition

The substance of God, the way of existence of man and the basic elements involved in the relation of corporeal – incorporeal beings

The Christian theologian does not challenge the fact that the divine is immobile, that it acts as a unity and that it preexists everything, without owing its existence to a superior intervening cause. Therefore it is an unconditional entity which is not subjected to time constraints, processes and imperfections of corporeality. Accordingly in order to present the evolution of human existence, he proceeds to the distinction of “being” from “non being” arguing that the corporeal, in contrast to the incorporeal, is determined by superior factors as far as its birth is concerned. At the same time its movement and its way of existence are characterized by a process of reunion with God, an ascending motion which is in constant process. Thus it has a positive quality not only as a progress but also as to the goal it pursues.

On the contrary according to Maximus’ thought the Platonic-Origenist God, out of his specific act of imprisoning the human souls in bodies, is qualified as being relative and opposed to being absolute and complete which characterize the manner of existence and manifestation of the divine Goodness. His act is defined by the impact that the estrangement of souls has on his consciousness.⁵

In addition, Maximus argues that the relation between the corporeal and the incorporeal is presented by Origen through a nexus of forensic specifications which, once its limits are breached, brings about punishment as a direct consequence. Therefore the Fall leads to acts of a juridical retributive type on behalf of God. He also notes that the fact of the Fall demonstrates a similar state in God himself, since it concerns spiritual beings which are originally intermingled with the divine substance.

It is obvious that Maximus wants to demonstrate that in the Platonic-Origenist theories God is projected not only as relative regarding his substance, but also with demonstrations which are not consistent with his infinite Godhood, such as the control of human freedom. All these happen to such an extent as to refute his ontological self-existence, since he originally co-exists with other creatures and at the same time incorporates both good and evil qualities without any radical distinction between these opposed powers.⁶

On the other hand Maximus does not describe the life movement

of man as sinful or evil and thus he refutes, at least on this level, any intervention of divine punishment. He establishes that Good and Evil co-exist in the human behavior, but considers that Evil is the means for the restoration of the Good:

“Ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν λοιπὸν ὁμολογήσαιεν ἂν τῷ κακῷ
οἱ τοῦτο παριέποντες τὸ φρόνημα, ὥς δι’ αὐτοῦ τὸ
δέον διδαχθέντες.”

This is why since Evil is opposed to the nature of man who is created “in God’s image” and is directed towards “God’s likeness,” is abandoned for the sake of the Good. In addition, he does not consider the creation of the material world as a means of punishment of a pre-existent (prior birth) sin due to movement. It was rather a means leading to re-incorporation into the divine life and to revival of blissfulness as a quality of it. Thus the Good maintains its authenticity and attracts human movement to a communication with It by expressing Its permanent and stable character without approaching any finite ontological and ethical limits. Therefore Evil evades its label as a sin, since it is exclusively included in the wide context of intentions and experiences, while at a later stage when its falling character is realized, it leads to the Good through repentance.⁷

Although here the presentation of Good and Evil is compromised through their co-existence, this is approached from a different point of view and is envisaged in a radically dissimilar way so as to diminish Origen. This means that Evil in itself is neither considered to be the panacea for the solution of all ontological and ethical issues, nor is it believed that it diminishes the entire human existence. At the same time, since reference is made to the way of coexistence of Good and Evil, the material world is not absolutely rejected in favor of the spiritual, but the purpose of the existence of the material is stressed. Indeed both the material and the spiritual are considered to be elements which significantly effect the quality of human nature. The basic axis of the above elements is presented as man’s continuous struggle to communicate again with the divine and to actualize the communion of creation as a whole with the Holy Trinity on the basis of the conditions which are provided by the Trinity’s primordial will. This contact is not conceived by Maximus as a return to the Origenist unity but as an achievement under the human terms of a communicative relationship with a source that constantly moves by a love drive.

2nd opposition

The properties of human movement: its starting point and its final destination.

In this context Maximus proceeds to an analysis of the term “movement” arguing that it is not possible for it to have existed before the creation. This is why movement is presented as a product of thought, choice, and expression of will towards some element, all being qualities which presuppose existence and sensation. As this Christian theologian teaches, it constitutes on the level of the material world a perceptible situation of the tangible, while there is an analogous quality for the spiritual:

“Καὶ πάλιν, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ γενομένων νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἡ γένεσις τῆς κινήσεως προεπινοεῖται. Οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε πρὸ γενέσεως εἶναι κίνησιν. Τῶν τε γὰρ γενομένων ἡ κίνησις, ἢ τε νοητῶν, νοητή, ἢ τε αἰσθητῶν, αἰσθητή.”⁸

In other words the substance from which it is derived and which it expresses determines movement.

Maximus’ thought, however, is not limited to the above distinction but proceeds further to search for the particular meaning of the notion of movement, in attempt to prove Plato’s and Origen’s misconception in defining movement as an act leading to apathy. At first, he bases his argument on the traditional Christian position that the element of movement is indicative of human nature, since it is created and owes its existence to the Creator God who is not subjected to such physical necessities. This is because, as it has been already stressed, God is immutable as compared to the totality of mutable things and does not owe his being to a preexisting entity which is superior to him.⁹

Maximus thought is developed as follows: Therefore God, by being superior to all the material and finite entities, is the reference point and the final purpose of all rational entities. At the same time he is in the process of time a stable, permanent and immovable reality from which movability and immovability are derived. More specifically, all the above means that in himself God is first and foremost an immovable, superior and immutable substance in that he is not subjected to interventions and mutations from external factors. On the other hand these statements mean that his existence operates so as to attract the movement of his creatures.

The above shows that it is not possible to posit a kind of movement which would lead to the end of activation of human existence or to the exhaustion of its nature since it is not self-existent, namely it is not itself the cause of its existence. This means that all human beings retain an intense and permanent existential quest as well as an inherent inclination towards something that surpasses them, since they are God's creatures and owe their existence to his generating acts:

“Οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν γενητῶν κινούμενον ἔσται, ὡς τῆς πρώτης καὶ τῆς μόνης αἰτίας, ἐξ ἧς τὸ εἶναι τοῖς οὐσι περιέσται, μήπω τυχόν, ἢ τοῦ ἐσχάτου ἐντὸς γενόμενον, ὀρεκτοῦ.”¹⁰

That is to say, movement is not sinful in itself, but its negative quality is only acquired when the purpose of the movement does not aim at God, who is its final destination. Since movement is inherent in the human substance, it is imperative for it to aim towards the ultimate Good so as to obtain true bliss.

It is established then, through the present reasoning, that Maximus disagrees with the Platonic–Origenist theory of an original unity, which proceeded through movement to the dispersion of rational beings. This theory had served, apart from other purposes, the exclusion of any prospect of pantheism:

“Ἴν' ἐκ προγεγεννημένης ἐνάδος ὁ τῶν λογικῶν σκεδασμὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων γένεσιν ἀκολουθῶς συνεισκομίσας νομισθῇ.”

On the contrary Maximus maintains that human beings have not yet reached complete unity with God, which proves that they are in constant movement. Their relation to the one and only cause will be completed at the end of their life-process as a real and definite existential completeness.¹¹

To validate his position Maximus invokes the visions (theories) of Moses, David and Paul the Apostle, according to which the movement of human beings towards God is granted as a developing and gradually completed process. Maximus validates the authority of his arguments by referring to the invocation of Christ himself by human beings which signals and activates a reverse course of them towards God, the final cause of all. Within this cause human beings will find the answer as to the purpose of their existence and they will satisfy their inner quests.

On the other hand Maximus refers to a “movement of passion” which is defined as dilution, but not in the negative sense of the term. Rather it is understood as an element which defines man positively, i.e. as a being that endures the movement which is not produced by its own powers and is defined by a reality which surpasses it.¹²

According to our data we have encountered so far three values which Maximus has extensively analyzed: human nature, divine nature and human movement with God himself as point of reference God himself. It is about a notional combination, which leads us to conclude that the movement is indeed a “passion” [πάθος] for man, since this is the only means of his encounter with God. It has been imposed on him as a complementary factor due to his created nature, which is created by God, the absolute being:

“Οὐ γὰρ τὸ κατὰ τροπὴν ἢ φθορὰν δυνάμεως ἐνταῦθα
δηλοῦται τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ τὸ φύσει συνυπάρχον τοῖς
οὔσι. Πάντα γὰρ ὅσα γέγονε πάσχει τὸ κινεῖσθαι, ὥς
μὴ ὄντα αὐτοκίνησις ἢ αὐτοδύναμις.”¹³

Therefore we are led to conclude that, since the movement stems from God – who is immovable and self-existing and has created human beings – it has to return to him. And so man can be transformed from a simple created being to one that is in bliss as a result of a most ethical attainment. Thus, movement is not evil because it is derived from God, moves towards man and is completed as it returns to its one and only destination which is also its starting point. Here beginning and end coincide, since God is at the same time self-existent, possesses absolute bliss, is free from any necessities that could arise and acts voluntarily:

“Ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς κινεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν
τὸ τέλος ἐστίν.”¹⁴

In order, however, to attain a more objective view of the matter it is deemed vital to stress the following points: When Origen was articulating his texts the philosophical agenda was clear of heretical sects such as Arianism and Pelagianism which, as is known, were directly against the incipient Christian dogma. The theologians of the 3rd and the 4th century had to pay particular attention to the formulation and especially to the articulation of their thoughts so as not to encourage the aggressive resurgence of any heretical positions but rather to safeguard the Christian dogma with sound arguments against these positions. Origen, on the contrary, did not encounter any such

“dangers.” For this reason he expressed himself freely in his attempt to explain the creation of the world and man.¹⁵

It should be noted that according to his own statements, Origen's thought was not meant to be a fixed dogmatic statement, but mainly a suggestion. Thus, Origen himself states that he articulated his thought rationally but not dogmatically. At another point he argues that in fear of being condemned as a heretic and an opponent of the Faith of the Church he is going to speak in the form of an open discussion and avoid making absolute statements. Origen deemed his theory to be more functional as it was logically inter-twined with the cosmological system he had constructed. It should be stressed, however, that his tendency of not justifying all of the particular points of his theory constantly and sufficiently finally resulted in heretical deviations. He was trying to explain the creation of the world and to correct the inconsistencies of previous theories, without always having the necessary dogmatic foundation.¹⁶

Origen justifies the creation of souls before bodies by arguing that since God is the Creator he should have created something from the beginning. Otherwise either this property is refuted or one should accept that there was a period in which God was not a Creator. In this case God would be subject to change and improvement, which is incompatible with his immutable nature. At this point, however, Origen falls into a notional confusion involving creation as an initial ability and its content, a confusion that had clear ontological repercussions.

It should be noted nevertheless, that Origen was against those Gnostics for whom there was a distinction in creation resulting in the birth of angels, demons or humans in relation to their inherent properties. Origen himself maintained that they were all born equal, that there was an individual retreat of virtue during the fall and that God's justice was always the rule. Besides, he did not accept any version of an evil and arbitrary God. Freedom of will, which is supported by Origen, helps him to justify the creation of beings. Thus change was necessary in order to transform entities into creatures.¹⁷

In conclusion we would like to note that theological research after the Council of Nicaea had not introduced a relevant dogma regarding the pre-existence of souls. Indeed until the 5th century nothing had been officially declared on this issue. In fairness to Origen we must acknowledge that the silence of the Church at his time provided

the stimulus for speculative approaches to this topic of inquiry. So the subject was given a legal character until the matter was dealt with officially and given a solid dogmatic verification. Moreover it is particularly important that a highly speculative climate regarding the way the soul exists is also observed in the period close to the Fifth Ecumenical Council. All these are reinforced by the fact that the Bible on the whole did not project any specific theory, but provided a basis for a variety of interpretations and in a sense it encouraged this type of theological discussion.¹⁸ Therefore it should be said that Origen belongs to the historical and dogmatic context of preparation.

NOTES

¹ The text which will be analyzed here is included in PG 91 1069A-1081C. For the topics discussed, see P. Sherwood's essay *The Earlier Ambigua of St. Maximus the Confessor and his refutation of Origenism*, Romae 1955 and Rev. Dimitru Staniloae, "Introduction" *Maximus the Confessor*, Athens: 1978, pp. 13-51 and his extended comments on the text.

² For Maximus' Anthropology, see Nikos Matsoukas, *World, Man, Society according to Maximus the Confessor*, "Grigoris" Athens 1980, particularly pp. 99-135 and 253-289. It should be mentioned from the outset that Plato's standpoints which resemble Origen's positions are obviously included in *Memno* and *Phaedo*, where it is argued that human souls existed before their embodiment in the celestial world of Ideas. The anthropological views of Origen, which are reviewed by Maximus, are included in his famous systematic work *De Principiis*, I and II. Our objective in this essay is not to proceed to an exhaustive analysis of the topic as a whole but rather to extract the anthropological values that relate to our quest.

³ See Maximus the Confessor, *De variis difficilibus locis*, 1069A. It should be noted that the terms "henad" (ἑνάς), "permanence" (μονή) and "establishment" (ἰδρυσις) extensively occur in Neoplatonic Proclus and are connected with the definitions of his polytheistic ontological system. See his work *Concerning Plato's Theology*, III 5.5 – 28.21.

⁴ See Maximus the Confessor, *De variis difficilibus locis*, 1069AB. On "movement" in Maximus, see P. Sherwood, *St. Maximus the Confessor: The ascetic life*, pp. 39-49 and Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, Freiburg 1941, pp. 89-104.

⁵ See Maximus the Confessor *De variis difficilibus locis*, 1069B.

⁶ See *ibid.*, 1069C.

⁷ See *ibid.*, 10069 D-1072A. On no occasion should it be thought that a relativised version of the good on the basis of the bad is introduced. Reference is different from specification. According to chronological and rational order the good proceeds.

⁸ See *ibid.*, 10069D-1072A.

⁹ See *ibid.*, 10069D-1072A.

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, 11072C.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1072CD. Pantheism is by no means acceptable and Eastern Christianity

which stresses that God creates not according to his substance but according to his energies. See here Gregory Palamas on the Divine energies, P. K. Christou, *Gregory Palamas* Vol. II Thessalonica 1964, pp. 96-136, a work representative of the Eastern Christian tradition in this regard.

¹² See Maximus the Confessor, *De variis difficilibus locis*, 1172D-1073B.

¹³ See *ibid.*, 1073B.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1073C. In this quote it is obvious that human history is not defined as a development but as a gradual realization of the archetypes contained in the natural [creation of the material world] and especially in the supernatural revelation [incarnation of the Divine Logos].

¹⁵ See Origen, *De Principiis*, pref. 5 and *ibid.* II.6.7 "Si quis sane melius aliquid profuerit et evidentioribus de scripturis sanctis assertionibus confirmare quae dicit, illa potius quam haec recipiantur."

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, I.7.1. "generali nobis sermone digesta sint, per consequentiae magis intellectum quam definito dogmate pertractata atque discussa de rationalibus naturis." See also *ibid.*, I.6.1 and 5 and 9. In this regard see also J. Armantage, "The best of both worlds: Origen's view on religion and the resurrection," *Origeniana Prima*, p. 345; C.E. Pabowitz "Personal and cosmic salvation in Origen," *Vigilae Christianae*, 38 (1984) p. 328; L.G. Patterson "Who are the opponents in Methodius' *De resurrectione*," *Studia Patristica* XIX, p. 229; J. Daniélou, *Gospel message and Hellenistic Culture* p. 155; R. Daly, "Origen studies and Pierre Nautin's Origen," in *Theological Studies* 39 (1978) p. 509 and R.A. Norris, *God and the world in Early Christian Theology*, p. 106.

¹⁷ *De Principiis*, I.2.10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 2.2 and II. 9.3.

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“The Earth Is The Lord’s” Orthodox Theology And The Environment*

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INTRODUCTION

Why would Orthodox Christians gather here today in Baltimore, Maryland in 1995 to participate in an “Orthodox Summit on the Environment?” What connection does Orthodoxy have with such a worldly and “earthy” concern? None of us remember Bishops or Priests when we were growing up ever mentioning in their sermons that Orthodoxy had much concern about social issues, much less such a controversial concern such as ecology and the destruction of the environment.

What is this new thing? Isn’t the Orthodox Church concerned about the salvation of our souls, about spiritual and heavenly things, about communion with God and sacramental life and worship? What business do we have coming together to talk and think and reflect about “Orthodox Theology and the Environment?” Why would SCOBA (=the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in America), NCC (=the National Council of Churches), and OOCUSA (=the Oriental Orthodox Churches in the United States), want to discuss a topic like this that appears to be so far removed from what is central to the concerns and faith and beliefs and practices of the Orthodox Church?

That, perhaps, is the way that most Orthodox Christians in our country are probably reacting to this Orthodox Summit on the Envi-

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ronment. It is probably not something that we, the participants in the Orthodox Summit, would say aloud. We are here because somehow, each of us has some concern with the environment. But in all likelihood, most of us did not come to our environmental concerns *because* we are Orthodox Christians.

So, this afternoon, I am raising a question for the Orthodox. Should we have been interested in the contamination of the earth, the fouling of the air, the dirtying of the oceans and the rivers and lakes, the pollution of atmosphere and space, and the poisoning of the ecosystem, *precisely because we are Orthodox Christians?*

Should we have, early on in the industrial age, raised the voice of caution and warning about what the nations and economies of the world are doing to the environment, *precisely because we are Orthodox Christians?*

Should we have lifted up the responsibilities and especially our responsibilities as members of the Orthodox Churches in each nation to protect the environment *precisely because we are Orthodox Christians?*

I ask this question today, not to lay blame on those who have gone before us. Doubtless, they never raised these questions because the Orthodox were, by and large concentrated in parts of the world more agricultural than industrial, more raw material producing and mercantile than manufacturing. They were not confronted as Orthodox Christians by the ecological issue.

I ask this question, rather, to challenge those of us here and Orthodox Christians everywhere, who are now in fact and consciously part of the global reality, to look more deeply at the Orthodox Christian teaching, ethos and spiritual life. Can we discover there the kinds of resources, which truthfully and in an unforced way, *require* an ecological stance, because it flows readily from the Orthodox Christian faith and life?

In order to respond to this theological question, first, we need to put before us in a concentrated way, what we all know as Orthodox Christians: a word-picture of the Orthodox Christian world-view. We need to see how Orthodox Christian theology views reality.

Secondly, from this we will lift up several significant aspects of the Orthodox ethos, to see how theology speaks to ecological concerns in an unforced way.

And thirdly, we will ask what is *the most necessary* response, from

the Orthodox theological perspective, to all of this for the resolution of the ecological problem?

THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN THEOLOGICAL VISION

And so we ask, what is the Orthodox theological vision of reality? What is the nature of reality? How did it come into being? Is matter all that is? Or is everything really spiritual? Or is the "stuff" of the world both material and spiritual? What is the meaning of life? Why do we exist and for what purpose do we live? What is our human condition? Do we need to do anything about it? If so, what? Do we do it alone? Do we need help? And the questions go on and on. Many seek to answer such questions: theologians, philosophers, scientists, politicians, artists, poets, novelists, people of every faith and religion, and every ordinary man and woman on some level or another.

We as Orthodox Christians have our answers. We too must describe the Orthodox Christian theological vision as the larger context to ecological reflection.

"In the beginning, God created. . ." (Genesis 1:1). That is the way the Bible begins. The most fundamental reality, ultimate reality, the reality beyond our empirical reality, is God. The only way we know this reality is by the experience of what the Bible and the Church call the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The one God is a community of divine persons: the Father who is the source of divinity; the Son who is ever born of the Father; the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father.

In time, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit brought into being something that never existed before the creation. It was not created out of the being of God; it was not created out of pre-existing matter; it did not emanate from God. It was created literally "out of nothing," so that it will always be different from God, who brought it into being. God is one reality; the creation is totally and irrevocably different.

The creation came into existence in a process of development. It includes every spiritual and material reality that exists, that is not God. So the hundred or so elements that are the building blocks of the creation and the hundreds of thousands, if not millions of forms in the creation ultimately depend upon God to sustain them in their existence. The Son, the Bible says, upholds "the universe by his word of power" (Heb. 1:3).

Humanity is created in the image and likeness of God of both material and spiritual components: from the earth and by the breath of life from God. Human beings were thus created to stand as a connecting link between heaven and earth, as a "microcosm" joining the spiritual and the material together in one.

But because human beings are created in the "image of God," the responsibility of personally and corporately manifesting God's reality could not be forced upon men and women. It had to be accomplished freely, as a personal and corporate offering to the Creator, as an act of communion with the Creator.

Human beings, however, have rejected that communion which would have brought their humanity into full fruition. Instead, they seek to fulfill their lives separate from, and often in rebellion against, God. The result is incomplete and distorted humanity. The elements making up the image of God in humanity are broken, distorted, weakened, darkened. Our intellect functions, but always incompletely and inadequately: Our freedom becomes license; our creativity never satisfies; our feelings and desires chase after the harmful; our willing and wanting continuously miss the mark. We are under the dominion of the demonic forces of evil. We live in spiritual death. We are sinners.

In response to this broken, distorted and incomplete human condition, God acted to restore our humanity. After preparing his chosen people, God the Father acted. "When the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption" (Gal. 4:4-5). "For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life. For God sent the Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him" (John 3:16-17).

The Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the Son, took on human nature combining without confusion the fullness of God with the fullness of humanity in one person, Jesus Christ. He taught humanity, he healed humanity, he died for humanity, and, through his life-giving resurrection, he conquered the death and sin and evil, which dominated humanity's existence. Christ is risen from the dead, trampling upon and destroying Death, and to those of us lying dead in spiritual tombs, he has given true and genuine life.

What God did in Jesus Christ for the entire world, past, present

and future, he made available to each of us personally and corporately through the Holy Spirit in the Church. The Church continues the saving work of Christ. Its work is to make possible our restoration to communion with the Father and to begin the process of growth toward the fulfillment of the image and the likeness of God in us and among us. Christ taught us to pray that his kingdom come, where he is Lord and we and all creation with us are in full communion with God.

The Holy Spirit acts in Baptism so that the old and sinful humanity in us dies with Christ on the Cross, is buried with Christ in the tomb, but is also, resurrected with Christ to the new life. Holy Unction grants us the presence and the gifts of the Holy Spirit that we might overcome the effects of the broken-ness of sin and separation from God. The Holy Spirit leads us to separate ourselves from all the forms of spiritual death and to receive the gifts of the seal of the Holy Spirit: to grow in God-likeness; to grow in holiness; to grow step by step, manifesting the presence and life and glory of God in the whole range of lives -personally, ecclesially, and socially. The whole of life is included in the spiritual way of life. So we are introduced into a sacramental way of life, forgiving sins, healing illness, drawing marriage into the life of the Kingdom, lifting up a few to lead the Church in fulfilling the high-priestly work of Christ. The Sacrament above all sacraments, however, the Holy Eucharist, takes the material things of creation represented by bread and wine which humans fashion out of God's gifts to us and offers them back to God that they may be transfigured and transformed. These things that are God's, from all of the things that are God's we offer as priests of creation in accordance with every good, holy and sanctifying value and for every good and holy and sanctifying purpose.

God now awaits our response to his loving work of redemption and salvation. Human beings now are called to offer back to God, what he has given to us, but freely and reverently, while struggling against the remnants of demonic forces. The Christian life is a life of fighting against every corrupting evil. But it is more so the struggle to conform our ways to God's ways. It is an ascetic struggle in cooperation with the Holy Spirit in us personally, in the Church, and in and for the world. So, whatever we do, we are to do all to the glory of God (1 Cor. 10:31), manifesting more and more fully, day by day, that state of affairs where we and the creation are in communion with

God in and through his divine presence and energies. "And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:18).

Yet, we are between the times. We are framed on the one side by the saving and redemptive work of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. On the other side is the final consummation of all things. So we look forward in God's good time for the resurrection from the dead and the life of the world to come.

This is one way of telling the Orthodox story. Perhaps you can tell it better, but on the basis of some of the themes described in this account of the Orthodox understanding of ultimate reality and the reality of the created world and the human "microcosm" which is called to unite all created reality with God, let us now focus more carefully on the ecological implications of the Orthodox Christian faith.

There are three themes I want to lift up for your consideration of the ecological implications of Orthodox theology. One is the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; another is the sin of humanity in relation to the environment, and the third is the sacramental approach to the Christian Life as it relates to ecology.

THE HOLY TRINITY

One of the most profound affirmations that come to us from the Orthodox Christian understanding of God as Holy Trinity, is that ultimate reality is in itself personal, and beyond that, is a community of persons. This flies in the face of every form of privatism and individualism, for those who are created in the image and the likeness of God. The three persons of the Holy Trinity live in a loving communion of mutual inter-dependence.

But the Holy Trinity does not live in splendid isolation. Orthodox theology describes God's "reaching out" so as to create, to sustain, to redeem and to sanctify the created universe. We call God's "reaching out" to the creation, His "divine energies." God maintains a basic communion with his creation even in its fallen and distorted condition.

The point is this: If God in the divine life – which we human beings are called upon to imitate – is a relationship of communion, it

means that Christians must interconnect and relate with God, with one another and with the creation of which they are part.

We have an example of this in the work of the Holy Spirit. In the Eastern Orthodox worship tradition there is a rich treasury of resources for this modeling of care for the created environment. In the Sunday Morning Services of the Eastern Orthodox Church, there are eight sets of hymns known as the *Anavathmoi* in which we find the role and work of the Holy Spirit expressed in reverent poetic fashion. Some of these hymns refer directly to the sustaining providential role of the Holy Spirit for the created world.

For example, in the Plagal First Tone, we sing, "By the Holy Spirit are all created things, seen and unseen, preserved" Elsewhere in the *Anavathmoi* it is said that "all creation together is regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and returns to its former being" (First Tone). Elsewhere it is proclaimed that "Sovereignty over creation, its sanctification, and its motion are of the Holy Spirit" (Second Tone). "The Holy Spirit is the beginning of life and honor, for as God he establishes all creatures and preserves them in the Father and the Son" (Second Tone). In the Holy Spirit, "does all creation live and move," for "he gives substance (*ousioi*) to all creation" (Third Tone). Of the Holy Spirit "is grace and life for all creation" (Third Tone). "The Holy Spirit overflows with streams of grace and waters all creation with refreshing life" (Fourth Tone). "The Holy Spirit is the principle of life and its beginning (*zoarchike axia*), through whom every living thing is given life, as it is with the Father and the Word" (Plagal First Tone). "Truly, the Holy Spirit has power over all" (Plagal Second Tone). And finally, "By the Holy Spirit does all creation have existence (*ta sympanta to einai echei*)" for He is "the life of everything" (Grave Tone).

The Holy Spirit sustains the very existence of the created world. Without the Holy Spirit of God, all would dissolve back into nothingness. This means that we cannot speak of the earth and not concurrently speak of God. *As Orthodox Christians, we affirm that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity has ecological implications.*

THE SIN OF HUMANITY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The next thing we must give consideration to is the sin of humanity and the environment. Human sin at its heart is the breaking of

communion with the source of all goodness and life, God. Orthodox theology recognizes that sin impacts on our total existence as human beings. Even Christians who have been baptized, chrismated and share in the Eucharist are in need of continual repentance. Fr. Thomas Hopko says, that in Baptism we were forgiven our sins, so that precisely we might enter into a relationship with God that will allow us to continue to have our sins forgiven. This requires repentance. I think that it is fair to say that all of us are sinners against the environment. And we need to repent.

It is a commonplace in Orthodox efforts to address the issues of the environment, to recognize what we have done and are doing to God's creation. Humanity's role as "microcosm" relating the material and spiritual worlds has been violated and distorted by sin not only in human existence, but also in the whole of the creation. Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios, in his Encyclical Letter establishing the Orthodox Feast for the Protection of the Environment on the 1st of September in 1989 noted "with great anxiety the merciless trampling down and destruction of the natural environment which is caused by human beings." He laid the blame directly on humanity's perversion of its calling: "The abuse by contemporary man of his privileged position in creation and of the Creator's order to him 'to have dominion over the earth' (Gen. 1:28), has already led the world to the edge of apocalyptic self-destruction."

A few months later, in November of 1989 an Eastern Orthodox Consultation with representatives from practically all the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox autocephalous Churches was held on the island of Crete on the theme "Come, Holy Spirit: Renew the Whole Creation." It declared that "Creation, although created by God as 'very good,' exists now in a state of disintegration and under the yoke of death. . . . because 'the prince of creation,' the human being, refuses to relate it to God and regards it as its own possession." Remember that phrase: "regards it as its own possession" -that is the ultimate ecological sin.

The appropriate response was called for by the consultation. It was a call for repentance, that humanity "may be turned from self-interest and egocentricism to true love, concern and care for others and for all of God's creation."

A similar statement was made by the leading Hierarchs of the Orthodox Churches throughout the world on the Sunday of Orthodoxy,

March 15, 1992, which condemned the hedonistic exploitation of creation by humanity, calling for repentance and a change of mind and heart for the sake of the environment.

Orthodox theologians have taken up the issue and addressed it with attentiveness and care.

Recently two books have come to my attention, written in Greek, both by Professors at the School of Theology of the University of Thessaloniki, addressing the ecological crisis. Professor Anestis Keselopoulos has authored a 245 page study titled *Humanity and the Natural Environment*, and Professor George Mantzarides has written a volume of 179 pages on *Empirical Theology in Ecology and Politics*. The first speaks of various forms of the misuse of the cosmos by human beings who have forgotten the purposes of their own relationship to the Creation. Keselopoulos says, "With the criterion of 'instrumental use,' the creation is transformed into a meaningless object and violated without restraint, so as to be subjected finally to the bulimia and greed of humanity" (p. 117).

Mantzarides connects the sinfulness of human beings toward one another with the sinfulness of human beings toward the creation. In the Fall of man from communion with God, he says, "the dominion of humanity over creation, which is also the primary characteristic of humanity's creation in 'the image of God' was overthrown. Humanity no longer exercises dominion over the creation as the representative of his Creator, but he fights against it and tries to subjugate it. He does not act providentially toward it nor as its preserver, but as its manipulator and exploiter. He exercises a similar stance of manipulation and exploitation toward his neighbor."

For sin, there is only one appropriate Orthodox Christian response: repentance, which means a change of mind, a re-orientation of life. In his Address to the Plenary of the European Parliament in Strasbourg on April 19, 1994, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew called for this genuine repentance: "The ecological problem of our times," he said "demands a radical re-evaluation of our understanding of how we see the entire world: it demands another interpretation of matter and the world; and other perception of the attitude of humankind towards nature, and another understanding of how we acquire and make use of our material goods."

Ecological repentance for the sins against creation flows directly from the Orthodox Christian theological understanding of creation.

As Orthodox Christians we are compelled to believe that there is a theologically based need for "ecological metanoia."

SACRAMENTAL APPROACHES TO THE ECOLOGICAL PROBLEM

Another aspect of the Orthodox ethos that directly addresses the ecological question is the Orthodox Christian sacramental experience. The Incarnation of Jesus Christ brought together the divine and the human in one person. This incarnational reality became the model for the sacramental ethos of the early Church. The perfect, complete and holy divinity of the Son in communion with the humanity of Jesus, transformed the created reality of His human nature so that it became transparent to the divinity of the Son, revealing the fullest potential of its created reality.

The earthly and material in the one person of Jesus Christ, revealed to the cosmos the close inter-relatedness of the divine and spiritual in the creation, though never confusing nor identifying them. So, too, in the sacramental ethos, material things are purposefully committed to manifesting the presence and the glory of the living God. In the sacramental ethos there is a communion of material and spiritual realities. Water in Baptism cleanses not only the outer, but more importantly, the inner spiritual status of those who are baptized. Oil is used as a vehicle of the divine energies of God in sanctifying Chrismation and healing Unction. The laying of hands in Ordination and the joining of hands in the sacrament of Matrimony are sacramental movements. Our voices' oral confession and the priestly calling for forgiveness of sins in the Sacrament of Repentance become vehicles of grace. Above all, the bread made from wheat of the earth and human technique, and the wine from the vineyard and the vitner's skills are offered to God that they might become the most precious Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Eucharist shows how the material world and our human technologies can be transformed and transfigured to serve and manifest God.

Thus, the Orthodox ethos presents its whole worship experience as an ecological model of the service of the material world for the life of the Kingdom. Time is dedicated to God in the daily, weekly, annual and paschal cycles of the Church calendar. Flowers grace feasts and fasts. The craftsmanship of metals into crosses, chalices and candelabra, the transformation of wood and paint into icons, the formation of stone and brick and plaster into temples of worship, all lift up

ordinary and earthly materials, joining them with human skills in a priestly offering that makes them manifest communion with the living presence of God.

We human beings are the microcosm, representing the whole creation to God, offering the material world to him for transfiguration and sanctification, and we are God's appointed stewards called to exercise faithful and representative dominion in a God-like manner for the Creation. In the New Testament book of Hebrews this exalted role of humanity in creation is affirmed:

"What is man that thou art mindful of him?
Or the son of man, that thou carest for him?
Thou didst make him for a little while lower than the
angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honor,
putting everything in subjection under his feet.
Now in putting everything in subjection to him,
he left nothing outside his control" (Heb. 2:6-8).

We have not handled that authority very well. We have sinned against ourselves, against others and against the creation. With the grace of God we are in battle against all forces and powers and principalities of corruption. The struggle for personal growth, for ecclesial growth, and for the "life of the world" (John 6:51), is never-ending, as we seek, with God's presence and energies, to move from "glory to glory." We look forward to God's realization of His plan for us and for the creation. Now it is clear why "the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing. . . of the children of God" (Rom. 8:18-19, 22). For you see, "We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies. For in this hope we were saved" (Rom. 8:22-24).

As a result, in his second letter St. Peter says, "according to his promise we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (2 Peter 3:13). *We cannot escape from the obvious. The Orthodox sacramental ethos forces us toward an ecological stance.*

THE FIRST REQUIREMENT

The first requirement in the face of these truths of the Orthodox Faith, is a return to the world-view which sees the created world not

as a venue for exploitation and abuse, but as belonging to God. In his address to the "Summit on Religions and Conservation" held in Atami, Japan in April of this year, His All-Holiness, Patriarch Bartholomew, put it this way: "Mankind today must change its position with regard to the natural environment. This is a necessary pre-requisite for mankind's changing the meaning, which it gives to matter and the world. Ecology cannot inspire a respect for nature if it does not express a different cosmology (that is, a different world-view) from that which prevails in our culture today."

We can summarize that requirement into just five words: "The Earth is the Lord's."

The earth is not ours. It is the Lord's. It is not ours to deal with as we please. We are stewards of another's property. Our appointed role as the microcosm joining the material and spiritual worlds, is to use the world sacramentally, to use it, and to offer it up in a priestly fashion. In the book of Exodus we have been given our task. The Lord says, "all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19:5-6).

As a result, the first requirement for the healing of the creation is for the people's of the earth to recognize who is its real owner.

The Prophet Isaiah affirms it for us in several places. In chapter 40 he challenges us: "Have you not known? Have you not heard? The Lord is the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth . . ." (Isaiah 40:28). In chapter 45, the Lord affirms his creative acts, "I made the earth, and created man upon it; it was my hands that stretched out the heavens, and I commanded all their host" (Isaiah 45:12). In chapter 48 God speaks and declares "I am he, I am the first, and I am the last. My hand laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand spread out the heavens" (Isaiah 48:12-13). We cannot evade the conclusion. We need to change our fundamental attitude in the way that we deal with the earth. It is not ours, it is God's. All else will flow from that changed perspective.

CONCLUSION

So what is the answer to our question? The answer is clear and unavoidable. If we are faithful to the theological message of the Orthodox Christian faith, we must think and act ecologically. The most fundamental reason is that "*The earth is the Lord's.*" *Not ours.* Yes,

"The Earth is the Lord's."

The first time this phrase appears in the Bible is in the Exodus story. It appears in the story of the plague of the hailstones, which destroyed the Egyptian economy. Pharaoh repented once again and promised to let the Hebrew people go, and Moses responded to him with these words: "As soon as I have gone out of the city, I will stretch out my hands to the Lord; the thunder will cease, and there will be no more hail, *that you may know that the earth is the Lord's.*" But then Moses adds, "But as for you and your servants, *I know that you do not yet fear the Lord God* (Exodus 9:29-30)."

This passage is important. It points to the fact that the powers that be often look for surface solutions, while ignoring the deepest cause of the problem – "you do not yet fear the Lord God."

Yes, *"The earth is the Lord's."*

The next time these words appear is in Psalm 24: *"The earth is the Lord's."* Following it are two distinct observations. The first is personal and it challenges each of us to acknowledge that the earth is the Lord's in the way we live our lives, and to do so, as it says, in verse 4, with *"clean hands and a pure heart."*

The other observation is a challenge familiar to all Orthodox Christians who have attended the consecration of a Church. It is the passage that invites the structure to open its doors and to receive God into its inner spaces. Translate this passage as referring to the creation which awaits with eager longing its fulfillment in God.

"Lift up your heads, O gates!
and be lifted up, O ancient doors!
that the King of glory may come in."

.....

"Who is this King of glory?
The Lord of hosts,
he is the King of glory! (v. 7,10)."

Yes, *"The Earth is the Lord's!"*

The final time that this phrase appears in the Bible is in the New Testament, in the tenth chapter of St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. It appears in the discussion about eating or not eating meat sacrificed to idols. Paul's fundamental principle of dealing with

the issue is expressed in these words in verse 24, "*Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor;*" and one of the reasons given is that the "*earth is the Lord's, and everything in it.*"

Yes, "*The Earth is the Lord's.*"

We are pointed back to the Trinitarian ultimate reality. God is a community of inter-related, loving persons, reaching out in divine energies to create, sustain and bring to fruition what God has created.

Yes, "*The Earth is the Lord's.*"

We human beings are stewards of the Lord on the earth in the service of one another, "for the good of our neighbor." So, as the microcosm of the universe, we are called to serve as the priests of creation for all beings. We are called to live in a God-like communion with our Creator, with our neighbor, with the material world, because precisely, as the Psalmist says:

"The Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and those who dwell therein (Psalm 24:1)."

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The Ecclesiastical Title of “*Hypertimos And Exarch*”

PROF. VLASSIOS I. PHIDAS

1. ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES, SENIORITIES OF HONOR AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION

The ecclesiastical title of “*Hypertimos and Exarch*” (Υπέριτιμος καὶ Ἐξαρχος) was established in the later Byzantine period, but expressed the older innate tendency of ecclesiastical consciousness to translate as *honor* every exceptional privilege that was recognized by custom, or was sanctioned canonically in certain apostolic or other prominent local churches. This tendency was ecclesiastically acceptable already during the early post-apostolic period mainly in the apostolic churches of *Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Rome, Alexandria*, and others. In spite of the custom-based character of honor, this tendency exerted an influence on the operation of every local or broader gathering of bishops and specified the essential content of *seniority of honor* (πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς) already during the first three centuries.¹

The speedy dissemination of Christianity into the Greco-Roman world and in the wider surrounding area, necessitated the administrative organization of the local churches and the Christian Oecumene in geographical diocesan regions. The First Ecumenical Synod (325) established the organization of the local churches upon the principle of civil eparchies, placing responsibility collectively on the Eparchial synod which was summoned regionally and operated under the presidency of the bishop of the capital city (= the metropolis) of the eparchy, that is, the Metropolitan. This Eparchial synod decided about all the serious problems of the local churches of the eparchy, such as, those

related to the ordination and trial of bishops or other clergy, the divine liturgy and ecclesiastical orders in general.² This new metropolitical system of ecclesiastical administration fully absorbed the custom-based "*seniority of honor*" of the first three centuries with the only exception of those thrones which had enjoyed exceptional "*seniorities*" that transcended the local one, i.e. the thrones of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch.³ To these thrones were later added those of Constantinople⁴ and Jerusalem.⁵

The marriage of the "*seniority of honor*" of the thrones with the distribution to civil eparchies of the *synodical rights of ordaining and adjudicating over bishops*, formed the notion of the ecclesiastical diocese in its first canonical form, i.e. of the *metropolitical system*. The spirit of the synodical operation of the *metropolitical system* was expressed with characteristic fullness by Canon 34 of the Holy Apostles. This canon stresses, that, "*the bishops of every nation must know who is first among them, and that he should lead as head, and that they should do nothing unnecessary without his opinion... But he too should do nothing without the opinion of all of them. For in this way concord will be established, and God will be glorified, through the Lord in the Holy Spirit...*"⁶ The "*prime bishop*" (πρωτος), of course, in each eparchy was "*the bishop who presided over the metropolis.*" He had a position of "*head*" in the whole body of the bishops of the eparchy and so, according to Canon 9 of Antioch, "*it seemed good that he should preside in honor.*"⁷ It is in the same sense that the Byzantine canonist John Zonaras comments on Canon 34 of the Holy Apostles: "*As bodies move deficiently, when the head does not preserve its proper function by being in good health, or becomes totally useless, likewise the Body of the Church would move irregularly and deficiently, if the one who is first and occupies the place of headship did not enjoy the honor which is proper to him...*"⁸

Thus, the administrative "*seniority of honor*" of the "*prime bishop*" (πρωτος, primus) in the body of bishops of every eparchy,⁹ which was introduced by the metropolitical system, systematized the custom-based operation of the "*seniority of honor*" which previously existed in each locality. This "*seniority*" was not abolished by the internal relations of the rest of the bishops of the same eparchy. In this sense, Canon 7 of the First Ecumenical Synod applies to the full the principles of the metropolitical system to the eparchy of Palestine by recognizing the *metropolitical rights* of the Metropolitan of

Caesarea (*"preserving the office that belongs to the metropolis"*), but specifying, at the same time, that *"because a custom and an ancient tradition have been established, that the Bishop of Aelia (=Jerusalem) should be honored, having the appropriate place of honor..."*¹⁰ This means that the Bishop of Jerusalem would be classified as first in the order of bishops of the eparchy of Palestine immediately after the Metropolitan of Caesarea (*"having the appropriate place of honor..."*), although in a supra-local or ecumenical perspective his customary *"seniority of honor"* preceded the seniority of the Bishop of Caesarea, as, for example, in the Ecumenical Synods.¹¹

Once sanctioned, the canonical wedding of the *"seniority of honor"* with the right of ordaining and adjudicating over bishops was finally established through the formation of the *Pentarchic system* of ecclesiastical administration, without however, offending the inner canonical order of operation of the *metropolitan system*.¹² Indeed, all the thrones that either possessed or acquired supra-local *"seniority of honor"* (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem), which were established by Canons of Ecumenical Synods,¹³ claimed and were granted *supra-metropolitan jurisdiction* in the canonical rights of ordaining and adjudicating over bishops, without, however, infringing upon the inner circle of the canonical jurisdiction of the Eparchial synods. The *"patriarchal rights"* were explicitly limited to *"the rights of ordaining and adjudicating for Metropolitans only"* in one clearly specified patriarchal jurisdiction and was exercised by the *Patriarchal Synod*, which was presided over by the specific Patriarch and in which all the Metropolitans of his jurisdiction were obliged to participate once a year or at regulated periods.

Following the same spirit Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod specified the *"patriarchal rights:"* *"... So that only the Metropolitans of the Pontic and Asian and Thracian dioceses, as well as the bishops of the aforementioned dioceses who are in the barbarian lands, should be ordained by the aforementioned most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople. In other words, each Metropolitan of the aforementioned dioceses with the bishops of the eparchy would ordain the bishops of the eparchy, as it has been stipulated by the divine canons, but the Metropolitans of the aforementioned dioceses should be ordained, as it has been already said, by the*

Archbishop of Constantinople.”¹⁴

The “*order of seniorities of honor*” of the five Patriarchal thrones of (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem), was specified, directly or indirectly, by the relevant canons of the Ecumenical Synods of the 4th and 5th centuries (Canon 6 of the First, 2 and 3 of the Second, and 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod which stipulates, *that the throne of Constantinople should enjoy equal seniority with the throne of Elder Rome and should be magnified in the same manner as the latter in all ecclesiastical affairs, being second after it, and that after it the throne of the great city of the Alexandrians should be numbered, and then, the throne of Antioch and after this one the throne of the city of the Jerusalemites.*”¹⁵

The necessity of the strict observance of the *order of precedence* (τάξις προκαθεδρίας) of the five Patriarchal Thrones was confirmed by the disastrous consequences for the unity of the Church of the struggle between Rome and Constantinople with regard to the meaning of the “*equal seniority*” of the two thrones.¹⁶ The canonist John Zonaras, in his commentary on the relevant Canon 3 of the Second Ecumenical Synod (381), rightly observes, that “*some then, have not understood the preposition after (μετά) as signifying reduction of honor, but the metachronic (=occurring at a subsequent time) character of this constitution... From this, then, it has been plausibly shown that the preposition ‘after’ indicates reduction and diminution. Otherwise it would have been impossible to maintain the identity of honor in both thrones. For it was necessary in making reference to the names of the leaders of these thrones, to have the one preceding and the other following after, both in sitting down whenever they gathered, and in signing whenever this was needed...*”¹⁷ Indeed, failure to specify the *order of precedence* (τάξις προκαθεδρίας) of the Patriarchal Thrones, or leaving this matter in obscurity, would have caused a great confusion in the operation both of the Ecumenical Synods, as well as of the other ecclesiastical institutions, and this is why this matter was treated by the Ecumenical Synods with special sensitivity and attention.

Nevertheless, the establishment of the *patriarchal system* made equally necessary the formation of the “*order of precedence*” of the Metropolitans and the Archbishops of each Patriarchal throne, so as to exclude any apparent confusion or opposition both in the operation of the patriarchal synod, and on the other occasions of common

worship or common gatherings of these Metropolitanates or/and Archbishops. Thus, "*the order of precedence*" of the Metropolitanates and Archbishops of all the Patriarchal thrones was specified on the basis of strict ecclesiastical criteria, and was imprinted in the so-called "*Τακτικά*" (*Notitiae Episcopatum*). Indeed, in these famous texts of ecclesiastical order and geography we find recorded with absolute exactitude both the traditional order of the *old* Metropolitanates and Archbishops, and also the new changes that occurred at different epochs, which were usually derived either from the plausible creation of *new Metropolitanates or Archbishops*, or from the possible reduction or abolition of *old Metropolitanates and Archbishops*. It is obvious, that these texts, which mainly appear after the 7th century, are records of the *custom-based synodical "order"* of the Church as it came down, and that after its official recording it was compulsory for the relations between Metropolitanates and Archbishops in each patriarchal throne. In any case, the Metropolitanates always defended with exceptional zeal the rights of their metropolitan thrones which were established in the age long ecclesiastical practice, and usually reacted to every conventional or/and reasonable tendency to diminish or to curtail their rights with regard to either the *order* of honor or the *extent* of their jurisdiction.

2. THE INCREASE OF THE NUMBER OF METROPOLITANATES AND THE "ORDER OF PRECEDENCE" OF THE THRONES

Since the 11th century the older tendency of splitting the Metropolitanates in order to increase their number was generalized. This caused confusion, not only in *the order of precedence* between many of the *old* and the *new* Metropolitanates of each eparchial region but also in the distribution of *the canonical jurisdiction* between the Emperor and the Ecumenical Patriarch. Disputes ensued in connection with either the *promotion* of Archbishops or/and Bishops to Metropolitanates, or the *canonical rights of the new* Metropolitanates in contrast to *the old* Metropolitanates of the same region. The source of this confusion was usually the conventional interpretation by the emperor of Canon 38 of the Fifth-Sixth Ecumenical Synod (691), which specified, that "*if a city was renewed by royal authority, or was to be renewed, the order to be followed in ecclesiastical matters should follow the civil and public prototypes.*"¹⁸

The arbitrary application of this privilege by the Emperor, which

frequently occurred, affronted not only the canonical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch, but also the canonical order of inter-relations of the Metropolitans of the same region. Obviously, the exorbitant increase of royal arbitrary interference in honorary promotions of Archbishoprics or Bishoprics to Metropolitanates, incurred an analogous increase in the reactions mainly of those Metropolitans from whose jurisdiction the honored Archbishoprics and bishoprics were usually detached. The *old* Metropolitans usually regarded the promotion of the *new* Metropolitans by the Emperor as simply *honorary* and continued to claim jurisdictional privilege according to the established canons over their entire eparchy, especially over *the right to ordain and to adjudicate over* the *new* Metropolitans who had been honored by royal initiative.

The matter became quite explosive during the reign of Alexios I Comnenos (1081-1118), on account of the insistence mainly of the prominent Metropolitans of Heracleia and Ancyra to exercise the right to ordain new incumbents in the vacant Metropolitanates of Madyta and Basilaion respectively, which had been detached from their jurisdiction by an unilateral royal act. If, of course, the royal act had simply granted an *honorary* title of Metropolitan, then the election of a Metropolitan in both of these Metropolitanates should be carried out by the old local Metropolitans respectively. If, however, the honorary promotion had placed the new Metropolitanates on an equal footing with the existing Metropolitanates of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, then their election was indisputably the canonical privilege of the Ecumenical Patriarch. The protesting *old* Metropolitans employed Canon 12 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451) in defense of their position. This Canon expressly specified, that "*whatever cities had been honored with the title of Metropolitanates through royal letters, they should enjoy only the honor, and such should be the case with their ruling Bishop, which means that the proper rights belonging to the true Metropolitanate should be maintained.*"¹⁹

The clarity of this Canon concerning both, the distinction between "*true Metropolitanates*" (κατ' ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλεων) and honorary or "*titular ones*" (ὀνόματι μόνος) and the protection of the "*proper rights*" (οἰκείων δικαίων) of the "*true*" (κατ' ἀλήθειαν) Metropolitanates in contrast to those promoted by royal decree to this honorary position, provided a powerful leverage to the protesting Metropolitans of Heracleia and Ancyra, who "*said, that these*

churches, though honored with the title of Metropolitanates, should not have their leaders elected by the Great Church, but by them, since the church of Madyta is a Bishopric of the Metropolitanate of Heracleia and likewise the Bishopric of Basilaion belongs to the Metropolitanate of Ancyra."²⁰ However, the relative "royal prognostication or protocol" (βασιλικὴ διάγνωσις) made "in the presence of the then co-prognosticating Synod," defended the right of the Emperor to distribute honors to the churches "according to his will, without being prevented by the Canon which specifies that the privileges of a Metropolitanate over an honored Bishopric granted to it from the beginning should be safeguarded."²¹

Nevertheless, the dispute of the Metropolitanans was not resolved, since they continued to project their views as the only possible and well-founded "canonical claim," (κανονικὴν ἀξίωσιν) to accuse the Metropolitanans who had been honored by royal decree as uncanonical ("they said that they had received a higher honor against the canons") and to insist that through their fight they wanted to put a barrier to irrational drives. The settlement of this matter was finally reached when it was specified that in every case that a royal initiative was put to effect the Ecumenical Patriarch would also collaborate. Indeed it was decided "that the documentation submitted by anyone concerning the presidency of any church should not be arranged in any other way, nor should the head of these Archbishops or Metropolitanans be included, unless the Patriarch, being alerted to this by royal authority, and having examined whatever is envisaged by the divine canons, learns, as far as this is possible, why the King had decided on his own initiative to grant for a reasonable cause this honor to the Church. For then he would accept this, and would include to the assembly of the Hierarchs under him the person who was given this higher honor by the King."²²

The great tension that existed between the old and the new Metropolitanans of the Ecumenical Patriarchate concerning this matter is indeed reflected in the "Synodical Letter" of Patriarch Nicholas III (1084-1111) to the Emperor Alexios I Comnenos, in which a description is given of the impossibility of a sober discussion of the issue before the Standing (Endemousa) Synod, mainly because of the opposition of the Metropolitanans to any compromised approach to this matter. The Ecumenical Patriarch was forced to dissolve the Synod, but again sober discussion of the issue proved impossible, since "those

incriminating came again to object to the Church, and they suffered no questioning, but immediately filled everything with ugliness and tumult and the second meeting was seized by greater disorder than the previous one."²³ Finally, the method of submission of relevant canonical memoranda by the representatives of the opposing Metropolitans was followed, but again the tension was not averted. The impetus for the contentions was provided by the above mentioned "Notification" (Σημείωμα) of the Emperor Alexios I Comnenos.

The Ecumenical Patriarch Nicholas III conceded in the Synodical Letter to the Emperor, that the old Metropolitans, *"do not dispute... unfairly. Having put in the middle many canons and sacred books, it was ascertained through them ... that to raise Bishoprics and Metropolitanates is prohibited by many sacred and divine canons, and civil laws, and acts of catholic holy Synods, which specify the order and type of each, and that they should not jump beyond their boundaries and disallow moving to what is unfitting... See then, O Great King, how through all these it is brilliantly proven that the King should not be affirming his authority in such matters, but what pertains to the Church should be dealt with according to canon law... Since then there are such aids... such an act is illegitimate and incompatible, and opposite to the sacred canons, contradictory to the spiritual terms and laws, and not co-measurable to what is counter-produced by the opposition. For no real divine decree can stand against the divine canons, as it has been weightily shown above, and no condemnation which allows betrayal of laws and canons is commendable... For these prohibit the granting of both **unfair requests** and **impromptu donations** which result in harm to others. And besides, the **honors to some** should not be to the detriment of those of others... For it is not fitting for Hierarchs to claim as necessary the privileges of their own church, whether fair or unfair, indifferently, but to keep unaltered what is fair and to withdraw and stay away from what is unfair... To us too is fitting that we render nothing more preferable than the divine commandments and the Traditions of the Fathers out of expediency, but keep these unshakeable, as a matter of strength, and thus we perceive and stipulate..."*²⁴

It is self-evident, therefore, that the *compromised solution* to the problem introduced a new and constant juxtaposition between the old and the new Metropolitanates, which was from now on harbored by the official agreement of the Emperor and the Ecumenical Patri-

arch. The Metropolitans of the *old Metropolitanates* were able to recall in an acceptable manner and in support of their positions both, canon 12 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod and the relevant "Notification" (Σημείωμα) of the Emperor Alexios I Comnenus. More specifically, however, they were able to claim for themselves *metropolitical rights* for any new Archdiocese or Metropolitanate which was subtracted from their jurisdiction by Royal "Edict" (Πρόσταγμα). It was precisely in this spirit that the canonist John Zonaras (12th century) commented on the above canon which states that the *new Metropolitans* who are honored by royal act, ought *not to disturb the old Metropolitanate, but all the rights should be retained by this true Metropolitanate, as one that received the call in due time, and that no such right should be removed from the old Metropolitan.*"²⁵

This great fragmentation, however, of the old Metropolitanates for the purposes of creating many new Metropolitanates worked to the detriment of the traditional prestige of the "*true*" old Metropolitanates. Indeed, a "*true*" Metropolitanate was only that Metropolitanate which was endowed with a historically confirmed assurance of its metropolitical status ("*having securely received its appellation with the passage of time*") in contrast, that is, to the new Metropolitanates, which were not endowed with this criterion of *antiquity* and could not prove the *firmness* of their metropolitical *appellation*. The granting of honors by the king was not sufficient to establish metropolitical rights. This self-evident and canonically established distinction in the consciousness of the Church between the *old* and the *new* Metropolitanates had to be specified through titles or other distinctions of honor, which would express this consciousness in connection with this ecclesiastical act.

3. THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLE OF THE "*HYPERTIMOS AND EXARCH*"

During this period, we witness the establishment not only of the official title of the "*Hypertimos*" following a royal edict, but also of the ecclesiastical consequences in the wider region following from the granting of this title. Indeed, the Metropolitan of Athens Nicholas Hagiotheodorites persuaded the Emperor Constantine X Dukas (1059–1067) to bestow on him this established title of "*Hypertimos*." The consequences of the bestowing of this honorable title are de-

scribed in terms of an alleged lust for power of the Metropolitan of Athens, "*who having been honored by royal edict through the office of the Hypertimos and having decided to remove his throne from the place allotted to him, attempted to establish precedence over all the hierarchs because of the royal office.*"²⁶ Thus, the "office of Hypertimos" was "a royal office," and when it was bestowed, it carried ecclesiastical consequences not only with regard to the "seniority of honor" and the "order of precedence" of the throne of Athens, "*removing the throne from the place allotted to it,*" but also with regard to the relations of the Metropolitan of Athens with the rest of the hierarchs of the region ("*attempting to establish precedence over all the hierarchs because of the royal office*"). Similarly the Metropolitans, who were honored with the "royal office" of "Syngellos," put forward parallel claims.

The Standing synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate met the challenge of the exorbitant claims of the Metropolitans, who were honored by the Emperor, and found especially problematic the case of the Metropolitan of Athens, who although "*until yesterday occupied the last place among the bishops,*" put forward the claim "*of having precedence over all the other bishops.*"²⁷ The Synodical evaluation of the sacred canons relating to this case led to the issuing of a royal "Edict," which refers to the protest of many Metropolitans against those honored with "royal offices" (*Protosyngellos, Syngellos, Hypertimos, etc.*) "*who attempted to change the venerable thrones by means of senatorial honors.*" The Emperor Constantine Dukas condemned this tendency with the concluding remark that "*in the Church, where the Most Holy and Ecumenical Patriarch resides, whether in Synods or rebellions or courts or sittings or anything else, each one will retain the throne given to him by Holy Wisdom, which is the Word of God and Lord. Who indeed could remove the throne that He gave to anyone or deprive anyone of it? In the Palace, however, each one will have the honor, which was given to him in the Senate.*"²⁸ It was certain then, also in light of the strong disputes of the Metropolitans in the Standing synod, that in the opposite case, namely in the case of the application of the royal honors to the formation of the "*order of precedence of [episcopal] thrones,*" the entire ecclesiastical tradition on this issue of the "*order of precedence*" could easily be overturned.

The Emperor had by then become conscious of the question,

whether “if one became a simple Metropolitan in the first throne of Caesarea and another in Ephesus, and if those of Thessalonica or Hydrous became honored with the office of Syngellos, would this mean that the latter would take precedence over the former Metropolitans of Caesarea and Ephesus? ... We do not follow this custom.”²⁹ Consequently, the issue of royal honors created serious problems not only for the “order of precedence of the thrones,” but also for the internal operation of the entire ecclesiastical administration. For this reason, these honors came to presuppose on the one hand the agreed decision of the Ecumenical Patriarch and on other hand their gradual inclusion in the order of ecclesiastical titles. It is well known that the distinction of the Metropolitans of the Thrones according to the antiquity of their “appellation” (κλήσεως) was always specified by the “order of precedence of the throne” in the “Taktika” of the Patriarchal Thrones (Notitiae Episcopatum), but at the same time, it had to be expressed more fully in the internal relations of the Metropolitans of the same region.

For this purpose, older ecclesiastical titles were used with a new content, or new ones were introduced or both possibilities were combined. In an “Edict,” for example, of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos (1261–1282) to the Metropolitan of Cyzicus, the attribution by the Emperor of newly honoring titles to the old and outstanding Metropolitans of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, apparently in order to distinguish them from the new Metropolitans is noted as already an *old custom*: “My royalty,” says the Edict, “has officially granted to the Most Holy Metropolitan of Cyzicus what has always been granted to the hierarchs of this illustrious city of Cyzicus, namely, that he should possess the supremely honorable office (ὑπέρτιμον) of the venerable hierarchs and (Metropolitans) and wear the sakkos in the pattern of the many crosses in the Divine Liturgies and have an acolyte going before him in all his visits to his dioceses. Hence, my royalty orders that the aforementioned Metropolitan of Cyzicus **should be called and be named Hypertimos** and that he should have every honor that has always been attached to this office according to the custom that relates to it.”³⁰

Consequently, the official use of the honorific title of the “Hypertimos,” which is characterized as “most fitting office to the venerable Hierarchs and Metropolitans” and was accompanied by specific elements of distinction in the vestments (σάκκος καὶ

πολυσταύριον) and in having an acolyte with a candle (λαμπάς) in the transportation of the honored Metropolitans, both in the context of the Divine Liturgy and in their pastoral presence, had already been established. It is, however, equally characteristic that this honorific distinction of the "*Hypertimos*," which was fitting only for the venerable hierarchs, derived its most significant content from the ancient rights of the honored metropolitanical thrones, which were honored, since it is explicitly stated that "*whatever honor was always attributed to this venerable office*" is now linked, "*according to the custom pertaining to it*," with the exceptional title of the "*Hypertimos*," which was attributed "*only to outstanding Metropolitans*" and not to Archbishops or simple Bishops.

In parallel with the title of the "*Hypertimos*," the well-known and multifaceted title of "*Exarch*," established in the older canonical tradition was also used with a new content either by itself or combined with the title of the "*Hypertimos*." This title was used in Canons 9 and 14 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451) to denote apparently the "*first of the Metropolitans*" over a wider administrative region (*Dioikesis*) and to bestow on him a considerable jurisdiction in the law pertaining to the adjudication over bishops.³¹ Nevertheless, considerable disagreements arose among the Byzantine canonists with regard to the authentic meaning of this title. According to the canonist John Zonaras, "*Some, indeed, call the Patriarchs Exarchs of the prefectures (dioikeseis), and in support of this, they use Canon 42 of the Synod of Carthage... Others, however, say that the Metropolitans of the eparchies should be called Exarchs, and they put forward the testimony of Canon 6 of the Synod of Sardica... Indeed, it would be greater to call the Metropolitans of the eparchies Exarchs...*"³²

It is commonly understood, however, that the manifold use of the word "*Exarch*" had diminished its special canonical content and had rendered it a simple title characterizing various patriarchal or even metropolitanical assignments of jurisdiction, which were granted to select clergymen of any order or even to monks for the purpose of exercising patriarchal or/and, metropolitanical rights for a specified or unspecified period of time.³³ The unlimited breadth of usage of this title abolished on the one hand its specific canonical weight, but on the other hand, it legalized its broader ecclesiastical use in the literal sense of the term. In this sense, the canonist Patriarch of Antioch Theodore Valsamon observed in his comments on Canon 9 of the

Fourth Ecumenical Synod during the second half of the twelfth century, that *"this privilege of the Exarchs is not operative today."* For although *"some of the Metropolitans are called Exarchs, they do not have the other Metropolitans, who find themselves in their prefectures subjected to them. It happened, then, that the Exarchs of the prefectures of those times were different from the ones that exist today, since the privileges given to the latter by the canons have become inoperative."*³⁴

Consequently, the canonist Patriarch of Antioch, although being certain that *"the privilege of the Exarchs is not operative today,"* knows, however, that during the twelfth century *"certain Metropolitans are called Exarchs,"* but no longer exercise the privileges specified for them by Canons 9 and 17 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod and no longer have any jurisdiction over the other Metropolitans of the region. The former Chartophylax of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and afterwards Patriarch of Antioch Peter III (1052–1056), in his letter to Archbishop Domenicus of Grado, mentions as already established tradition, the attribution of the honorable titles of *"Exarch"* and *"Protothronos"* to diocesan Metropolitans and Presidents of Eparchial synods, because, as he writes, *"it is customary to call Exarchs, Protothronoi and Presidents those who take the first place in each Synod."*³⁵ This means that the title of *"Exarch"* was ascribed mainly to eparchial Metropolitans (*"who had the first place in each synod"*), who summoned and presided over the Eparchial synod, although in later times, it could still be ascribed honorifically even to Metropolitans who did not have any bishops subjected to them.

The combination, however, of the titles of the *"Hypertimos"* and *"Exarch,"* only for certain outstanding Metropolitans of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, was possible after the break-up of the large old Metropolitanates during the thirteenth century, although, these two titles could also be bestowed separately. As it is suggested, in the *"Edict"* of Michael VIII Palaeologos to the outstanding Metropolitan of Cyzicus, the title of the *"Hypertimos"* referred to the wider canonical privileges of the honorific seniority of the Metropolitans of the outstanding metropolitical thrones, while the title of the *"Exarch"* referred mainly to old jurisdictional privileges of outstanding Metropolitans as having *"prime thrones"* (πρωτοθρόνους) among the bishops of their eparchy and as *"Exarchs"* of their Eparchial synod.

It is quite typical that in a *Taktikon* of the fifteenth century (Notitia 20), under the title: "*Concerning the Order of the Thrones of the Metropolitans, and who amongst them are called Exarchs and Hypertimoi and who are only Hypertimoi*," the old Exarchs of the prefectures of Thrace, Asia and Pontos, (*Heracleia, Ephesus and Caesarea*) developed the title of "*Hypertimos*" and not the title of "*Exarch*" in order to specify their superiority over the other outstanding Metropolitans of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Thus, the Metropolitan of Heracleia bore the pompous title: "*President of the Hypertimoi and Exarch of All of Thrace and Macedonia*," the Metropolitan of Ephesus bore the simple title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch of All of Asia*," while the Metropolitan of Caesarea of Cappadocia bore the equally pompous title of "*Hypertimos of the Entire East*."³⁶

Indeed, the title of "*Hypertimos*" exceeded apparently the title of "*Exarch*." It could denote at the same time those outstanding Metropolitans endowed with an *Exarchy* ("*all the following Hypertimoi, namely the Exarchs and Hypertimoi*"), as well as those simple Metropolitans without an *Exarchy* ("*Up to them are those who have the Exarchates, as for all the rest of the Metropolitans, they are recorded only Hypertimoi, but not as Exarchs*"). Nevertheless, the order of "*Hypertimoi and Exarchs*" included mainly the outstanding old Metropolitans, while only as an exception the Archbishops and Bishops, who were detached from them, could also be enrolled, as it appears from the justification of the enrollment of the *Metropolitan of Philadelphia* to the order of the ("*Hypertimoi and Exarchs*") instead of the Metropolitan of Sardes of Lydia, under whose jurisdiction the Bishop of Philadelphia was enrolled in older times: "*c) The Metropolitan of Sardes and All Lydia. Instead of whom there is now the Metropolitan of Philadelphia, who previously was a Bishop under the former, but having become a Metropolitan, now has the place and the Exarchy of the Metropolitan of Sardes and the rest of the bishoprics which were under him.*"³⁷

It is clear, therefore, that the title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch*" was attributed as a rule only to the *old and outstanding Metropolitans of eparchies* who had bishoprics subjected to them, while the simple title of "*Hypertimos*" was mainly attributed to younger Metropolitans, who were detached from the order of the Archbishops or Bishops and were promoted to the order of Metropolitans. In the meantime, the Emperor with the consent of the Ecumenical Patriarch

was able to exercise his aforementioned privileges for the promotion of "*Hypertimoi*" to the order of "*Hypertimoi and Exarchs*," while the same could be also proposed independently by the Ecumenical Patriarch to the Patriarchal Synod. The inconsiderate change in title, however, from the order of the simple "*Hypertimoi*" to the exuberant and profused "*Hypertimoi and Exarchs*" caused confusion between titles and real status mainly during the post-Byzantine period.

4. THE TITLE OF "*HYPERTIMOS AND EXARCH*" DURING THE POST-BYZANTINE PERIOD

During the post-Byzantine period, all the Metropolitans of the most significant new Metropolitanates began to claim and finally to acquire the title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch*," usually of a wider ecclesiastical region than their Metropolitanate. The usually improper satisfaction of the ambitious Metropolitans by the Patriarchal Synod was not always unrelated to the economic support given to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but it always multiplied the confusion as it appears from the comparison of the "*Taktikon*" of the 15th century (Notitia 20) with the careful and laborious attempt of K.M. Rallis to gather together from the relative sources of the later Byzantine and post-Byzantine the well attested cases of Metropolitanates, which had been honored with the title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch*." ³⁸

The ambitions, of course, of the Metropolitans, old and new, were not only restricted to the seeking of a superior title or superior position in the order of precedence of Metropolitans from the ones possessed, but also extended to the expansion of the territorial region to which the title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch*" referred. The Metropolitan of Heracleia of Thrace, for example, although he claimed and received the pompous title of "*President of the Hypertimoi*," was not satisfied only with the region of Thrace, but added to his title Macedonia ("*Exarch of All of Thrace and Macedonia*"). In the same way, the Metropolitan of Cappadocia, although he received the equally pompous title of "*Hypertimos of the Hypertimoi*," was not satisfied only with the prefecture of Pontos, as the sacred Canons envisaged, but conjoined to his title the entire East ("*Exarch of the Entire East*"). This also occurred with the other Metropolitans, who, whenever they acquired the enviable title they sought after, always attempted to en-

large their territorial reference. Such a case is already mentioned in the "*Taktikon*" of the 15th century (Notitia 20). This is the case of the Metropolitan of Philippoupolis, "*Hypertimos and Exarch of All Dragouvitia*," but there was an additional, more general tendency towards the real territorial reference to the title: "*Note*," says the "*Taktikon*," "*that as regards the Metropolitan of Philippoupolis, the notaries of Constantinople wrote of him as being "Hypertimos and Exarch" only of the whole of Thrace; Metropolitan Damianos of Philippoupolis, however, wrote to us describing himself as "Hypertimos and Exarch of the whole of Europe and Dragouvitia."*"³⁹ In other words, three different territorial regions are used simultaneously with reference to the title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch*" of the Metropolitan of Philippoupolis.

It is obvious that the extent of the reference of an "*Exarchy*" to a territorial region specified as a rule the order of honor of the "*Hypertimos*," and therefore, the most important differentiation is usually observed in the extent of the territorial reference and not in the composition of the title of "*Hypertimoi and Exarchs*." Indeed, the excessive or improper fragmentation of the old Metropolitanates during the later Byzantine period rendered their survival impossible during the early post-Byzantine period and caused a general tendency of re-composing of the old jurisdictions of the outstanding metropolitan thrones. This was done as much with a reattachment of detached sections of old Metropolitanates as with a merger of neighboring Metropolitanates. These tendencies were favored for many reasons by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which only then could hope to receive the necessary economic support from the Metropolitanates of each jurisdiction when these Metropolitanates were in the position of fulfilling all their canonical responsibilities.

In this connection, *the reverse movement was adopted*, namely, *that of abolishing the junior Metropolitanates for the sake of the survival of the older and traditional Metropolitanates*, which would, in this way, acquire the possibility of contributing to economic needs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. It is in this context that we understand, for instance, the projected ecclesiastical justification of the merging of the Metropolis of Drama with the Apostolic Metropolis of Philippi, which was endorsed finally with a Sigillion of Patriarch Anthimos II (1623). In the preface of this Sigillion, it is stated characteristically that "*the addition of a good makes what is good better, and what is*

secure is rendered most secure..." Since then, the Eparchy of Philippi has been minimized for some time because of circumstantial anomalies and has been left only with its name, and the Hierarch who is in charge of it is materially deprived and without an income, so as to be unable to gain what is necessary for his well being and to submit his dutiful contribution to the Great Church... It has been decided by Synodical conferral and consideration that the Eparchy of Drama should be united to the Metropolitanate of Philippi and be genuinely attached to it, since it was 'protopapadikion' (=subject to it) at an earlier time..."⁴⁰

The disparaging description, however, of the Metropolis of Drama, which had been established during the times of the Palaeologoi ("since it was subject to it at an earlier time"), is deliberate and indicates the general tendency of the time to strengthen the old and outstanding metropolitical thrones, either by the detachment of sections from neighboring Metropolitanates, or by the attachment to them of entire new Metropolitanates. This new policy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate made systematic use of Canon 12 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451), as well as of the related commentaries of the Byzantine canonists, in order to present the abolition of the new Metropolitanates as its supreme duty for the restoration of the shaken canonical order with the improper creation of new Metropolitanates to the detriment of the jurisdiction of the old ones. It is self-evident that in this procedure the privileges of the outstanding old metropolitical thrones, which had been established in the continuous and age-long ecclesiastical practice, usually prevailed, since they had been firmly imprinted in their ecclesiastical titles and in the official *Taktika* (Notitiae Episcopatum).

The titles of the Metropolitans of the old and outstanding metropolitical thrones indeed constituted the indisputable indicator of the decisions taken, as it also appears in the apparently standardized preface of the two Patriarchal Sigillia of Patriarchs Neophytos II and Timothy II, relating to the expansion of the jurisdiction of the "*Hypertimos and Exarch of All of Macedonia*" Metropolitan of Philippi to the detriment of the new Metropolitans of Eastern Macedonia, which had been detached from his jurisdiction (1608, 1614). The whole structure of the *introductory preface* seeks to establish canonically the restoration of the traditional "*ecclesiastical rights and privileges of those which had prevailed from the begin-*

ning," in the Apostolic Church of Philippi: "*That the eparchies of the Metropolitanates in each place need to retain, without diminution, their own ecclesiastical rights and privileges, namely, those that prevailed from the beginning, and that their presidents should have the right to recall and regain the places which had been taken away irrationally and unilaterally and their own ecclesiastical rights as well, is apparent from various Apostolic and Patristic Divine Canons which order this as being good and proper, holding responsible and condemned and rejected as sacrilegious those who take away the ecclesiastical rights of others and those who remain careless concerning their own rights...*"⁴¹ As a consequence, the Ecumenical Patriarchate not only supported the tendency of reconstitution of the old and traditional Metropolitanates, but also disapproved, mainly by means of recalling canonical criteria those Metropolitans of new Metropolitanates, who reacted negatively, as well as those Metropolitans who remained careless about the ecclesiastical rights and privileges of the old Metropolitanates, which "*had been acquired from the beginning,*" who ought to fight for the restoration of their old canonical jurisdiction. The Metropolitans of the outstanding ancient metropolitical thrones had the canonical duty "*to recall and regain all the lands that had been taken away without reason and consent and their own ecclesiastical rights,*" while the Metropolitans of the new Metropolitanates were, according to the canons, "*responsible and worthy of condemnation*" on account of the canonical offense of "*sacrilege,*" that is, of uncanonical usurpation of foreign metropolitical rights "*since they took away the ecclesiastical rights of others.*"

5. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions could be drawn from the above data relating to the appearance, the content and the historic development of the high title of "*Hypertimos and Exarch,*" which has been used in the Ecumenical Patriarchate until this day.

First: the ecclesiastical titles always express a deeper relation between *the ecclesiastical honor bestowed* and the operation of *the ecclesiastical administration*. It is for this reason that all ecclesiastical titles were always formed with reference to either the developments of the ecclesiastical administration in different periods (*the*

metropolitan, the exarchic and patriarchal system) or to its historical by-products, which also varied in place and time.

Second: the subjection of all the Metropolitans of each Patriarchal jurisdiction to the authority of the particular Patriarch made necessary the *hierarchical order* of the “*seniorities of honor*” of the Metropolitans of each Patriarchal jurisdiction, in accordance with the traditional custom and canonical order. This hierarchical arrangement was specified as “*order of precedence of the Metropolitans*” and was recorded since the 7th century, always on the basis of the relevant archives, which were kept in the Patriarchates in official catalogs, which bore the title “*Orders of the Precedence of the Thrones*,” (τάξεις προκαθεδρίας τῶν θρόνων) or “*Taktika*” (Notitiae Episcopatum).

Third: the acceptance of *the order of precedence* and of the rights following therefrom, for the Patriarchal as well as the metropolitan thrones, was necessary not only for the maintenance of the canonical order, but also for the peace of the Church, since any overruling of the honorable precedence of the thrones would cause obvious disputes, or even collisions, which produced painful consequences, even for the very unity of the Church, as for example, in the cases of the conflict between Rome and Constantinople, Jerusalem and Caesarea in Palestine, the Archbishops of Bulgaria and Cyprus, etc.

Fourth: the *tendency of fragmentation of the old Metropolitanates through the promotion of Archbishoprics or Bishoprics* to Metropolitanates which prevailed after the 11th century, either unilaterally by the Byzantine Emperor through the application of a relative privilege,⁴² or following a relative decision of the Patriarchal Synod, naturally resulted in the diminution of jurisdiction and of status of the *ancient* and great Metropolitanates, from which many new Metropolitanates were detached, as it appears in the relative disputes that arose from the 11th century onwards.

Fifth: the Metropolitans of the great, ancient Metropolitanates disputed by means of powerful canonical arguments not only *the arbitrary application* of a canonically controversial privilege by the Emperor, but also *the anti-canonical equalizing* of the rights of the new Metropolitanates with the ancient ones, whose Metropolitan title (κλήσις) was secured having been tested and approved during their historic existence “*in time*” (χρόνω), whereas, the same could not be said for the newly established Metropolitanates.

Sixth: this distinction of the order of honor between the “true” (κατ’ ἀλήθειαν) ancient Metropolitanates and the new ones, which have been promoted to this honor “in name” (ὀνόματι) only, did find its starting point in Canon 12 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod (451), but was also supported by the accredited Byzantine canonists, so that the superiority of honor of the old Metropolitanates should not be overlooked by the Patriarchal Synod in a particular ecclesiastical act, which, in any case, was specified by the established “order of precedence” of the Metropolitanates in the official “Taktika” (Notitiae Episcopatum) of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Seventh: the excessive growth of the number of new Metropolitanates and Archbishoprics, which leveled off the status of the ancient metropolitanical thrones, made necessary the affirmation of the superiority of honor of the old Metropolitanates over the new ones by means of a gradual establishment of higher honorific titles for the Metropolitans of the ancient Metropolitanates, namely of the “Hypertimos” and the “Exarch,” which were used either separately or combined.

Eighth: the title of “Hypertimos” referred mainly to the superiority of honor of the throne and was usually applied to the person of the Metropolitan with specific privileges of order, outfitting, etc., while the title of “Exarch” referred mainly to the administrative jurisdiction of a throne and was usually expressed in the privilege of exercising Exarchic rights (Εξαρχία) in the region specified in the title, as for example, the region of Thrace, Asia, Macedonia, etc.

Ninth: the honorific distinction of the ancient from the new Metropolitanates caused new and obvious by-products, because the Metropolitans of the ancient Metropolitanates sought the expansion of the range of their honorific privileges to a constantly wider territorial region, whereas the Metropolitans of the new Metropolitanates claimed their equal participation in the honorific titles and in the ecclesiastical privileges following therefrom. For this reason, a confusion of titles and privileges did occur during the post-Byzantine period.

Translated from the Greek original by Fr. George Dion. Dragas

NOTES

[*Translator's note:* The author uses *italics* to indicate emphasis, "*italics*" to indicate original texts or terms, and *italics* to indicate emphasis within an original text or term. We have kept his convention in the translation in order to preserve the author's mind].

¹ See Vlasios I. Phidas, *Ὁ θεσμός τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν* (= *The Institution of the Pentarchy of Patriarchs*), vol. i, Athens 1969, pp. 35ff.

² Canons 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the First Ecumenical Synod.

³ Canon 6 of the First Ecumenical Synod.

⁴ Canon 3 of the Second Ecumenical Synod.

⁵ See Vlassios Phidas, *op. cit.*,

⁶ G. Ralles & M. Potles, *Syntagma*, ii 45.

⁷ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, iii 140.

⁸ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 45.

⁹ See Vlassios I. Phidas, "Τὸ πρωτεῖον τοῦ Πρώτου εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν τοπικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν" (= "The primacy of the Primus in the communion of the local churches"), *Études Théologiques*, i (1981) 151-175. Also, his "Primus inter pares," *Kanon*, 9 (1989) 181-188.

¹⁰ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 131-132.

¹¹ See Vlassios I. Phidas, *Τὰ προεσβεῖα τοῦ θρόνου Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ὁ ζ' κανὼν τῆς Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου* (= *The Seniority of the Throne of Jerusalem and the 7th Canon of the First Ecumenical Synod*), Jerusalem 1988, pp. 209-226.

¹² Vlassios I. Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy*, *op. cit.* vol. i pp. 168ff.

¹³ See Canons 6 and 7 of the First, 2 and 3 of the Second, 9, 17 and 28 of the Fourth and 36 of the Quinisext Ecumenical Synod.

¹⁴ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 280-281.

¹⁵ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 387.

¹⁶ See Vlasios I. Phidas, *Ὁ θεσμός τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν* (= *The Institution of the Pentarchy of Patriarchs*), vol. ii, Athens 1970, pp. 112ff.

¹⁷ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 173-174.

¹⁸ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 392.

¹⁹ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 246.

²⁰ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 393.

²¹ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 393.

²² *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii 394.

²³ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, v 63ff.

²⁴ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, v 65-75.

²⁵ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.*, ii, 247.

²⁶ *Syntagma*, *op. cit.* v, 274.

²⁷ *Syntagma* *op. cit.* v, 274.

²⁸ *Syntagma* *op. cit.* v, 275.

²⁹ *Syntagma* *op. cit.* v, 276.

³⁰ *Syntagma* *op. cit.* v, 329.

³¹ (Vlassios I. Phidas, *The Institution of the Pentarchy* *op. cit.*, vol. 1, Athens 1969, pp. 289-302)

³² *Syntagma op. cit.*, ii, 259–260.

³³ see further K.M. Rallis, *Concerning the Ecclesiastical Titles of the Hypertimoi and Exarchs*, Acta of the Academy of Athens, 11, 1936, pp. 146–152.

³⁴ *Syntagma op. cit.*, ii, 239–240.

³⁵ PG 120, 760.

³⁶ *Syntagma op. cit.*, v, 498.

³⁷ *Syntagma op. cit.*, v, 499.

³⁸ K.M. Rallis, *Concerning the Ecclesiastical Titles of the Hypertimoi and Exarchs*, Acta of the Academy of Athens, 13, 1938, pp. 155–162).

³⁹ *Syntagma op. cit.*, v, 500.

⁴⁰ *Archive of Ecumenical Patriarchate, Patriarchal Correspondence*, Codex a, p. 125.

⁴¹ *Archive of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Patriarchal Correspondence*, Codex a, pp. 26, 70.

⁴² Cf. Canon 38 of the Fifth-Sixth Ecumenical Synod.

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The Eighth Ecumenical Council: Constantinople IV (879/880) and the Condemnation of the *Filioque* Addition and Doctrine

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

Preamble

Did the Eighth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (879/880) condemn the *Filioque* addition to the Ecumenical Creed as canonically unacceptable and theologically unsound? This is the question that this paper attempts to answer in light of recent discussions between Orthodox and Lutherans in America. It consists of three parts, a) clarifications concerning the "Eighth Ecumenical Council," b) the significance of the *Horos* of this Council for the *Filioque* controversy, and c) a fresh look at the *Horos* itself of this Council.

a) Clarifications concerning the Eighth Ecumenical Council

As far as Ecumenical Councils go the Greek Orthodox East and the Latin West appear to be divided at the point where the Eighth Ecumenical Council is introduced. Both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics accept the first Seven Ecumenical Councils.¹ Beyond these Seven Councils, however, the Roman Catholics enumerate several others, which bring the total number to 21 – Vatican II being the latest.² The Orthodox Church does not enumerate any more beyond the Seven, although she accepts several Councils which occurred afterwards and call themselves "Ecumenical" (as their minutes show). One of them is the so-called Eighth Ecumenical or Constantinople IV (879-880).³

Roman Catholic scholars have repeatedly remarked that the Orthodox have not had – and for that matter, could not have had – any

further Ecumenical Councils beyond the first Seven after their separation from the Roman See in 1054. This is totally unjustified and misleading. Lack of enumeration does not imply lack of application. Orthodox conciliar history and relevant conciliar documents, clearly indicate the existence of several Ecumenical Councils after the first Seven, which carry on the conciliar life of the Church in history in a way which is much more rigorous than that of the Latin Church. These Councils [including that of Constantinople 879/880, the "Eighth Ecumenical" as it is called in the *Tomos Charas* (Τόμος Χαράς) of Patriarch Dositheos who first published its proceedings in 1705⁴ and also by Metropolitan Nilus Rhodi whose text is cited in *Mansi's* edition⁵] have not been enumerated in the East because of Orthodox anticipation of possible healing of the Schism of 1054, which was pursued by the Orthodox up to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. There are other obvious reasons that prevented enumeration, most of which relate to the difficult years that the Orthodox Church had to face after the capture of Constantinople and the dissolution of the Roman Empire that supported it. This, however, is not a matter that needs to be discussed here.

The case of the Eighth Ecumenical Council provides the occasion not only for clarifying this divergence, but also for indicating the arbitrary conciliar development of the Church of Rome after its separation from the Eastern Orthodox Churches. For Roman Catholics the Eighth Ecumenical Council is a Council that was held in Constantinople in 869/870 – also known as the Ignatian Council, because it restored Ignatios to the Patriarchal throne – which among other matters procured the condemnation of Ecumenical Patriarch Photios.⁶ It is clearly confirmed by modern scholarship, however, that this Ignatian Council was rejected by another Constantinopolitan Council which was held exactly ten years later in 879/880. This Council is also known as the Photian Council, because it exonerated and restored to the Throne of Constantinople St. Photios and his fellow Hierarchs and was signed by both Easterners and Westerners.⁷ How did it happen that Roman Catholics came to ignore this conciliar fact? Following Papadopoulos Kerameus, Johan Meijer – author of a most thorough study of the Constantinopolitan Council of 879/880 – has pointed out that Roman Catholic canonists first referred to their Eighth Ecumenical Council (the Ignatian one) in the beginning of the twelfth century. In line with Dvornic and others, Meijer also explained that

this was done deliberately because these canonists needed at that time canon 22 of that Council. In point of fact, however, they overlooked the fact that “*this Council had been cancelled by another, the Photian Synod of 879-880 – the acts of which were also kept in the pontifical archives.*”⁸ It is interesting to note that later on the Roman Catholics called this Photian Council “*Conciliabulum Oecumenicum Pseudooctavum,*” thereby acknowledging it implicitly as another Eighth Council rival to that of their own choice!⁹

The history of this Constantinopolitan Council, which has left its mark on the career of Ecumenical Patriarch Photios, one of the greatest Patriarchs of the Great Church of Christ, has been thoroughly researched by modern historians. Dvornic’s pioneering work has restored the basic facts.¹⁰ Meijer in 1975,¹¹ Phidas in 1994¹² and Siamakis in 1995¹³ have refined these facts. There is no doubt to anyone who surveys this literature that the Roman Catholic position is untenable. The Photian Council of 879/880 is that which: i) annulled the Ignatian one (869/70), ii) enumerated the Seventh (787) adding it to the previous Six, iii) restored unity to the Church of Constantinople itself and to the Churches of Old and New Rome, which had been shattered by the arbitrary interference of the popes of Rome in the life of the Eastern Church especially through the Ignatian Council, and iv) laid down the canonical and theological basis of the union of the Church in East and West through its *Horos*.

b) The significance of the Horos of this Council for the Filioque controversy

It is with the theological basis of this Council that we are particularly concerned here. Did the *Horos* of faith of this Council, which was articulated at the sixth session in the presence of the King, have any bearings on the *Filioque* controversy? The Lutheran theologian Dr. Bruce Marshall has suggested that it did not. Indeed for him “*the Filioque as a theological issue played virtually no role either in the breakdown of communion between Constantinople and Rome or in the restoration of communion; it was only much later that the theological issues surrounding the Filioque were even discussed between East and West.*”¹⁴ Furthermore, Dr. Marshall has claimed that it was only as a canonical issue that the *Filioque* played a role at that time, inasmuch as only its insertion into the Creed was considered to be

unacceptable and constituted grounds for breaking communion. The implication of this argument, which is pursued by some Western scholars, is that contemporary discussions between Orthodox and Western Christians should not make the theological issue over the *Filioque* a criterion for restoring communion between them.

As a response to this thesis I want to recall the views of Orthodox scholars who have dealt with this Photian Council and more generally with the Councils of the 9th century which led to the overcoming of a big crisis in communion between East and West. By doing this I intend to convey that from an Orthodox point of view the distinction between what is “canonical” and what is “theological” is a juridical one and does not carry any real weight. Far from being helpful, it becomes an instrument for perpetuating an arbitrary situation that can only lead to unfruitful and precarious agreements.

In 1974 the American Orthodox scholar Richard Haugh, in a study of the history of the Trinitarian controversy between East and West with special reference to the *Filioque*, stated that “the sixth session of the Council of 879/880 had enormous bearings on the Triadological controversy.”¹⁵ He defended this by citing and discussing the *Horos* of faith, which was formulated at that time.

Haugh examined the particular nuances of the *Horos* of this Council in the light of the subsequent writings of Photios relating to the *Filioque* doctrine¹⁶ – especially his *Letter to the Patriarch of Aquileia*¹⁷ and his *Mystagogy on the Holy Spirit*,¹⁸ both of which took the *Horos* as a powerful rebuff against the Frankish doctrine of the *Filioque* which formed the theological background to the theological controversy between Orthodox and Westerners at that time. Had the *Horos* of 879/880 not had any theological import on the *Filioque* then why does St. Photios refer to such an issue in these two documents? In no case, either before or after the Council of 879/880 did Photios reject the *Filioque* on just canonical grounds. Actually he explicitly stated that his grounds were both biblical and theological. They were biblical for they were based on the teaching of St. John’s Gospel and on the explicit saying that the “Spirit proceeds from the Father” (full stop!). They were also theological in that the *Filioque* introduced two causes and two origins in the Trinity and thus utterly destroyed the monarchy of the Holy Trinity. Why would St. Photios write such a full theological critique as that of his *Mystagogia* only a few years later if his only concern were simply the preservation of the original

wording of the Creed? Would it not have sufficed if he had simply referred to the canonical prohibition of the *Horos* of 879/880?

In 1975 Meijer published his thorough study of the Photian Council of 879/880 putting forward the thesis, as the title of his book stated, that this was "a successful Council of union." In part iii of this study, entitled "*Reflection*" he concluded: "*the restoration of unity was the reason for the convocation of the Synod of 879-880. More precisely, perhaps, it celebrated peace once more in the Church of God.*"¹⁹ But he went on to explain that the basis of this unity was theological. In his own words, "*this unity means first of all unity in the same faith. Photios was a strong defender of the purity of doctrine*" [the italics are Meijer's]. Indeed, "*where orthodoxy was concerned, Photios was the true spokesman of the Byzantine Bishops.*"²⁰ And Meijer goes on, "*the West also attached great value to the purity of faith, but in fact concentrated more on the question of devotion to the Church of Rome. At the Synod of 879-880 the Fathers' care for purity of doctrine emerged in the Horos (the formula of faith of the Synod) which they proclaimed. This Horos cannot be understood as a dogmatic definition ... but rather as the true expression of the ecclesiastical feeling of the Synod ... expressed by the conciliar Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople ... There is no doubt that Photios opposed the addition of the Filioque to the Creed on dogmatic grounds. In his famous encyclical to the oriental Patriarchs he complained about this addition by the Frankish missionaries working in Bulgaria, because he considered it theologically unacceptable. His whole argument is based on the conviction that this addition undermined the unity of God. We find the same reasoning in his Mystagogia and in his letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia.*"²¹ Photios knew, of course, that the Roman Church had not approved of the Frankish *Filioque*, and hence she agreed on the conciliar refusal of inserting it into the Creed. He also knew, however, that the Franks were striving to introduce the *Filioque* into the Creed on theological grounds – as they eventually did. Thus Meijer concludes: "*there is no doubt that the Horos of the Photian Synod officially disapproved of the [theological and for that matter canonical] use of the Filioque by the Frankish missionaries in Bulgaria [cf. the phrase he cites here from the Horos τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ γλώσσῃ στέργομεν, which is reminiscent of St. Photios' Encyclical of 867] and was not directed against the Church of Rome which at that time did not use the addition either.*"²²

In 1985 Dr. Constantine Siamakis stated in his extensive introduction to the new edition of Patriarch Dositheos' *Τόμος Χαράς* the same point of view. "At this Ecumenical Synod the Filioque was condemned as teaching and as addition into the Symbol of the Faith."²³ In his description of the 6th session of the Council he stated: "The Filioque is condemned ...etc." and further on, "without mentioning the Filioque, the emperor asks for an *Horos* of the Synod and the synodical members present at this meeting propose the *Horos* of the first two Ecumenical Councils, i.e. the Symbol of the Faith, but without any addition and with the stipulation that any addition or subtraction or alteration in it should incur the anathema of the Church. This is accepted by the emperor who signs it and the synodical members who express their satisfaction."²⁴ It is important to note that Siamakis attempted a critical investigation of the text of the Minutes and exposed the intention of various Western manuscripts (e.g. Cod. Vaticanus Graecus 1892 of the 16th century) and of the various Western editors of the Acts of this Council (e.g. Rader's edition of 1604) to hide the fact that the *Horos* is in fact an implicit but clear condemnation of the Frankish *Filioque*.

More recently in 1994 Professor Phidas of Athens University stated the same point of view in his new and impressive manual of Church History. In his discussion of the Photian Council of 879/880 he wrote, that "the antithesis between the Old and the New Rome was also connected with the theological dispute over the "Filioque," which did not inhibit at that time the restoration of communion between Rome and Constantinople, since it had not been inserted into the Symbol of the Faith by the papal throne, but had acquired at that time a dogmatic character in the obvious tendency of diversification between East and West." Phidas also suggested, that "apparently the papal representatives may not have realized the scope of the suggestion of restating the traditional Creed in the *Horos* of the Council which was implicitly connected with the condemnation of the Filioque addition to this Creed, which had been already adopted in the West by the Franks ... Yet all the participating Bishops understood that this was meant to be a condemnation of the Filioque addition to the Creed."²⁵ Furthermore Phidas determined that the acceptance of the *Horos* by Pope John VIII was due to the influence of Zachariah of Anagne, librarian of the Vatican, papal legate at the Council and a friend and sympathizer of St. Photios to whom the latter addressed

an epistle as a vote of thanks.

The above references clearly indicate that contemporary Orthodox scholarly opinion is unanimous in understanding the *Horos* of the Photian Council of 879/880 as having a direct bearing on the *Filioque* controversy. It condemns the *Filioque* not only as an addition to the Creed but also as a doctrine. It is acknowledged, of course, that this condemnation is *implicit* and *not explicit* in the strong and vehement condemnation in the *Horos* of any kind of addition to the Creed. That this implication is unavoidable is based both on the historical context of this Council – the conflict between Photios and the Frankish theologians, which lies in the fore ground and background to this Council. To restrict this implication to a mere “canonical issue” which has no theological bearing, is unwarranted by the text and the *dogmengeschichtlich* context which entails Photios’ opposition to the Frankish doctrine on the *Filioque*. This may become more apparent by looking afresh at the *Horos* itself.

c) *A fresh look at the Horos itself of the Eighth Ecumenical Council*

The following text is, to my knowledge, the first complete translation of the *Horos* of the Eighth Ecumenical Council which appears in both the minutes of the sixth and the seventh acts:²⁶

“Jointly sanctifying and preserving intact the venerable and divine teaching of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which has been established in the bosom of our mind, with unhesitating resolve and purity of faith, as well as the sacred ordinances and canonical stipulations of his holy disciples and Apostles with an unwavering judgement, and indeed, those Seven holy and ecumenical Synods which were directed by the inspiration of the one and the same Holy Spirit and effected the [Christian] preaching, and jointly guarding with a most honest and unshakeable resolve the canonical institutions invulnerable and unfalsified, we expel those who removed themselves from the Church, and embrace and regard worthy of receiving those of the same faith or teachers of orthodoxy to whom honor and sacred respect is due as they themselves ordered. Thus, having in mind and declaring all these things, we embrace with mind and tongue (τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ γλώσσῃ) and declare to all people with a loud voice the Horos (Rule) of the most pure faith of the Christians which has come down to us from above through the Fathers, sub-

tracting nothing, adding nothing, falsifying nothing; for subtraction and addition, when no heresy is stirred up by the ingenious fabrications of the evil one, introduces disapprobation of those who are exempt from blame and inexcusable assault on the Fathers. As for the act of changing with falsified words the Horoi (Rules, Boundaries) of the Fathers is much worse than the previous one. Therefore, this holy and ecumenical Synod embracing whole-heartedly and declaring with divine desire and straightness of mind, and establishing and erecting on it the firm edifice of salvation, thus we think and loudly proclaim this message to all:

"I believe in One God, Father Almighty, ... and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God... and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord ... who proceeds from the Father... [the whole Creed is cited here]

Thus we think; in this confession of faith we were baptized; through this one the word of truth proved that every heresy is broken to pieces and canceled out. We enroll as brothers and fathers and coheirs of the heavenly city those who think thus. If anyone, however, dares to rewrite and call Rule of Faith some other exposition besides that of the sacred Symbol which has been spread abroad from above by our blessed and holy Fathers even as far as ourselves, and to snatch the authority of the confession of those divine men and impose on it his own invented phrases (ἰδία εὐρεσιολογίαις) and put this forth as a common lesson to the faithful or to those who return from some kind of heresy, and display the audacity to falsify completely (κατακιβδηλεῦσαι ἀποθρασυνθείη) the antiquity of this sacred and venerable Horos (Rule) with illegitimate words, or additions, or subtractions, such a person should, according to the vote of the holy and Ecumenical Synods, which has been already acclaimed before us, be subjected to complete defrocking if he happens to be one of the clergymen, or be sent away with an anathema if he happens to be one of the lay people."

The solemnity and severity of this statement is quite striking. The reference to the Lord, the Apostles and the Fathers as guardians of the true faith clearly imply that what is at stake here is a theological issue. The issue is not just words or language but thought and mind as well. The whole construction clearly implies that there is some serious problem in the air which, however, is not explicitly named.

The focus is the Creed, which is said to be irreplaceable. It is totally unacceptable to replace it with anything else. It is worse, however, to tamper with it, to add or to subtract from it. The addition or subtraction is not merely a formal matter, but has to do with the substance of the faith into which one is baptized and on which salvation in the Church is established. To commit such a mistake can only mean rejection of the faith once delivered to the saints and therefore can only incur expulsion from the Church. What else could St. Photios have in mind but the *Filioque*? Was there any other threat to the Creed at that time?

The *Filioque* was the only problem, which he himself above every one else had detected and denounced earlier on when he became fully aware of its severity. This is also the credal problem, which he will pinpoint again shortly after this Synod, and will produce his extensive treatise on it. The purpose of this *Horos* could not be anything else but a buffer against the coming storm, which he foresaw. The Frankish theologians had already committed this error and were pressing for it with the Popes. Rome had resisted it, but for how long? He must have thought that an Ecumenical Council's *Horos*, which included severe penalties on those who tampered with the ancient faith, would be respected and the danger would be averted. That this was not only the mind of Photios but of the whole Council becomes obvious in the reactions of the Bishops to the reading of the *Horos*.

We read in the minutes of the Sixth act that after reading the *Horos* the Bishops shouted:

"Thus we think, thus we believe, into this confession were we baptized and became worthy to enter the priestly orders. We regard, therefore, as enemies of God and of the truth those who think differently as compared to this. If one dares to rewrite another Symbol besides this one, or add to it, or subtract from it, or to remove anything from it, and to display the audacity to call it a Rule, he will be condemned and thrown out of the Christian Confession. For to subtract from, or to add to, the holy and consubstantial and undivided Trinity shows that the confession we have always had to this day is imperfect. [In other words the problem which is implied but not named has to do with the Trinitarian doctrine]. It condemns the Apostolic Tradition and the doctrine of the Fathers. If one, then having come to such a point of mindlessness as to dare do what we have said above, and set forth another Symbol and call it a Rule, or to add to or sub-

tract from the one which has been handed down to us by the first great, holy and Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea, let him be Anathema."²⁷

The minutes go on to record the approbation of this solemn statement by the representatives of the other Patriarchates and finally by the Emperor himself. The Emperor's statement and signature leave no doubt of the seriousness of this theological *Horos* which was issued by an ecumenical Council of the Church:

*"In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Basil Emperor in Christ, faithful king of the Romans, agreeing in every way with this holy and ecumenical Synod in confirmation and sealing of the holy and ecumenical Seventh Synod, in confirmation and sealing of Photios the most holy Patriarch of Constantinople and spiritual father of mine, and in rejection of all that was written or spoken against him, I have duly signed with my own hand."*²⁸

By way of epilogue it may be pointed out that the image of St. Photios that emerges from the acts of the Eighth Ecumenical Council is one of moderation, sensitivity and maturity. Confrontation is avoided but without compromising firmness in matters that relate to the faith. Generosity towards others is displayed and maturity permeates everything. This is indeed the image, which Prof. Henry Chadwick has recently resolved to promote.²⁹ This is the authentic image of the East. The Photian Council of 879/880 is indeed the Eighth Ecumenical of the Catholic Church, Eastern and Western and Orthodox. It is a *Council of Unity* – the last one before the storm of the great Schism – based on the common Holy Tradition and especially on the unadulterated faith of the Ecumenical Creed.

NOTES

¹ These Seven Ecumenical Councils are as follows: Nicaea (325), Constantinople I (382), Ephesus (431/3), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), Constantinople III (680/1), Nicaea II (787).

² See the latest collection of Canons of Roman Catholic Ecumenical Councils: Norman R. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1990.

³ The best known later Orthodox Ecumenical Councils are those connected with St Gregory Palamas in the 14th century, whose *Horoi* are basic texts of Orthodox Dogmatics. The Council of Constantinople of 1484, after the capture of the City by the Turks, which condemned the decisions of the unionist Synod of Ferrara-Florence (1437-9) also recognizes itself as "A Great Holy and Ecumenical Council." The whole issue of Ecumenical Councils, beyond the first eight of the first millennium, remains, to my mind, an open question, which could and should be addressed today.

⁴ See the 1985 reprint of the Thessalonian Publisher V. Regopoulos: Δοσιθέου Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, *Τόμος Χαράς, Εἰσαγωγή, Σχόλια, Ἐπιμέλεια Κεμένων Κωνσταντίνου Σιαμάκη, Ἐκδόσεις Βασ. Ρηγόπουλου, Θεσσαλονίκη* 1985. According to Siamakis this edition was based on a Manuscript from the Athonite Monastery of Iveron which, unfortunately, is now lost (see *op. cit.* pp. 90ff).

⁵ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, tom. 17, cl. 371f. This edition is a reprint from J. Harduin's earlier editions in 1703 and in 1767. This edition was based on a manuscript that was kept in the Vatican Library. Dr. Siamakis believes that it is probably Ms Vaticanus Graecus 1115 (15th century). On this and the later attempts in the West to falsify or edit these Minutes see further in Dr. Siamakis' Introduction, *op. cit.* pp. 104ff.

⁶ On the Eighth Ecumenical Council the Roman Catholic Hubert Jedin writes: "*The Catholic Church recognizes the assembly of 869-70 as an ecumenical council. Not so the Greek Church. St. Photios was rehabilitated and at the death of Ignatius he was once again raised to the patriarchal see. A synod assembled by him in 879-80 rejected the decisions of the previous council. The Greeks count this synod as the eighth ecumenical council, but a second schism was apparently avoided*" (from his *Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A Historical Outline*, Herder: Freiburg, Nelson: Edinburgh, London 1960, p. 58). Jedin is inaccurate on several counts, but this is typical of most Western writers. The Council was summoned by Emperor Basil and was attended by the legates of Pope John VIII and of all the Eastern Patriarchs. Jedin says that the schism was apparently avoided, but does not explain that this was the case because the Pope through his legates had accepted not only St. Photios' restoration, but also the condemnation of the previous anti-Photian councils in Rome and in Constantinople. We should add here that the Minutes of the Ignatian Council (869/70), which have not survived in the original, are found in two edited versions: Mansi, vol. xvi: 16-208 (Latin) and xvi: 308-420 (Greek) and differ considerably from each other. On this and for a full description of the 10 Acts of these Minutes see Siamakis, *op. cit.* pp. 54-75. It is important to recall here that this Council was most irregular in its composition, since it included false legates from Alexandria and Jerusalem, more royal lay people than bishops (only 12) at the start and during the first two sessions. Eventually 130 bishops are mentioned in the Minutes but only 84 actually appear signing (*op. cit.* p. 56f). Most important irregularity, however, was the fact that the Minutes were mutilated at the most crucial points, especially the section of the condemnation of the *Filioque* (*op. cit.* p. 74)!

⁷ The condemnation of the Roman Catholic Eighth Council (the anti-Photian Council of Constantinople of 869/80) by Pope John VIII is first given in this Pope's *Letter to the Emperors Basil, Leo and Alexander*. In this Letter which was read at the second session of the Photian Council of Constantinople of 879/80 and is included in the second Act of the Minutes, Pope John VIII writes: "*And first of all receive Photios the most amazing and most reverend High-Priest of God our Brother Patriarch and co-celebrant who is co-sharer, co-participant and inheritor of the communion which is in the Holy Church of the Romans... receive the man unpretentiously. No one should behave pretentiously [following] the unjust councils which were made against him. No one, as it seems right to many who behave like a herd of cows, should use the negative votes of the blessed Hierarchs who preceded us, Nicholas, I mean, and Hadrian as an excuse [to oppose him]; since they did not prove what had been cunningly concocted against him... Everything that was done against him has now ceased and been banished...*" (The Latin

text is this: Ac primum quidem a nobis suscipi Photium praestantissimum ac reverentissimum Dei Pontificem et Patriarcham, in fratrem nostrum et comministrum, eundemque communionis cum sancta Romana ecclesia participem, consortem, et haeredem... Suscipite virum sine aliqua exusatione. Nemo praetextat eas quae contra ipsum factae sunt injustas synodos. Nemo, ut plerisque videtur imperitis ac rudibus, decessorum nostrorum beatorum Pontificum, Nicolai inquam, et Hadriani, decreta culpet... Finita sunt enim omnia, repudiata omnia, quae adversus cum gesta sunt, infirma irritaque reddita...Mansi vol xvii, cls. 400D & 401BC. For the Greek see Dositheos *op. cit.* p. 281f).

A similar condemnation is found in Pope John VII's *Letter to Photios* where he writes: "As for the Synod that was summoned against your Reverence we have annulled here and have completely banished, and have ejected [it from our archives], because of the other causes and because our blessed predecessor Pope Hadrian did not subscribe to it..." (Latin text: Synodum vero, quae contra tuam reverentiam ibidem est habita, rescidimus, damnavimus omnino, et abjecimus: tum ob alias causas, tum quo decessor noster beatus Papa Hadrianus in ea non subscripsit...) Mansi vol. xvii cl. 416E. For the Greek see Dositheos *op. cit.* p. 292).

Finally in Pope John VIII's *Commonitorium* or *Mandatum* ch. 10, which was read by the papal legates at the third Session of the same Council, we find the following: "We [Pope John VIII] wish that it is declared before the Synod, that the Synod which took place against the aforementioned Patriarch Photios at the time of Hadrian, the Most holy Pope in Rome, and [the Synod] in Constantinople [869/70] should be ostracized from this present moment and be regarded as annulled and groundless, and should not be co-enumerated with any other holy Synods." The minutes at this point add: "The Holy Synod responded: We have denounced this by our actions and we eject it from the archives and anathematize the so-called [Eighth] Synod, being united to Photios our Most Holy Patriarch. We also anathematize those who fail to eject what was written or said against him by the aforementioned by yourselves, the so-called [Eighth] Synod." [Latin text: Caput 10. Volumus coram praesente synodo pomulgari. ut synodus quae facta est contra praedictum patriarcham Photium sub Hadriano sanctissimo Papa in urbe Roma et Constantinopoli ex nunc sit rejecta, irrita, et sine robore; neque connumeretur cum altera sancta synodo. Sancta Synodus respondit: Nos rebus ipsis condemnnavimus et abjecimus et anathematizavimus dictam a vobis synodum, uniti Photio sanctissimo nostro Patriarchae: et eos qui non rejiciunt scripta dictave nostra cum in hac dicta a vobis synodo, anathematizamus. Mansi vol. xvii, cl. 472AB. See also cls. 489/490E which repeats these points as accepted by the Synod. See also Dositheos *op. cit.* p. 345 and p. 361). I have included these texts here because I repeatedly encounter comments in the works of Western scholars, especially Roman Catholics, who offer confusing and even disputed information about the unanimous Eastern and Western condemnation of the anti-Photian Council of 869/870.

⁸ *A Successful Council of Union: a theological analysis of the Photian Synod of 879-880*, Thessalonica 1975, p. 71.

⁹ Mansi, *op. cit.*, cl. 365.

¹⁰ *The Photian Schism, History and Legend*, Cambridge 1948, repr. 1970.

¹¹ *op. cit.*

¹² cf. his *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία*, τομ. Β' Ἀπὸ τὴν Εἰκονομαχία μέχρι τὴ Μεταρρύθμιση, Ἀθήναι 1994, σσ. 92-141.

¹³ Τόμος Χαράς, *op. cit.* pp. 9-148.

¹⁴ From Dr. Marshall's paper "Brief Observations on the Council of 879-800 and the *Filioque*" which was presented to the Lutheran-Orthodox Dialogue at St. Olaf's College in February 21-24 1996.

¹⁵ Cf. his book *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy*, Nordland Publishing Co, Belmont MA 1974.

¹⁶ See here the brief but informative essay of Despina Stratoudaki-White, "Saint Photios and the *Filioque* Controversy," in the *Patristic and Byzantine Review*, vol. 2:2-3 (1983), pp. 246-250. St. Photios first wrote on the problem of the *Filioque* in 864 in his Letter to Boris-Michael of the Bulgarians [PG 102: 628-692. Critical edition by B. Laourdas & L. C. Westerink *Photius Epistulae et Amphilochia*, BSB B. G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft 1983, pp. 2-39. For an English translation see Despina Stratoudaki-White and Joseph R. Berrigan Jr., *The Patriarch and the Prince*, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline Mass 1982]. He also dealt with it in his famous Encyclical Letter to the Eastern Patriarchs in 867 [PG 102:721-741 and Laourdas-Westerink, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-53.]. Then again, he wrote on it to the Metropolitan of Aquileia in 883 [PG 102: 793-821] and finally in his great treatise, the *Mystagogy* which he wrote in 885 (PG 102: 263-392). For a full bibliography on Photian studies including those relating to the *Filioque* controversy see my exhaustive bibliography in the Athens reprint of Migne's PG 101, pp. ρκα' - σλζ'.

¹⁷ For the Text of this Letter, which was written in response to a Letter that was written to him by his addressee in 882, see footnote 16 above and also, I. Valettas, *Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαί*, London 1864, pp. 165-81. For an English translation of it see Despina Stratoudaki-White, "The Letter of St. Photios to the Metropolitan of Aquileia," *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 6 (1989) 191-206.

¹⁸ This most famous of St. Photios' texts dealing with the problem of the *Filioque* was written only 4 years after the eighth Ecumenical Council, a fact indicating that the issue was still looming great in the relations of East and West at that time. For the Greek text, apart from that published in PG 102 (see footnote 16 above), see also *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit by Saint Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, translated by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Studion Publishers Inc. 1983, which gives the Greek text with an English translation on opposite pages (Translator: Ronald Wertz). Another English translation with a useful introduction is that of Joseph P. Farrell, *The Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, Holy Cross Press, Brookline MA 1987.

¹⁹ *op. cit.* p. 181

²⁰ *op. cit.* p. 183

²¹ *op. cit.* p. 184.

²² *op. cit.* p. 185

²³ *op. cit.* p. 48.

²⁴ *op. cit.* p. 83.

²⁵ cf. *op. cit.* 133f.

²⁶ The text used for this translation is that of Dositheos, as reedited with corrections by Siamakis. Mansi's edition was also consulted.

²⁷ Siamakis, *op. cit.* pp. 379f. and Mansi, *op. cit.* pp. 516f.

²⁸ Siamakis, *op. cit.* p. 381 and Mansi, *op. cit.* p. 517.

²⁹ This remark is based on a recent exchange of letters between Professor Chadwick and myself.

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PART IV: APPENDICES

The Formation of the Yakutsk Eparchy

VLADISLAV SOLDATENKO

The formation of the missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church in Yakutia occupies the period of time from the first third of the seventeenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. This period can be divided into four stages, according to the internal content of the work:

1. The initial history of the Orthodox church in Yakutia, during which the service of the Church existed within the Russian cossack community, with the beginnings of the Christianization of the Yakuts occurring through interaction with these cossacks, from the third decade of the seventeenth century until the second decade of the eighteenth century;

2. The consolidation of the position of the Church through the beginnings of the mass Christianization of the Yakut people, from the second decade of the eighteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century;

3. The completion of the formal Christianization and a transition to a policy for the establishment of the new faith, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century;

4. The intensification of the Christianization of the Yakut people, from the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century into the second half of the nineteenth century.

According to a book titled *The Memorable Book of the Yakut Region during 1871*, the population of Yakutia was nearly 232,000 people. Those of the Orthodox confession were counted as 230,000 people, 219,000 of whom were the native people of Yakutia (“*inorodtsui*,” as Russian people called them). As a rule, the faith of the native people was formal. The state archives of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) contain a number of reports written by regional priests complaining to the church administration about the behavior of the newly baptized people who were not following the rules and customs of the Orthodox confession. Therefore the missionary activity in Yakutia required a more subtle approach for the propagation of the new religion.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the formal Christianization was replaced by the establishment of the new religion “into depth” that occurred due to the administration of the Kamchatka eparchy which managed to solve a range of important problems (it should be recalled that the Yakut region belonged to the Kamchatka eparchy until 1870). One of the problems consisted of the translation and publishing of church literature into the Yakut language. For that purpose in 1855, the Archbishop of Kamchatka Innokentii (Veniaminov) appealed to the Holy Synod with a suggestion for the organization of a special committee. The committee was formed in the same year and was specified as “*Komitet po perevodu svyashchenni'ikh bogoslužhebn'ikh knig na yakutskii yaz'ik*.” The first chairman of the committee was Dmitrii Khitrov — the Archpriest of the Yakutsk and the Olekminsk regions, who was the author of the first grammar book of the Yakut language.

In 1861, the first printing-house was opened in Yakutsk. One of the departments of the newly opened printing-house was responsible for the publishing of church literature in the Yakut language.

For the purposes of the upbringing of children and their Christian education, some churches of the Yakutsk region opened the first parish schools. The first one was opened in 1862 in the Ust-Maiskaya church. Thus, to the end of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century on this territory there were about eleven parish schools for children. The total number of pupils was about 130.

In September 1858, the theological seminary from Novoarkhangel'sk (Sitka) was moved to Yakutsk. The chairman of the Yakutsk translation committee, Fr Dmitrii Khitrov, was appointed

as the rector of the seminary. However in eleven years (1869), the Holy Synod made a decision to move the seminary to Blagoveshchensk. The reason for this was that the level of the education in Yakutsk was rather low. There were too many problems to solve, one of them was the lack of church literature and qualified tutors in theology. Nevertheless the committee for translation and publishing of church literature had been established, and furthermore, the Yakut language had become standard in the Divine Liturgy from the fifth decade of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, there were many problems which remained in the way of the Christianization of the native peoples of Yakutia "into depth."

The first person who had recognized the ineffectiveness of the missionary activity in the Yakutsk territory was Archbishop of Kamchatka Innokentii (Veniaminov). In his letters to influential state and church figures, he suggested solving the problem by the establishment of an independent Yakutsk eparchy. Thus, in the letter to the director of the chancellery of the Holy Synod K.S. Serbinovich, dated 5 February 1857, Innokentii wrote: "Yakuts marry in a different way. We cannot leave this without proper attention from our side. We also have no right to stop it by court. Therefore, think about organizing a particular Yakutsk eparchy."

Veniaminov pointed out the problem of the formal Christianization in Yakutia which had to be solved in a peaceful way only. He saw the establishment of the independent Yakutsk eparchy as the only way forward.

From the beginning of the 1860s, Innokentii's arguments for the creation of the Yakutsk eparchy became more insistent. In his letter to the member of the Holy Synod A. N. Murav'ev, dated 4 October 1865, he again demanded the soonest solving of this problem: "this is absolutely necessary, believe me, the Yakut area is a peculiar world, where everything is specific to this place and where the service, finally, will be held in the Yakut language." Thus, Innokentii mentioned a specially developed program, taking into account all the regional peculiarities of the geographical, social and cultural spheres, the successful realization of which would have been impossible without an independent eparchy.

In February 1865, Innokentii met with the Synod in order to introduce an official document where he formulated the concrete question touching upon the necessity of creating an independent Yakutsk

eparchy: "the number of psalm readers and priests here is about 2300, at the same time the territory is equal to 3484 square versts, so it is very difficult to control them from distant centres.... it is absolutely necessary to establish here a particular eparchy. The state of the cathedral and the consistory could be the most moderate."

On 19 November 1867, the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna Filaret died; and on 3 January 1868, the vacant post was officially handed to Archbishop of Kamchatka Innokentii. This fact caused an increasing of the Orthodox missions throughout the Russian Empire, especially in Siberia and the Far East. Also the appointment of Archbishop Innokentii as the head of the Russian Orthodox Church hastened the opening of the Yakutsk eparchy.

One of the first measures of the newly ordained Metropolitan was the establishment of the Russian Orthodox Missionary Society under the chairmanship of himself and the patronage of Her Majesty the Empress Maria Aleksandrovna. The aim of the society was to assist the Russian Orthodox missionaries. According to the regulations, this function was to be accomplished with the support of the similar missionary committees in all the towns of Russia that belonged to different eparchies. Thus, the program of Christianization of native peoples in Yakutia became a part of the state policy, the result of which was the decision to establish in Yakutia the independent eparchy. At last the Russian missionary society provided 50,000 rubles for the purpose of the initial support of this eparchy. On 16 January 1870, the Emperor Alexander II officially confirmed the establishment of the Orthodox eparchy in Yakutia. The vicar bishop Dionisii [Khitrov] was assigned as the first bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuisk.

Obtaining church-administrative independence over the Yakutsk area, Bishop Dionisii began to form the consistory of the eparchy — the organ which was responsible for the administrative government and the work of the church court.

On 10 May 1870 in Yakutsk, the committee of the Orthodox missionary society was established. This was the beginning of missionary activity in the Yakutsk eparchy. The committee maintained the development of parish schools and supported the Yakutsk commission on the further translation of the church literature.

With the development of the Yakutsk eparchy the numbers of church buildings perceptibly increased by nineteen and the number of chapels by eighty-two. The total number of churches and chapels in 1884

was about 254.

The establishment of the Yakutsk eparchy (1870) is considered to be a logical completion of the church administration which earlier had been set up for the vast Lensk region. It was also the result of specific internal factors as well as the objective consequence of "the new church policy," which was held by the government relative to the non-Orthodox peoples of Russia.

The greatest contribution to the organization of the Yakutsk eparchy was made by the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna, Innokentii (Veniaminov), who devoted all his life to missionary work in Siberia and Alaska. He possessed some unique knowledge about the social, geographical and cultural peculiarities of the vast Lensk region. In his opinion the Yakutsk eparchy had to become a "missionary eparchy," where baptism was only the initial work. The main work was then to teach and to convince the newly baptized people of "the truth of the Orthodox faith."

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THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

Addresses: Archbishop Demetrios (Trakatellis) of America

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and Presiding Hierarchy of Pittsburgh, Prof. Vasil T. Stavridis, Metropolitan Hierotheos (Vlahos) of Nafpaktos, Rev. Prof. Stanley Harakas, Rev. Prof. Iain R. Torrance

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The President

And the Faculty of

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

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Editor's note

The year 1999 has been very eventful. The most significant event has been the change at the helm of our Church and School, the resignation of Archbishop Spyridon and the election and enthronement of Archbishop Demetrios. It is most fitting, therefore, to start this volume with our new Archbishop, who, although known to us all from the past as a colleague and distinguished Professor, is now with us again as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of our School and as our Chief Pastor. His *Enthronement Address* and a brief *Biographical Account*, which includes his academic achievements, are—we believe—quite informative of His Eminence's rare caliber and academic charisma.

Other great academic highlights of this year have been several distinguished visiting lecturers, most notably the well-known and prolific author of Orthodox theology and spirituality Metropolitan Hierotheos Vlahos of Nafpaktos and St. Vlasios (Church of Greece), the venerable Professor Stavridis from the renowned Theological School of Halki (Ecumenical Patriarchate), and the young Scottish theologian Rev. Professor Iain Torrance of Aberdeen University, a distinguished Reformed scholar-theologian who continues the solid tradition that has been laid down by his renowned father Professor Thomas F. Torrance of Edinburgh. The lectures of these distinguished visitors have been given priority along with those of our distinguished colleagues, Metropolitan Maximos of Ainos and Presiding Hierarch of the Pittsburgh Diocese and Fr. Stanley Harakas, which were delivered to special audiences and deserve wider publication.

The present volume has a representative spread of academic contributions from various scholars covering topics relating to the Bible, Canon Law, Patristics, Byzantine Fathers, Hagiography and Systematic Theology. It also includes the papers of the International Symposium on Bishop Innokentii Veniaminov, more widely known

as St. Innocent of Alaska, which took place in 1997, the year that marked the 200th anniversary from the birth of this great Orthodox missionary saint. Dr. Soterios Mousalimas of Oxford, a graduate of our School and a specialist in Orthodox Missions in Alaska, has been our Guest Editor in this part of the volume.

The Review Section includes the most important Greek Orthodox Theological Periodicals around the world. The volume is concluded with two Obituaries on two very well known academic personalities, Bishop George (Papaioannou) of New Jersey and Professor John L. Boojamra of the Antiochian Archdiocese and our sister Orthodox School, St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary. This large single volume has been published in lieu of the 4 issues that should have been normally produced during the 1999 academic year. We are gradually moving towards our target, the restoration of the original design of quarterly issues. For the year 2000 we plan the publication of two volumes 45:1-2 and 45:3-4, the first of which will be dedicated to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

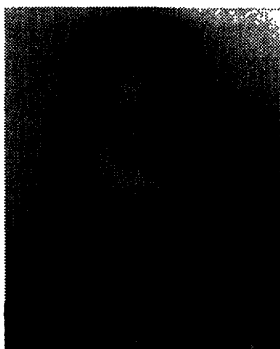
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ARCHBISHOP DEMETRIOS OF AMERICA

THE 1998 HIERARCHICAL SYNAXIS LECTURE

METROPOLITAN MAXIMOS (AGHIORGOUSSIS)



His Eminence Metropolitan Maximos (Aghiorgoussis) was elected on March 1979, and enthroned as the first bishop of the Greek Orthodox Diocese of Pittsburgh at St. Nicholas Cathedral in Pittsburgh on April 27, 1979. His elevation to the ecclesiastical rank of Metropolitan of Ainos by the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople was announced on November 24, 1997. At Pittsburgh, the Metropolitan ministers to fifty-two parishes in the states of Pennsylvania (29), Ohio (17), and West Virginia (6). He also oversees three monastic institutions of the Diocese.

His Eminence was born on the island of Chios, Greece on March 5, 1935 to Father and Presvytera Evangelos Aghiorgoussis. He studied Theology at the Patriarchal School of Halki and graduated in 1957. He was ordained a deacon in Halki (1957), and a priest on his native island (1959). He pursued graduate studies at the University of Louvain, Belgium, where he received his Doctorate in Theology and Philosophy (1964).

In 1966 he arrived in the United States and was appointed Professor of Systematic Theology at the Holy Cross School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts. He later served as Vice President of Hellenic College and Dean of the School of Theology. From 1979 to 1985, His Eminence served as Professor of Systematic Theology at Christ the Savior Theological Seminary in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and he is now visiting professor of Theology there. Since 1991, he is a trustee of St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary in Crestwood, New York.

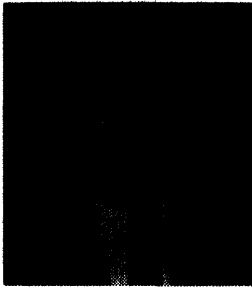
On April 11, 1978, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected him Bishop of Diokleia. Archbishop Iakovos consecrated him to the Episcopacy on Pentecost Sunday, June 18, 1978, at the Archdiocesan Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in New York City.

His Eminence has been involved extensively with numerous interfaith and ecumenical activities. He represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate as Observer Delegate to the Third and Fourth Sessions of Vatican Council II (1964-65). He has served as secretary of the Orthodox Commission of the Eastern Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation, and now serves as the Orthodox co-chairman. Metropolitan Maximos is a prolific writer and erudite theologian.

Metropolitan Maximos is fluent in French, Italian, Greek and English.

THE 1999 ANNUAL PATRIARCH ATHENAGORAS LECTURE

PROFESSOR VASIL T. STAVRIDIS



Professor Vasil T. Stavridis was born in Constantinople (Istanbul). Educated in the Greek schools of Constantinople, he studied at the Theological School of Halki, graduating in 1947. His thesis was entitled *An Evaluation of Origen and His Work*. Upon graduation from Halki he entered Andover Newton School of Theology in 1948. He earned a Master of Sacred Theology in 1949, writing a thesis titled *The Ethics of Clement of Alexandria*. That same year he entered the doctoral program of Boston University School of Theology, earning the degree in 1951. His dissertation was on *Theological Education in the Alexandrian School*.

Returning to Constantinople in 1951, he began his distinguished teaching career as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Theological School of Halki. There he taught general Church history, history of the Orthodox Church, the Western Churches, and history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He is still listed on the faculty of Halki Theological School.

In addition to teaching at Halki, he also teaches Ecclesiastical History at St. John of Damascus, Balamand, Lebanon since 1975. Since 1985, he is Visiting Professor at the University of Thessalonike School of Theology, where he teaches the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In 1992, he began teaching at St. Andrew's Theological College, Sydney, Australia.

Professor Stavridis is an active member of the World Council of Churches, representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He was a delegate to the General Assemblies held in New Delhi (1961), Uppsala (1968) and Nairobi (1975) and Canberra (1991). He served as member on several commissions, departments, committees, including the WCC Central Committee (1968-1975) and the Program on Theological Education (1983 to present).

The Academy of Athens awarded Professor Stavridis the first prize for his two volume work *The Ecumenical Patriarchate* in 1980. A prolific author, Professor Stavridis has written over 600 articles, reviews, pamphlets, and books on Church History, theological education, and the Ecumenical Movement. His writings appeared in Greek, English, French, and German.

Professor Stavridis serves on several synodical commissions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He continues to participate in academic symposia, conferences, and ecumenical meetings.

THE 1999 ANNUAL PRIESTLY MINISTRY LECTURES



Bishop Hierotheos S. Vlahos was born in Ionnina, Epirus Greece, in 1945, and graduated from the theological school of the University of Thessaloniki. As a young priest, he served at the Archdiocese in Athens as a preacher and Youth Director. For a time, he lectured on Orthodox ethics and taught Greek at St. John of Damascus Theological School of the Patriarchate of Antioch, located in northern Lebanon. In 1995, he was elected and ordained Bishop of Nafpaktos and St. Vlasios.

In his youth, Father Hierotheos worked in the monastery libraries of Mount Athos, recording the codices. During that period, he developed a special interest in the life and teachings of St. Gregory Palamas. Years of intensive study inspired a well-known book on the saint which explains St. Gregory's place as a theologian of the Orthodox Church. This work warmly depicts the saint as a genuine Hagiorite who imitated the beloved Panagia throughout his life. Metropolitan Hierotheos is a prolific writer.

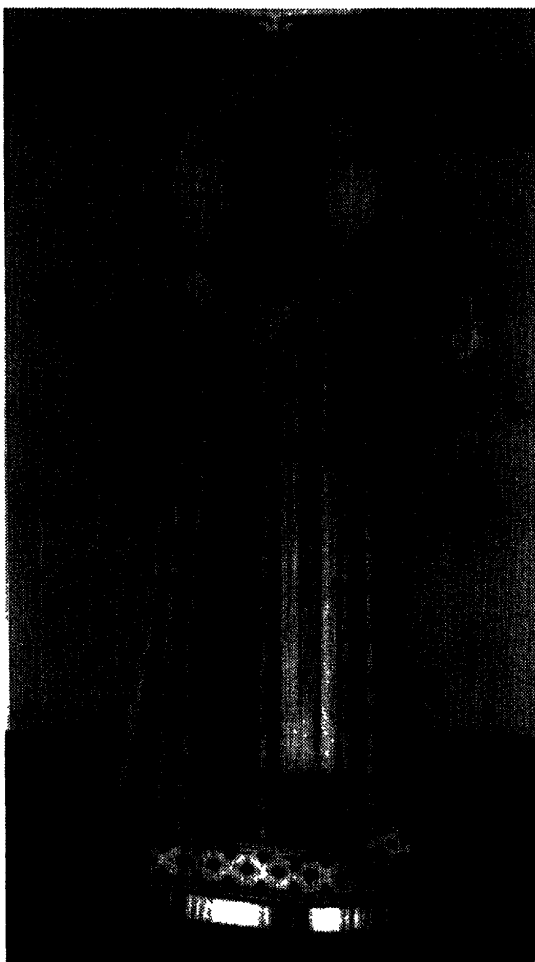
The Metropolitan's intellectual focus, in conjunction with other patristic texts of the hesychastic fathers of the *Philokalia*, his own experiences, and the blessing of time spent with Athonite monks and hermits has laid the foundation for one of the most poignant messages God has given us through the Metropolitan's writing and teaching. This is not a new theme, but the Orthodox tradition presented as a profound prescription; a holistic cure, acting deeply, gently, naturally and permanently, to restore the whole person to his or her proper condition of health. Bishop Hierotheos has spoken on this topic in Seattle and Atlanta in conferences entitled, "The Church as Spiritual Hospital." *Orthodox Psychotherapy* is one title, in a series of four, which offers a thorough explanation of the curative powers and intrinsic wisdom of the neptic fathers, as well as being a practical manual for popular consumption.

Metropolitan Hierotheos has published many works. Every five years, the Academy of Athens selects one theological book to represent the finest work of that period. In 1996, the Bishop's *Spirit of the Orthodox Person* received that high honor. It is now available in English.

Perhaps the Metropolitan's most well-known work is *A Night on the Desert of the Holy Mountain*. The monk's simple style and spontaneous recounting of his experiences with a hermit on Mount Athos lend an irresistible immediacy to the edifying flow of dialogue and discussion. This work has been translated into English, Spanish, Serbian, Arabic, and, most recently, Russian and Hungarian.

ARTICLES

BISHOP INNOKENTII VENIAMINOV
AND THE PATRISTIC BACKGROUND
FOR NINETEENTH CENTURY MISSIONARY WORK



BISHOP INOKENTII VENIAMINOV

GOTR Editor's Foreword

It is a great privilege and honor to us at Hellenic College/Holy Cross to have the Papers of the *International Symposium On Bishop Innokentii Veniaminov* included in this volume of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. St. Innocent is one of the most distinguished Orthodox missionary saints of the nineteenth century whose fame has spread beyond the Church of Russia and the Orthodox Church in general to the four corners of the world. He is, of course particularly connected with us Orthodox Christians in America, thanks to his missionary operations in Alaska and the acquisition of Alaska by the United States of America. St. Innocent is indeed an American Saint! But he is primarily a Russian saint as his remarkable biography clearly demonstrates. The main events in this biography run as follows.

Born John Popov in a small village near Irkutsk in Siberia in August 1797, he entered the Irkutsk Theological Seminary at the age of nine and became one of the most distinguished students of this School eleven years later. After graduation he married and was ordained deacon in 1817 and priest in 1821. Soon afterwards he volunteered to become a missionary in Alaska and in 1824 he moved there with his wife, son, mother and brother. He worked among the Aleutians, devising an alphabet for their language and translating services and biblical texts. Here he wrote his famous text *A Guide (or Indication) To The Way To The Heavenly Kingdom*. His hard work under atrocious weather conditions made him sick and partially crippled. In 1834 he was transferred to Sitka, where he continued his pioneering work establishing a School and translating books into the Tlingit Indian language. In 1838 he returned to Russia to report on his work and elicit support. In 1839 his wife died and he joined the monastic ranks taking the name Innocent. In 1840 he was consecrated Bishop for the newly established missionary diocese of Kamtchatka, the Kuril and the Aleutian Islands. His indefatigable character took him far and wide in Alaska where he conducted an incredible apostolic activity, which included establishing churches, a Seminary for native

priests and constructing the Cathedral of St. Michael the Archangel in Sitka. As a result of all this, in 1850 he was elevated to an Archbishop and his diocese was extended into Asiatic Russia. In 1868, in spite of his ill health and partial blindness, he was named Metropolitan of Moscow (succeeding Philaret) and from his new position he was able to establish the Imperial Mission Society (1869) and to help the work in Alaska. He died on Great Saturday in 1879. In October 6, 1977 he was canonized as a Saint of the Russian Orthodox Church to be commemorated on April 12.

The year 1997 marked the 200th anniversary from St. Innocent's birth and was dedicated to his memory by the Russian Church in Russia and America. The *International Symposium* in his honor, the papers of which we have included in this volume of the GOTR is an important part of the various festivities for this anniversary. This publication fulfils my participation in this *Symposium* which, although originally planned, never occurred, because of my move from Durham (England) to Brookline (Massachusetts) and the undertaking of new responsibilities. The full credit for both the organization of the *Symposium* and the collection and editing of the papers presented to it belongs to our Guest Editor, Dr. Soterios A. Mousalimas, a graduate of Holy Cross Seminary. This publication is a fitting monument to Dr. Mousalimas' passionate interest in Alaskan Christianity and Russian Orthodox Missions, most clearly demonstrated in his excellent Oxford University D.Phil thesis entitled, *The Transition from Shamanism to Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska*, published by Berghahn Books, Oxford 1995, which was supervised by Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia and examined by the late anthropologist Godfrey Lienhardt and myself.

There is one more word to be added to this Note, a vote of thanks to all the distinguished contributors from around the world, not least those from Russia and especially Yakutia, with some of whom I had the rare privilege of becoming acquainted. May the amazing example of this dedicated Russian Saint inspire many in Orthodox missions.

Fr. George Dion Dragas

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
TO COMMEMORATE THE BICENTENNIAL
OF THE BIRTH OF ST. INNOKENTII VENIAMINOV
Pembroke College, Oxford University, 14-15 April 1997

Guest Editor
DR. S.A. MOUSALIMAS (OXFORD, ENGLAND)

List of Participants

Rt. Rev. Kallistos Ware, Oxford University
Vladislav Arzhanukhin, Alexander Herzen State Pedagogical University Of Russia, (St. Petersburg)
Sophie Deicha, Institut De Théologie De St. Serge, (Paris)
John Chrysavgis, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School Of Theology, (Brookline, Massachusetts)
Egor Spiridonovich Shishigin, Sakha State University, (Mirny)
Yevodokia Pavlovna Gulyaeva, National Library Of The Sakha Republic (Yakutia)
Anatolii Alekseev Burtsev, Sakha State University, (Yakutia)
Oleg Dmitrievich Yakimov, Sakha State University, (Yakutia)
Nadezhda Semeonovna Ertyukova, Yakutsk State Museum
Nadezhda Stepanovna, National Archive Of The Sakha Republic (Yakutia)
Symeon Nikolaevich Gorokhov, Sakha State University, Yakutsk
Andrew Louth, University Of Durham
David Collins, University Of Leeds
Vladislav Soldatenko, Sakha State University, (Mirny)
Tatiana Kladovikova, Sakha State University, (Mirny)

Irene Manshina, Sakha State University, (Mirny)

Tatiana Sarana, Sakha State University, (Mirny)

Victoria Popova, Sakha State University, (Mirny)

Introduction

DR. S.A. MOUSALIMAS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The members of the coordinating committee for the symposia that took place in the United Kingdom to commemorate the bicentennial of the birth of St. Innokentii Veniaminov were the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kallistos Ware (Oxford University), Professor Andrew Walls (Edinburgh University), and Lady Duncan (London).

The honorary patrons were His Eminence Grigorios the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, and His Eminence Anthony the Metropolitan of Sourozh.

Sponsorship was provided by the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, Marina the Lady Marks, Mr. Tryphon Kedros, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Mousalimas, Mr. Nicholas Gavrilov-Gozzard, and the Endowment Fund for Orthodox Missions.

Translations of presentations during the symposia were provided by Dr. Claudia Ivanovna Fedorova, Director of the International Programs Office, Sakha State University, Yakutsk, and by Deacon Nicholas Sakharov, research student of Pembroke College, Oxford University, and novice of the Patriarchal Stavropegic Monastery of St. John the Baptist, located in Tolleshunt Knights.

The *paraklesis* (*molieben*) in the college chapel was officiated by His Grace Basil the Bishop of Sergievo with the Rev. Michael Fortounatto and members of the choir of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of the Dormition and All Saints (London).

* * *

His Grace Herman the Bishop of Yakutsk and Lensk sent a letter

of support. The Government of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) also sent a letter of support. The Patriarchate of Moscow, Office for External Church Affairs, sent Hieromonk Ilarion (Alfeev) as their representative, sponsored jointly by the Greek Orthodox community of the Holy Trinity and the Russian Orthodox parish of the Annunciation in Oxford.

* * *

While each was essential to the event, acknowledgement is due furthermore with special emphasis to the honorary patron who came to Oxford to be with the participants and who received the guests from Yakutia in London:

His Eminence Grigorios the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The introduction will provide: (i) a description of the symposium; (ii) a description of the international series of events in which this symposium took place; (iii) an explanation of the structure and contents of the collection in this volume; (iv) a clarification of some of the vocabulary, demographic and geographic, that will be read in these chapters; and (v) an explanation of the method of transliteration.

At the outset, the reader may appreciate knowing that this volume has been organized so that the contents may be read as a book, chapter to chapter inclusively. The contents have also been arranged to allow a reader with a specialized interest — in (a) patristic theology, (b) missiology, or (c) Eastern Siberia and Alaska — to locate specific chapters relevant to a particular field of interest.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYMPOSIUM

The symposium in Pembroke College, Oxford, commenced with a *paraklesis* (*molieben*) to the Saint, conducted in the college chapel on the eve of the convocation with permission of the college chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Platt. The patrons and sponsors were acknowledged and thanked in this context, and letters of greetings and support were read. A reception in Broadgates Hall followed, through the membership of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kallistos Ware; and the symposium's opening speech was provided by Dr. E.S. Shishigin, the General Coordinator

of the international series of commemorative events. From Broadgates Hall, the participants proceeded through the Chapel Quad to the Great Hall of the College for silver dinner.

The presentations were delivered in the Great Hall, during the next two days, 14-15 April 1997, with the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kallistos Ware conducting the proceedings from the Chair and with Lady Duncan gracing the speakers' table. The proceedings began, in the morning of the first day, with expositions of the patristic background presented by Bishop Kallistos from Oxford, Dr. V.V. Arzhanukhin from St. Petersburg, and Dr. S. Deicha from Paris. Their contributions are published in this volume.

During the afternoon session of the same day, the convocation progressed thematically into regional aspects of Veniaminov's ministry and accomplishments, beginning with a presentation by Dr. L.T. Black from Alaska, who spoke extemporaneously from extensive knowledge about "Veniaminov's Philosophy of Education;" then continuing with the presentations by Dr. E.S. Shishigin and then Mrs. N.S. Ertyukova from Yakutia whose contributions are published herein. His Eminence Grigorios the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain joined the participants during the day's presentations and remained with the participants through dinner in the Wetherley Room and then through the evening's discussions in Broadgates Hall.

In the morning of the second day, the presentations by Mrs. E.P. Gulyaeva, Professor A.A. Burtsev and Dr. S.N. Gorokhov from Yakutia were heard, and can be read here. Then during the early afternoon session, the brief presentations by Dr. D. Collins and then Professor A. Louth (the latter *in absentia*) were delivered, and they were followed by the summary view by the Rev. Dr. J. Chryssavgis: these contributions are also published in this volume.

The honours students' reports commenced in later afternoon of the final day, with Lady Duncan in the Chair. Once a university professor of education herself (Professor B. Psaltis, D.Ed.), she was especially attentive to these visiting students: T. Kladovikova, I. Manshina, V. Popova, T. Sarana and V. Soldatenko. With respect for the senior academics, these reports were delivered appropriately in the Junior Common Room of the College, and the reports are included here-in as the Appendices.

The symposium concluded with high table silver dinner in the Great Hall of the College, and was adjourned cordially from Broadgates

Hall. The next day, 16 April, many of the participants departed for Edinburgh, where they were joined by others for the complementary symposium that was convened in the university there.

The complementary symposium in Edinburgh University, 17-19 April 1997, titled "Christian Identities in the Arctic," was organized within the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, under the same coordinating committee and the same patronage. Indeed, the endorsement of the proposal for the UK symposia had been brought forward to Professor Walls in Edinburgh in 1994, when E.S. Shishigin visited this country and delivered a lecture in each of these two universities, Oxford and Edinburgh. Professor Walls is the founder of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World. He endorsed the proposal, and I believe that it would be fair to say that this initial endorsement by him in Edinburgh created much of the solid basis from which the UK events and also the international series of events could be developed.

The Edinburgh symposium was facilitated essentially by Professor David Kerr, the Director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, New College, University of Edinburgh, and also by Dr. James Cox, then of this Centre (currently of Westminster College, Oxford). The proceedings were led from the Chair by Professor Kerr and also by Dr. Cox. The symposium commenced with a reception in the presence of the Principal of New College, University of Edinburgh. Among other events, the Royal Museums of Scotland received Mrs. Ertyukova, Director of the Yakutsk State Museum, to view the collections from northeast Asia by invitation from D. Idiens.

Returning to London from Edinburgh, the participants from Yakutia as well as Dr. Felix Torres from Paris, who had participated as an active observer in both symposia were received specially in the British Ethnographic Museum (the Museum of Mankind) by Dr. B. Durrans for a private viewing of an ivory sculpture of the Yakut traditional mid-summer national festival, known as the *Ysykh*: the sculpture had been created as part of the Russian exhibition in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867.

Also during their stay in London, the participants from Yakutia were received for a cordial lunch by Archbishop Grigorios of Thyateira in his residence; and they attended the Divine Liturgy in the Russian Orthodox Cathedral, Ennismore Gardens. The commemorations in

the United Kingdom finished with dinner in the United Oxford-Cambridge University Club, by membership of this volume's editor, where the guests were re-joined by Sir James and Lady Duncan, by Mrs. Andrew Mousalimas and by Mr. Gavrilov-Gozzard, and were joined by Sir Alfred Sherman as well as Dr. B. Durrans and his colleague from the museum, S. MacKay.

THE INTERNATIONAL SERIES OF EVENTS IN WHICH THIS
SYMPOSIUM TOOK PLACE

This symposium in Oxford and its complementary symposium in Edinburgh were parts of an international series of events that spanned the globe, around the northern hemisphere, to commemorate the bicentennial of the birth of St. Innokentii (Veniaminov). Care was exercised to assure that any events associated with this series met certain academic and social levels.

In the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), the government passed a resolution (no.12-r), on 4 January 1996, officially endorsing a year-long series of activities for the bicentennial and establishing an organizing committee comprised of the following members. They will be specified here so that they may be acknowledged, and also so that the reader may receive an impression of the stature of the event as the committee was formed of government officials, university officials and representatives of all of the relevant civic institutions as well as the bishop of the newly re-opened diocese.

Committee chairman: A.A. Tomtosov, First Deputy of the Presidency of the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia); Co-chairman: Bishop Herman of Yakutsk and Lensk; Co-chairman: A.N. Alekseev, First Pro-rector of the Yakutsk State University; General Coordinator: E.S. Shishigin, Head of the Humanities Department, Mirny campus, Yakutsk State University.

Committee Members: V.N. Ivanov, Director of the Institute for Research in the Humanities of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia); R.M. Skryabin, Director of the International Research Centre for the Development of the Northern Territories "Sakha Inter-north;" P.P. Nogovitsuin, First Deputy of the Presidency for State Sciences; V.P. Filippov, Co-chairman of the National Committee for UNESCO; A.M. Luikhina, Chief Deputy of the Administration of the City of Yakutsk; V.A. Samsonova, Director of

the National Library of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia); N.S. Ertyukova, Director of the Yakutsk State Museum; V.V. Kachaev, Deputy for the Representation of the Presidency of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) to the President of the Russian Federation; V.V. Alekseev, Director of the National Publishing House "Bichik;" K.I. Fedorova, Director of the International Programs Office, Yakutsk State University; N.M. Santaev, President of the Union of Cinematographers of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia).

The Chairmanship passed to Ye.S. Nikitina, Deputy Head of the Government when Mr. Tomtosov assumed, in Moscow, the position of Deputy Minister in the Ministry of the Russian Federation on Affairs of Nationalities and Federation Relations. Mr. Tomtosov was in Yakutsk for the main event of the republic's bicentennial commemorations, the international conference, nevertheless.

The international conference was titled, in English translation, "St. Innocent (Veniaminov): Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna, Apostle to Alaska and Yakutia." It was convened in the Institute of the Humanities, 12-14 September 1997; and included speakers from the various civic institutions listed here, just above, as well as yet others, and attracted participants from the UK, France, Alaska and Korea. The proceedings were led from the Chair by Professor V.N. Ivanov, Director of the Institute of the Humanities; then by Dr. A.A. Alexeyev, Vice-President of the Sakha State University; and then by E.S. Shishigin.

The series of events in the republic, which culminated in the international conference, included (among other activities) the production of a documentary film about Veniaminov's life and legacy in north-east Asia and Alaska; the re-publication of his biography written by I. Barsukov, published originally in 1883, re-printed now by the Yakutskii Dom, a philanthropic organization in Moscow comprised of leaders of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) there; and a conference, also endorsed by the governmental resolution, that was convened in the Sakha State University's branch in the town of Mirny, 18-10 April 1996, titled the "Revitalization of the Spirituality of the Peoples." The university branch buildings were blessed on that occasion by Bishop Herman, due notably to the initiative of the administrator of the university branch Dr. A.A. Goldman who did much for the success of this regional conference. The the elected Chief Administrator of the Mirny rayon (region), Mr. V.N. Basygysov, should also be ac-

knowledge in this context for his active support in assisting this and other events for the bicentennial celebrations in this town.

Descriptions and details of these events can be found in the numerous publications that appeared in Yakutsk and Mirny. Contact for these materials can be made through the university's International Programs Office, by correspondence with the Director C.I. Fedorova: the office's address is provided in the editor's note in the first chapter of this volume.

UNESCO for all of Russia including the Sakha Republic listed the Bicentennial of the Birth of Metropolitan Innokentii in their calendar for 1997; and I believe this was due, to a most substantial extent, to the efforts of the Sakha Republic National Committee for UNESCO.

In Alaska, by Executive Proclamation, issued 9 September 1996, by the Governor of the State of Alaska, Tony Knowles, the year 1997 was proclaimed as "The Veniaminov Bicentennial Year." The bicentennial commemorations in Alaska consisted of two complementary state-wide aspects: a museums exhibit and a university conference.

Convened in the University of Alaska at Fairbanks, 5-7 December 1997, the international conference was titled "Ioann Veniaminov in Alaska and Siberia and his Contributions to Arctic Social Science." Funding was provided by the National Science Foundation. The proceedings are meant to be published in Russian as well as English by The Limestone Press, general editor R.H. Pierce, Kingston, Ontario, and Fairbanks, Alaska. The translations are being finished by C. Arndt in Fairbanks.

The exhibit, titled "A Good and Faithful Servant," was organized jointly by the University of Alaska Fairbanks and the Alaska State Museums, particularly through the initiative of L.T. Black. Its quality has earned this exhibit the Alaska Museums Award for Excellence. Sponsorship derived substantially from Alaska Native organizations and private donors, as well as from the University of Alaska Fairbanks, the Alaska Humanities Forum, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Arctic Division. The exhibit was displayed initially at Unalaska in September 1997, and it will continue to be displayed in cities and towns, circulating from one to the next, through 1999 at least. It will ultimately return to be kept as a permanent exhibit in the Unalaska museum. The booklet that accompanies the exhibit, and carries the same title, is published by the University of Alaska Press (Fairbanks, 1997).

In addition to the statewide commemorations, local events also took place. The first was significantly in the town of Unalaska, on the Aleutian Islands, 12-15 September 1996, effectively marking the beginning of the bicentennial events in Alaska. A convocation of Aleut elders was essential to it. The governor's executive proclamation was announced there. The City of Unalaska, the Unalaska Corporation, the Aleutian-Pribylov Islands Association, and other organizations were sponsors of this event. Dignitaries included the Minister of Indigenous Peoples' Affairs of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), V.V. Toporkov, as well as Bishop Herman of Yakutsk: these two men together with E.S. Shishigin, General Coordinator of the Bicentennial, comprised an official delegation from the Sakha Republic. By invitation from the people of Unalaska, the proceedings were led by Mr. Ray Hudson, a former teacher in Unalaska and an Alaskan artist, who spoke about "Veniaminov's Legacy among the Aleut People."

During this initial event in Alaska, on 15 September 1996, the parish church building was re-consecrated after extensive repairs that had become necessary due to the ravages of the Aleutian weather. The building had originally been constructed under Veniaminov's supervision while he was the first parish priest of Unalaska. The repairs have been completed by substantial local donations, in addition to grants from USA sources as the building is a USA national historical landmark.

The honorary patron and a sponsor of the Alaska bicentennial events was the Aleut Foundation. The Alaska Coordinating Committee was comprised of Dr. L.T. Black, University of Alaska at Fairbanks, the international coordinator; the Rev. Paul Merculieff, Aleut priest of the Aleutian Islands, the committee chairman; the Rev. George Pletnikoff, Aleut priest of the Pribylov Islands; and Dr. and Mrs. Dauenhauer, Tlingits' Sealaska Heritage Foundation.

From Alaska, Veniaminov had visited Fort Ross and the San Francisco Bay Area from mid-July to mid-September 1836. Now, 8-14 October 1996, the Distinguished Lecture Series of the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, was dedicated to him. These distinguished lectures were delivered by Dr. L.T. Black, and will be published by the Institute, as the Distinguished Lectures, number 6 (Berkeley, 1999). The proceedings were led from the Chair by Professor N.V. Riasanovsky, Senior Professor of European History, University of California at Berkeley.

The patron and sponsor was the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute, under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Manolis.

On the East Coast of the United States, the occasional lecture series sponsored by the Endowment Fund for Orthodox Missions, 20-22 October 1996, was also dedicated to Veniaminov as part of the international bicentennial commemorations. This lecture series was convened in Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts. The proceedings were led by Rev. Alexander Veronis, chairman and founder of the EFOM. The dedication of that year's lecture series in honour of Veniaminov had been suggested particularly by Rev. James Couchel, the Director of the Orthodox Christian Mission Center, St. Augustine, Florida. These lectures, on the theme of missiology in general, were delivered by the editor who writes this Introduction, and they will be published by the EFOM in a volume of collected EFOM occasional lectures (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in print).

I believe that in Washington, DC, a display of literature by and about Veniaminov was organized in the US Library of Congress by D.H. Kraus, Chief Curator of the European Division, endorsed by the Librarian of Congress, James H. Billington, and that it became the first exhibit in the library's new European Reading Room during 1997. We were in contact about this initially.

In Greece, Archimandrite Timotheos (Sakkas), *hegoumenos* of the Monastery of the Paraclete, located in Oropos, Attica, offered to re-print ecclesiastical work in the Sakha language for the bicentennial. In 1994, this monastery had re-printed the Gospels in the Sakha (Yakut) language which had been published in Kazan in 1898.

Interest in this series of events commemorating the bicentennial of the birth of St. Innokentii Veniaminov was expressed by institutions and individuals in yet more locations: Korea, Canada, France, the Netherlands, Finland, Poland, Romania, Japan and South Africa. Much more could have been done; and I say this literally. Veniaminov unites and inspires and motivates many people.

It is significant that the initiative and the work for this series of commemorative events derived from laity, because Veniaminov himself laboured cooperatively in his pastoral ministry, affirming and inspiring people, and he continues to affirm and to inspire. Contributions from formal ecclesiastical establishments were almost nil. This was not a negative factor. It is a positive factor, attesting very much

to Veniaminov's character and legacy. It is a positive factor as the most appropriate levels were maintained by these qualified laity to his honour.

It is significant furthermore that the actual initiative for the bicentennial derived from the descendants of the very peoples to whom he had dedicated his life. If ever the more complete scope becomes clearer about the extent of credible events that took place to commemorate this anniversary in other regions where he lived or laboured — Irkutsk, Kamchatka, the Amur, and Moscow — then the reality of his legacy will be even more vivid. For instance, an academic conference about his life and accomplishments was convened in the city of Irkutsk, 1-3 October 1997, to commemorate the 270th anniversary of the foundation of the Irkutsk eparchy as well as the 200th anniversary of the birth of St Innokentii in the Irkutsk gubernia; and the proceedings have been published in Irkutsk, in 1997, jointly by the Ministry of Public and Professional Education, the Irkutsk State Technical University, and the Irkutsk Eparchy Department of the Moscow Patriarchate.

He was described in our modest booklet for the Oxford symposium as follows: "He went out with an affirmative vision for the peoples of these regions, and an affirmative attitude towards their ancestral cultures; and he entered into cooperative relationships with many individuals and groups there." In the same brochure, the following summary words were written:

With an affirmative vision for the peoples of northeastern Asia and Alaska and their ancestral cultures, and with cooperative interactions there, Bishop Innokentii Veniaminov provided leadership for a constructive transition during times of international contact and change.

Initiative for the international bicentennial to commemorate his birth originated in the locations where he ministered, and where he is remembered today; therefore:

The president and government of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) in the Russian Federation have issued an official resolution sponsoring more than a year-long series of events;

UNESCO has listed the bicentennial in the calendar of 1997 for all Russia;

The governor of Alaska in the USA has issued an executive proclamation for the state designating 1997 as "The Veniaminov Bicentennial Year."

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THIS VOLUME

The chapters have been organized so that they may be read as a book, with the chapters proceeding thematically from one to the next. They have also been organized into four parts, so that specific fields of specialized interest may be located. An exception to the latter rule exists with regard to the Appendices, which have been designated as such just to demarcate the students' reports properly from the qualified academics' presentations. The contents of the Appendices are included because they merit attention nevertheless; and the reader will find ample material there-in as well. The four parts of this volume are: 1: The Patristic Theological Background; 2. St. Innokentii's Life, Work, and Legacy; 3: Resources and Areas for Further Study; 4. Appendices.

Part 1: The Patristic Theological Background

Part 1 will be of interest to readers of the history of patristic theology in Russia, as (to my knowledge) this is the first time this history has been compiled so thematically. The first chapter, by K. Ware, presents the early Greek patristic authors who provide us with the affirmative vision that we find reflected in the accomplishments of St. Innokentii (Veniaminov), and this chapter places these patristic authors within their own social contexts. The chapter also emphasizes the current relevance of these patristic authors and of Veniaminov himself for us today.

The next chapter, by V. Arzhanukhin, focusing on patristics in Russia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indicates a dichotomy that occurred within Russia between (what the author of this chapter has aptly referred to as) the "ascetic-mystical" on the one hand and the "intellectual-theological" on the other hand, resulting in a conflict between the so-called "Grecophiles" and the "Latinophiles." The editor wishes to mention that Arzhanukhin's description of the side taken by Emperor Peter I, and that new imperial administration, with regard to the conflict will be useful to anyone who wishes to conduct research into church history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Alaska certainly, and also probably in Siberia.

When we proceed into the nineteenth century with S. Deicha, we find that evidently much of the conflict had been resolved, or it does

not appear as a predominant theme in this chapter. Deicha explains how the study and relevance of patristic thought had been revived, and she describes vividly with numerous examples how a synthesis with scientific endeavours had occurred. This is directly relevant to an understanding of Veniaminov who emerged from this background. We begin to see Veniaminov emerging from the seventeenth and eighteenth century dichotomy that was described by Arzhanukhin, and becoming active himself in his own ministry during the nineteenth century's synthesis of thought that is described by Deicha.

Deicha also indicates that the earlier dichotomies were still in place in some circles and personalities, so that (for instance) Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow needed to act in opposition against some civil and ecclesiastical authorities to bring his affirmative theological vision forward. Filaret was succeeded by Innokentii (Veniaminov) as the Metropolitan of Moscow. The fact that these two affirmative and saintly men of such spiritual depth and intellectual breadth could assume the highest ecclesiastical stature in the Russian Church in the mid-nineteenth century must itself attest to the changes that had occurred.

The narrow-mindedness against which they effectively struggled is indicated also by J. Chryssavgis in the next chapter with regard historically to the criticisms lodged by some ecclesiastics against the breadth of types of books that Veniaminov would read and furthermore with regard to modern criticisms against the content of Veniaminov's monograph titled the *Indication of the Way*. This chapter by Chryssavgis emphasizes the patristic theological content in this monograph.

Studying these chapters, the reader may discover that the same types of tensions and challenges that confronted the patristic writers of the first centuries AD remain current and were known by Veniaminov in the nineteenth century. We find him evidently attempting to understand then-modern currents of thought. We see him studying a book about foreign economic theory of the capitalist open market while he was ministering in Alaska (Ware), within a context where the Russian-American Company was the predominant civil institution. This does not mean that he endorsed such theories (Yakimov), but that he was keen to gain insights into that contemporary phenomenon. We see him reading some foreign religious philosophy and also reading studies about Napoleon, who had just

been defeated in 1812 following the brief occupation of Moscow. We see Veniaminov bringing religious thought and scientific endeavour together in his activities (Deicha). And finally we see him bringing his personal sufferings into the light of his Orthodox theological reflections (Chryssavgis).

Thus we begin to perceive him struggling with the contemporary issues of his time and struggling with his own personal issues, and resolving them. Significantly, he himself never brought these struggles forward publicly: he never dwelt on himself in his publications or in his journals (as far as I know). These tensions emerge for us through attention to his background and his context, they emerge through these chapters.

No pretence is extended here-in to claim that Veniaminov's brilliance was due solely to his patristic theological background. On the contrary, these chapters describe the patristic background within a complex fabric of social thought and issues, be this in the Mediterranean during the first centuries AD or in Russia from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The chapters describe the concerns and tensions that motivated the theological responses in these contexts. Other studies could well focus on the social policies in the Russian Empire that either fostered or inhibited the types of affirmative relationships that are manifested in Veniaminov's labours.

A transition to Part 2 is provided in effect by J. Chryssavgis, who recognizes and explains the theological principles inherent in the book that Veniaminov wrote in the Aleut language at Unalaska, *Indication of the Way*, and who relates these theological principles to Veniaminov's own personal struggles. Thus, aspects of Veniaminov's own life come forward vividly already as we begin to turn to the next part of our volume.

Part 2: St. Innokentii's Life, Work, and Legacy

Part 2 focuses mainly on his ministry in Yakutia and in the Unalaska district. These contributions derive from representatives of civic institutions in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) today. Facts about the authors of these chapters will be found in the editor's notes and merit close attention. As these details are provided in the chapters' notes, the Introduction need not expand on the impressive value of these chapters. The value will become clear enough as the reader proceeds

from one chapter to the next in this part of the volume. The chapters' tone and contents reflect the current re-discovery — indeed an excitement about the re-discovery — of the immense value of Veniaminov's work. His current contemporary significance is also expressed.

An historical summary is provided in the first chapter, written by E.S. Shishigin, whose role (a key role indeed) in the bicentennial has been described in the preceding sections of this Introduction. An emphasis is set in this chapter especially on the translations that Veniaminov accomplished or coordinated into the languages of north-east Asia and the Aleutians.

A summary of the publications of translations in these languages is given by Ye.P. Gulyaeva, who represented the Sakha Republic National Library in the symposium. The summary is clear and detailed. The extent of publications is very impressive.

A.A. Burtsev reflects on the influence of the translations on the development of Sakha (Yakut) literature, which is wide in its scope both with regard to original authorship and with regard to subsequent translations of world literature. This author emphasizes the spiritual legacy as manifested in later works.

From Yakutia, the reader will proceed to Unalaska with O.D. Yakimov, for whom Veniaminov's stature as a patriot becomes important. The chapter is particularly insightful as the author perceives that Veniaminov's patriotism, as well as his scientific research, derived from his concern for the spiritual well-being of his flock whom he respected. The author uses the phrase "Aleut intelligentsia" to refer to the Aleuts who cooperated with Veniaminov in the translations at Unalaska, and the phrase should not be overlooked. A significant phrase that would not be found too readily in writings outside Russia, it is filled with potential meaning.

Part 3: Resources and Areas for Further Study

The first two chapters in Part 3 serve in effect as a transition from part to part as they also concentrate on aspects of his ministry and legacy in Yakutia while they provide useful indications of the resources available for further research into Veniaminov's life and activities. The addresses of the institutions are given in the editor's notes to facilitate contact and collaboration. Again, these chapters

speak completely, each for itself.

Firstly, the collections of the Yakutsk State Museum are described by N.S. Ertyukova, the Director of the Yakutsk State Museum, who came to the UK symposia by invitation. Her participation in these symposia were just an aspect of her and her museum co-workers' greater contributions to the bicentennial: some other aspects are described in the text of this chapter and also in the editor's notes.

Next, the collections of the Sakha Republic's National Archives are described by N.S. Stepanova. The Chief Archivist of the National Archives, N.S. Stepanova presented her summary during the international bicentennial conference in Yakutsk, September 1997, and has been included here to provide this vital data for anyone who may wish to pursue research in these archives.

The last three chapters in this section are meant to stimulate thought in areas of study that have not yet been adequately explored. The sequence of these last three chapters might appear to be incongruous when a reader glances at the chapter titles; however, the sequence is purposeful, and the sequence should become meaningful if this part of the volume is read chapter by chapter as a whole. Two of these chapters require particular attention in the Introduction.

S.N. Gorokhov represents the concerns of some members of the indigenous ethnic minorities of Yakutia. The Yakuts are not considered to be a minority. The minorities are the Evenk (who are also known as the "Tungus proper"), the Even (also known as the Lamut), the Chukchi, and the Yukaghir. These designations are explained in the fourth section of this Introduction. He particularly represents the Yukaghirs from whom he descends in part and with whom he has come to identify himself. The Yukaghir population is so very small that they are an endangered minority whose very existence is under severe threat.

The concerns he expresses need to be heard, heeded and engaged in "calm and tolerant forums." The quotations enclose his own words, as will be read. Doubts exist in some minds about the continuity of the ethnic minorities if they are to be Christian.

Their social structure was traditionally based on nomadic small clan groupings, based to a significant extent on the central role of their traditional shamans, who served as healers and also as augurs in the clans in these remote and harsh regions of the Far North. The social structure was most radically upset during the forced collectiv-

ization of the mid-twentieth century. Gorokhov argues that the upset had begun earlier, during the tsarist era.

The opportunity currently exists to revitalize and regain many traditions. Therefore, he expresses concerns about the antipathy that he says must exist inevitably between shamans and churchmen. These concerns need to be addressed in forums indeed. But what is also required is clear thought, and his contribution serves the additional purpose of reflecting this need.

For example, in historical retrospect Gorokhov quotes from the priest Argentov who wrote that: "Many patients find a visit from a shaman to be useful, as he appeals to the patient's imagination, supports his spirit, raises his hopes, and quiets and encourages his relations. One must agree that effective shamans are useful here." A contradiction should already have become evident. On the one hand, Gorokhov states that the priest Argentov recognized "effective shamans" as "useful here," and the author furthermore states that clergy and statesmen as well as Russian old settlers would take recourse to effective shamans as healers in these remote regions; but on the other hand, he asserts an inevitable antipathy between Orthodox churchmen categorically and shamans categorically. Clarity and better definition are needed.

In this chapter, it is furthermore asserted that Christianization was superficial among all of the indigenous peoples including the Yakuts. To substantiate the assertion, the chapter's author quotes the priest Kokoulin who complained that "the majority of them did not go to confession but resorted to the help of an idolater (shaman), did not cross themselves, did not baptize their children, and had forgotten their zealous preachers." But elsewhere in this chapter, the chapter's author refers by name to affluent Evenk and Chukchi donors of churches in the North; and he also refers to indigenous leaders who had assumed the responsibility for the dissemination of Orthodoxy among their respective peoples and who had assisted "in the effort of the Church to eradicate shamanism." The contradiction becomes manifest again. The need for clearer thought and better definition becomes evident.

A close look at the quotation from priest Kokoulin whom Gorokhov cites might be helpful along these lines. Evidently, people were spurning this priest's rules. They would not go to him for confession. Might this not signify something about the clergyman and his own demands

perhaps? Confession was demanded as prerequisite for other sacraments and served as a method for civil social control as some clergy practiced confession in the imperial Russian tradition (and the practice persists in some circles today). It does not exist in other canonical Orthodox Churches. I dare say that some Orthodox today would likewise see that practice as oppressive and would likewise be loathe to submit themselves to it. Who was this priest? What was his character? What types of rules was he trying to enforce? Who exactly were those people who resisted? What was happening among them? Questions such as these will open the way beyond the hasty categorizations.

We approach this way somewhat when the author describes "Christianity as the religion of the conquerors" in conflict with "shamanism as a belief-system of defeated minorities." Wherever the Christian religion was extended by the sword, we should expect this dichotomy and antipathy. This occurred on Kodiak Island in Russian-America (Alaska), as the editor of this volume has explained in the first chapter of his own work titled *From Mask to Icon: Transformation in the Arctic*.

However by looking at more detail into sources from Kodiak, I found that the dichotomy was not absolute. Evidently in the Kodiak area, people were not rejecting the Orthodox faith and its practices as much as they were resisting the invaders, namely Grigorii Shelikhov, his enterprises and his unbridled capitalist ilk to whom O.D. Yakimov refers. But Shelikhov's sort, with their ruthless means, were not the only Russians there. Other kinds of Russians were also there. Amicable relationships with other Russians developed, through which Orthodoxy was conveyed to and incorporated by the Kodiak Alutiiq — while these people did in fact resist the invaders!

The Alaskan example may serve to promote thought furthermore with regard to the clergy as their personalities differed from each other. We have St. Innokentii, St. Herman, the Rev. Fr. Yakov Netsvetov, the courageous hieromonk Makarii, who are exemplary! But we shall also find different sorts such as: Archmandrite Ioasaph Bolotov at Kodiak, 1794-1796 (about whom ambiguity exists in his relationships with Shelikhov's designs); or Bishop Peter, who was appointed as vicar bishop at Novo Arkhangel'sk in 1858, and then, in 1867, was transferred to Yakutsk (who meddled ignorantly in Yup'ik Eskimo pastoral affairs and might have caused the death by despair of someone as talented and as blessed as Fr. Netsvetov); or hieromonk

Gavriil at Ikogmiut, 1853-1856 (who was mentally imbalanced); or hieromonk Nikita, the priest of Kenai in the 1880s (who was of the narrow-minded sort to whom Gorokhov alludes). Specifically who, where, when, why? — these questions need to be addressed.

The same questions apply to shamans. Who specifically were the shamans who put themselves in opposition? Some would have been concerned with their own social power and prestige, just as some churchmen are concerned primarily with their own: we can expect that. Not all shamans were effective healers: we know this. We also know that not all were benign. Studying the Tungus and producing a monumental work (*The Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*, published in English in London, 1935), S.M. Shirokogoroff applied psychiatric knowledge and field insights to differentiate between types of shamans, and he analyzed the stable characters of those who were effective as healers. His conclusions would support Gorokhov's descriptions of the shamans' effective techniques as healers, and would also support the viability of other people taking recourse to those Tungus shamans who were effective and stable in traditional contexts in these remote regions historically. At the same time, Shirokogoroff's conclusions should help us furthermore to avoid hasty categorical descriptions about shamans, who differed in personality, type and practice.

Some points of tension and opposition should be expected. But the categorical opposition, put forward in this chapter of our volume, might be hasty. Thought and dialogue are needed in this field. Indeed, at the conclusion of the international bicentennial conference in Yakutsk the necessity to convene a series of forums precisely on this topic was expressed and it was endorsed virtually unanimously. The proposal was brought forward constructively and insightfully by the respected Yakut elder and writer Dmitrii Kononevich Svitsev, Suron Omolon.

(The proposal has become active, particularly through the initiative of the participant from Korea in the Yakutsk conference: the Rev. Fr. D. Na, who is already organizing the first symposium of this next series and who plans to incorporate it in the year 2000 into the anniversary celebrations of the Orthodox mission to Korea, because the theme — focusing on the relationships between Orthodoxy and indigenous shamanism — is so relevant in cultural context there too.)

It is interesting that in the preceding chapter Stepanova, who has

access to the full dossiers in the archives and who has read through many, arrives at a very different conclusion from that expressed by Gorokhov. Stepanova's conclusion is the same as that given by Suron Omolon. It could be worthwhile for the reader to study both chapters in sequence. Nonetheless, the concerns and doubts expressed in the current chapter are real. They are valuable.

The next chapter, by A. Louth, follows thematically due to questions that it raises about the use of the term "missionary." Advising against a presupposition that patristic theology would prompt anyone to go out as a missionary for the purpose of dominating and changing others, Louth emphasizes an historical fact that he perceives: After the mid-second century, theology was being written and patristic pastoral work was taking place among the citizens or peoples of the Roman Empire. This was not so much a movement outside to change others, as it was an activity inside for the strengthening and consolidation of the Christian faith and its practices, so much so that the very word "Roman" eventually became synonymous with Orthodox Christian. Questions, thus, arise about the missionary imperative in history after the first and second centuries AD.

If we look carefully at Veniaminov's life and activity we shall find some dynamics that are very similar to those described in Louth's contribution. Veniaminov was assigned as a parish priest and then as a bishop inside Russia. His labours for the consolidation of the peoples of Russia is the theme of Yakimov's contribution in the first part of this volume. The situation changes somewhat during Veniaminov's activities in the Amur region, which was just then being incorporated into Russia; and some of the significance of these activities is also indicated by Yakimov.

The question raised implicitly by Louth in the conclusion in this chapter stands nevertheless: Is the vocation of the Orthodox pastor, be he a missionary, to compel change?

Another challenge that Louth poses is one about the proper use of the term "missionary." The reader will find that the use of this word appears in the volume's and symposium's title, and it recurs throughout these chapters. Veniaminov is often referred to here-in as a "missionary" — although he had been assigned as a parish priest among baptized and practicing Aleut Christians at Unalaska, and then served as a bishop among the baptized and practicing Yakuts and peoples of the North. Why is this parish priest, and then bishop, re-

ferred to in his way? Evidently in the editor's view, it is because Veniaminov was intent on strengthening his flock in this faith and its practices, and he was intent on translating scriptures and divine services into their languages. Whether with regard to Veniaminov in particular or with regard to church history more generally, a clarification of the use of the term "missionary" may be needed indeed. However, instead of imposing an historical typology for the proper use of the term, we could perhaps heed the meanings in its actual usage today. Could the direction of further research about this word not perhaps emerge from its current use?

A transition to Part 4 is provided in effect by D. Collins whose very succinct presentation derives from his extensive research and writing into the life of Archimandrite Makarii in the Altai. The contributor offered this summary at request, the brevity of which was necessary due to the constraints of time during the symposium. This contribution brings attention to the scope of activities contemporaneous with Veniaminov, and implicitly reminds us that collaborative research could widen our scope to understand the context and accomplishments contemporary with him. This contribution also opens a question about the role of pastoral work, even "missionary" work, in Russia today. The chapter serves in effect as transition, because some of the reports in the fourth part of this volume also focus on key personalities other than Veniaminov himself while in virtually the same context as his.

Part 4: Appendices

Part 4 contains the reports written by honours students of the Sakha State University in Mirny who came to the Oxford symposium to read their reports. They conducted their research under the supervision of E.S. Shishigin in the university branch there; they wrote their reports in the English language, as published here-in, under tutorage from the foreign languages department of their university, where they are studying this language; and they practiced their presentations during a study-visit to Oxford in the summer of 1996 by sponsorship from their home university and town, particularly through the efforts of their vice-rector A.A. Goldman. Their reports were read towards the conclusion of the Oxford symposium as an adjunct session, which was proper in relation to the qualified academics' presentations that

preceded; and these reports are included as appendices with the same respect.

The inclusion serves a three-fold purpose. Firstly, it provides insights into some of the wider dimensions of activities in Yakutia, northeast Asia, and Alaska, which may serve to prompt further thought and to indicate further possibilities for discovery for readers of this volume.

The inclusion also represents the complete proceedings of the symposium. Finally (and in the editor's view, very importantly), it brings attention to the quality of these students themselves and thus to the accomplishments of their university mentors in Mirny today. The university branch in Mirny will be five years old in 1999. These students are the first to have matriculated in the university's new branch. This is the quality that has already been achieved. The quality is not only linguistic and intellectual. It is also social. These students were able to conduct themselves with self-confidence, dignity and propriety throughout the Oxford symposium, and also the Edinburgh symposium. They were able to compose and read their reports proficiently in a foreign language. This should be acknowledged and represented through the inclusion. Five students presented their reports: V. Soldatenko, T. Kladovikova, I. Manshina, T. Sarana, and V. Popova. A sixth student, V. Khubieva, had prepared a presentation (through the process described just above, including the study-visit in 1996) but was precluded from coming due to unforeseen personal circumstances alone, and she — Victoria Khubieva — should therefore be mentioned here as well.

VOCABULARY: DEMOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC

Demography

Regarding demography, the reader should be aware that the Sakha (Yakut) people comprise the largest indigenous group in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia): they have remained in control of all or almost all of the civic and governmental institutions there, and they are not considered to be a minority. The terms "Sakha" and "Yakut" are synonymous. "Sakha" is the self-designation in the Sakha (Yakut) language. "Yakut" is a word assimilated into the Russian language for these people. (I believe that "Yakut" was originally a Tungusic word.) It was assimilated into the Russian language during eastward

explorations and migrations when Russians came into contact firstly with other nations that are located more westward or southward than the Sakha. The word "Yakut" remains in current usage when Russian is spoken in the Sakha Republic today, and it is used in translations from Russian into other languages by Sakha academics. This is not unusual. We find the same processes in the use of the words "Greek" and "Hellene" or "Hellenic" for example: the one is of Latin origin and is used by Hellenes (Greeks) freely without any internal contradiction when they speak languages other than their own. The editor of this volume has maintained the use of the term "Yakut" whenever it occurs in the translations into English that have been provided from Yakutsk and Mirny. The Sakha (Yakut) language is a distinct branch of the Turkic language group. Historically, these people were sedentary herders of horses and cattle.

The minorities in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) include the Evenk, Even, Yukaghir, Chukchi peoples whose names will be read here-in. Theirs are "the languages of the ethnic minorities" to which Gulyaeva will refer; and these are the "Northern people" to which Gorokhov will refer. For instance, he will mention the "Yakut *toions*" on the one hand, and the "tribal heads of the Northern people" on the other hand. Historically, these peoples were nomadic reindeer-herders and/or nomadic hunters-and-gatherers.

The term "Yakutian" will be found to refer to all of these nations who were already indigenous to this territory at the time of the Russians' arrival, the Sakha (Yakut) nation as well as the minority nations. (It is interesting to me that the Russian old settlers are also included as "Yakutian" and as "Northern" by some authorities in the republic today, and are at times even included among the indigenous ethnic minorities of the Arctic.)

The term "Tungus" as it recurs in these chapters is a word primarily for Evenk people and culture, including language. The Evenk are numerically the largest of the Tungus peoples, and are referred to in some reference literature as the "Tungus proper." When we read of the translations into the "Tungus language," we should expect this to have been the Evenk language unless otherwise specified.

When we read references in these chapters to the "Tungus" people, we should understand this usage to mean the Evenk and Even peoples, unless the differentiation is specified. The Even people and culture, including language (as distinct from the Evenk) comprise the other

major grouping of the Tungus. The Even are also known as “Lamut.”

The various Tungus peoples, while numerically a small population in total, have an extraordinarily wide distribution from the Western Siberian Plain at the Ob River basin and the Yenesei River basin, across the breadth of northern Asia, eastward through Yakutia and farther eastward to the Okhotsk seaboard (particularly the Even, or Lamut, in the Okhotsk region), and also south-eastward across the Trans-Baikal into the Amur region and Manchuria.

The Evenk and Even languages are Tungus languages, a division of the Manchu-Tungus language group. The Chukchi belongs to the Luoravetlan language family of the Palaeosiberian language group, along with the Kamchadal language. The Yukaghir, of which there are fewer than three hundred speakers today, is sometimes classed as an isolated language family itself, but other times classed within the Palaeosiberian language group, and yet other times claimed to be within the Uralic language family group (even within the Finno-Ugric branch).

The specification of these various languages has relevance to more readers than just those with an interest in classifications. Veniaminov involved himself with speakers of these various language families! — not only different languages of the same group, such as French and Italian; not only different languages of the same family, such as English and Hindi; but entirely different language families, and a number of them. When we add to this list the Aleut language, which is a branch of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, and then add Tlingit, whether as a branch of the Athabascan language family or as yet another isolated language, then his abilities become awesome. We see him proficient or knowledgeable, not only in different languages, but in entirely different language families. He wrote a book in Aleut, compiled a grammar of Tlingit, celebrated the Liturgy and preached in Yakut, at least — according to my knowledge, which does not extend to any depth into this activities in Kamchatka and the Amur where he lived for a number of years, travelling extensively and interacting intensively.

Geography

Now with regard to geography, the reader may appreciate knowing that the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) is a massive territory, encompassing as much as one-fifth of the total land size of the Rus-

sian Federation today. The capital city Yakutsk is located on the Lena River at 62 degrees, 13 minutes, North latitude by 129 degrees, 49 minutes, East longitude. The Lena is one of the great rivers and river systems of Russia, the river itself extending to a length of approximately 2730 miles (4400 km), originating from the west slopes of the Baikal Mountains near Lake Baikal and flowing north-east and then north into the Arctic Laptev Sea.

The Indigirka River is situated farther east, emptying into the Arctic East Siberian Sea at approximately 70 degrees, 48 minutes, North by 148 degrees, 54 minutes, East. Contained within the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), the Indigirka is one of the major rivers of northeast Asia.

Farther eastward, now beyond the eastern boundary of the republic, is the Kolyma River, which also empties into the Arctic East Siberian Sea, now at about 69 degrees, 30 minutes North by 161 degrees East. Farther eastward yet is the extremity of northeast Asia known as the Chukchi Peninsula, or Chukotka, situated between the Chukchi Sea to the north and the Bering Sea to the south, with the Bering Strait and Alaska farther along to the east.

South of this extremity, known as Chukotka, is the long Kamchatka Peninsula located between the Bering Sea and the Okhotsk Sea, the broad Okhotsk Sea separating this slender peninsula from the great expanse of the continuous Eurasian land-mass. About mid-way along the eastern coast of Kamchatka, a distance off-shore, the Commander Islands are found. These two islands are geographically, but no longer politically, part of the Aleutian Island chain that extends in an arc, separating the North Pacific from the Bering Sea, and eventually reaching the Alaska Peninsula. As a chain now from the southern tip of the Kamchatka Peninsula are the Kurile Islands, also spelled Kuril, continuing southward to near Hokkaido Island in Japan.

The new diocese created in 1840, for which Veniaminov was elevated to be the first bishop, was the Diocese of Kamchatka, the Kuriles and the Aleutians.

The Aleutians and Alaska were part of the Russian Empire until 1867, then sold to become a possession of the USA. Therefore, in retrospect, the Aleutians and Alaska will be referred to as "Russian-America," which is an historically proper term, actually used during the Russian era in Alaska history. Some journeys to and from Russian-America took place by circumnavigational voyage, as when the

priest Veniaminov with his daughter Fekla (Thekla) departed from Novoarkhangel'sk (Sitka) to round the cape for St. Petersburg in 1838.

Other regular journeys took place across the breadth of Eurasia, as when Veniaminov returned from St. Petersburg and Moscow to Russian-America as a bishop in 1841, and also earlier when he and his family initially travelled from Irkutsk to Unalaska in 1823. Departing from Irkutsk on Lake Baikal, travellers would reach the Lena River and proceed by river-raft to Yakutsk; then from Yakutsk, they would journey by horseback the distance to Okhotsk (the seaport on the Okhotsk Sea), then by boat across the Okhotsk Sea to Kamchatka, and finally by sea vessel to the Aleutian Islands — or farther eastward in Russian-America to Kodiak town in the Kodiak archipelago, or farther yet to Novoarkhangel'sk in the Alexander archipelago, off the Pacific Northwest coast of North America.

The town of Novoarkhangel'sk was the administrative centre of Russian-American during most periods in that history. Located on Sitka Island, the town is known as Sitka today.

The town of Irkutsk should not be confused with the town of Yakutsk. Yakutsk was an administrative centre, second only to Irkutsk, in this history. This other important town, Irkutsk, is located in the south of Siberia, at Lake Baikal, not far from the Mongolian border. As we shall read, Veniaminov was born in the village of Anginskoi on the southern reaches of the Lena River in the Irkutsk *gubernia* (region).

Almost at the same latitude as Irkutsk, but slightly more southern and far more eastern, is the settlement of Blagoveshchensk where Archbishop Innokentii took residency (in 1860, according to Shishigin; while authorization for the see to be transferred there occurred earlier, in 1858). Blagoveshchensk is situated at 50 degrees, 17 minutes, North latitude by 127 degrees, 32 minutes, East longitude. This settlement is located on the Amur River.

The Amur River forms part of the frontier between the Russian Far East and Manchuria, hence between the Russian Empire and the Chinese Empire. The Amur Valley was ceded to Russia by China in 1858, at the Treaty of Aigun. Veniaminov was present during the negotiations for this treaty. Much of his activity took place among the peoples of the greater Amur region. The indigenous peoples of the Amur region comprise about sixteen distinct groups, mostly speakers of the Tungus languages, and also including some Yakuts here at

the southern-most extent of their own distribution.

The Altai, about which we shall read with regard to Archimandrite Makarii (Glukharev), is a region that includes the Altai Mountains in their extension into Russia where they form a geographical boundary between Siberia and Central Asia. This mountain range is a watershed for rivers flowing to the Arctic Ocean.

As for "Siberia," in everyday usage this term designates the whole of Russia east of the Urals to the eastern seas: the Chukchi Sea, the Bering Sea and the Pacific Ocean. More specifically, this vast expanse is divided into: (a) the West Siberian Plain, drained by the Ob and Yenesei Rivers; then (b) the Central Siberian Plateau, east of the Yenesei and extending to the extensive Lena River basin; then (c) Yakutia, in its own vast expanse to the east and northeast of the plateau; and finally (d) the Far East. This more specific usage with its geographical divisions does not occur in these chapters, except for the term "Far East." The following designation will be read in these chapters: "Eastern Siberia," signifying the eastern expanse of "Siberia," or more specifically the eastern-most plateau, Yakutia and the Far East.

TRANSLITERATION

Not much needs to be explained about the mode of transliteration from Russian into English in this collection. The method is basically that of the British Museum and Library, while the editor has not imposed this onto the contributions, particularly not with regard to the spellings of names, unless the editor himself has been responsible for the transliteration. Therefore, the reader will encounter the translation "Innocent" in some chapters and the transliteration "Innokentii" in other chapters. The editor has respected the individual author's preference. Similarly, the reader will encounter "Nikolaevich" in most instances but "Nikolayev" in a single instance, because the surname is spelled by that person in this way, for example. "Irene" appears instead of "Irina" for the same reason; etc. The only changes that the editor has imposed is the use of the letter "i" for the last vowels of Christian names and surnames in the texts of the chapters as this imposition appeared to be necessary for congruence.

BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

Periodical Reviews

A SURVEY OF THE CONTENTS OF GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL JOURNALS

FR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Due to technical reasons we were not able to include in the GOTR 1998 volume all the reviews of the Greek Orthodox Theological Periodicals which were available at the end of the preceding year (1997) as we had announced. This problem is now rectified and the present GOTR 1999 volume includes all such reviews of Greek Orthodox Theological Periodicals up to the end of 1998. Our plan for the future is to try to include normally in the last issue of the GOTR each year all such reviews up to the end of the preceding year. The last issue of GOTR 2000 volume will include a review of the contents of all the available Greek Orthodox Periodicals published by the end of 1999. It should be pointed out that all the items, which are here presented in English are originally written in Greek, unless otherwise stated. The Periodicals reviewed here are as follows: 1) *Orthodoxia* (Thessaloniki), 2) *Kleronomia* (Thessaloniki), 3) *Phronema* (Sydney, Australia), 4) *Orthodoxes Forum* (Munich), 5) *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* (Alexandria-Johannesburg), 6) *Apostolos Barnabas* (Nicosia Cyprus), 7) *Ekklesiastikos Kerykas* (Larnaca, Cyprus), 8) *Theologia* (Athens), 9) *Epeteris of the School of Theology of the University of Athens* (Athens), 10) *Scientific Annals of the Faculty of Theology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: Department of Theology* (Thessaloniki), 10) *Scientific Annals of the Faculty of Theology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: Department of Pastoral and Social Theology* (Thessaloniki), 11) *Gregorios o Palamas* (Thessaloniki), 12) *Bulletin of Biblical Studies* (Athens), 13) *Synaxis* (Athens).

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PART I, MAIN ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS:

1. Official Visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of His Beatitude the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria Peter [It includes: a) A brief Chronicle of events, b) A Salutatory Address of His All-Holiness, c) A Response of His Beatitude, d) A Joint Press Release, e) A Letter of Thanks of His Beatitude], pp. 167-182.

2. Official Visit of His All-Holiness to Milan, pp. 183f.

3. Canonical Actions [It includes: a) Elections of Hierarchs, b) Depositions of Clergymen, c) Constitutional Charter of the Sacred Orthodox Metropolis of Italy and Exarchate of Southern Europe, pp. 185-191.

4. Official Patriarchal Press Release on the cancellation of the Visit to Austria of His All-Holiness, pp. 192f.

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b. "Comments of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the working text on the understanding and vision of the Churches about the World Council of Churches," pp. 208-216.

2. Metropolitan ATHANASIOS of Helioupolis and Theira, "An Address delivered at the Symposium *An Appeal to international peace by the universal brotherhood*," pp. 217-219.

3. Reverend ProtPRESBYTER George PAPADEMETRIOU, "The Prophetic Ministry of a Priest," pp. 211-237.

4. Rev. Nun IAKOVE Abbess of the Sacred Hesychasterion of St. John the Forerunner at Akritochorion-Siderokastron, "Mary chose the good portion," pp. 238-251.

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10. The Ordination to the High-Priesthood of Metropolitan Gennadios of Sassima [It includes: a Homily of His Eminence the Geron Metropolitan Joachim of Chalcedon, A Homily of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, A Homily of Thanksgiving of Metropolitan Gennadios of Sassima], 260-271.

11. The 8th Academic Meeting of Christians and Moslems in Istanbul [It includes: A Greetings/Address of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and The Communiqué], pp. 271-273.

12. Ordination of a new Presbyter at the Patriarchate (Benedict Ioannou), pp. 284f.

13. The Name Day of His All-Holiness [It includes: A Salutatory Address of the Geron Metropolitan Joachim of Chalcedon and A Homily of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew], pp. 285-294.

14. A Meeting of Delegates of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the International Baptist Union, pp. 294f.

15. Official Patriarchal Delegation at the 2nd All-European Conference at Graz and at the 11th General Conference of the Council of European Churches at Graz [It includes a Message from His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew], pp. 295-298.

16. The 4th Ecological Seminary on "Environment and Justice" at the Sacred Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Halki [It includes A Greetings/Address of His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew], pp. 298-302.

17. Official Delegations of His All-Holiness [It includes Salutatory Festal Patriarchal Letters: to The Dean Nikolaos Matsoukas of the School of Theology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, to The Mayor of Thessaloniki Constantine Cosmopoulos, to Metropolitan Panteleimon of Beroia and Naousa], pp. 302-308.

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b) To the Sacred Metropolis of Chios, pp. 321f.

c) To the International Ecological Symposium on the subject of: "Religion, Science, Environment: The Black Sea in Danger," and To the Sacred Metropolis of Thessaloniki and the Sacred Metropolis of Xanthe [It includes the "Greetings of His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew at the Opening Session of the International Ecological Symposium on the Theme *Religion-Science-Environment: The Black Sea Crisis*" (in English)], pp. 323-333.

d) Letters of thanksgiving to His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew from Patriarch Teoktist of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Catholicos-Patriarch Ilia of All Georgia, Metropolitan Panteleimon of Thessaloniki, pp. 334-337.

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9. Official Delegations of His All-Holiness [It includes a Patriarchal Letter to the Rev. Dr. Ishmael Noko, General Secretary of the World Lutheran Federation], pp. 399-401.

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b) Elections of Hierarchs and Promotion of Hierarch [It includes the elections of the following Metropolitans: IAKOVOS of Krini, ANTHONY of Dardanellia, MAXIMOS of Aenos, METHODIOS of Anea, and ISAIAH of Proikonisos. The Carpatho-Russian Bishop NIKOLAOS of Amissos was elevated to the rank of Metropolitan of Amissos. There is also a Press Release concerning these events], pp. 427f.

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Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the *Patriarchal Indices, Historical and Biographical Intimations concerning the Patriarchs of Constantinople from Andrew the Protoclete to Joachim III from Thessaloniki (AD 36-1884)*, by Manuel I. Gedeon, 2nd edition augmented and improved on the basis of handwritten notes of the author. New typesetting of the text, Philological Revision-Indices by Nikolaos Lyc. Foropoulos, Athens 1996, 914p (in Greek), pp. 498-501.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the *Her Yönuyle Silivri (Selybria from every side)*, by Cemal Cozanoglu, Silivri 1994, 220p (in Turkish), pp. 502f.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the *Academic Presence of the Association (Estia) of the Theologians of Halki*, vol. iv, In Memory of Metropolitan Maximos of Stavroupolis, Head of the Sacred Theological School of Halki (1919-1991), Athens 1997, 715p (in Greek), pp. 503-507.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the *Neophytos VIII Patriarch of Constantinople (from the Eparchy of Phyllis)*, by Spyridon of Zichnai and Neurokopion, Nea Zichne 1997, 124p (in Greek), pp. 507-509.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the book *Menas the Great Martyr and Saint of the Great Castle*, A Hagiological Hymnological and Historical Study, by Theochares Detorakes, Ekdoseis Tsiveritis, Herakleion 1995, 614p (in Greek), pp. 509-513.

Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the book *Asmatic Acolouthy (Service) of Saint Argyre the Neomartyr from the Pikridion of Constantinople, Sung on the 30th of April, with Historical Data*, by George Tsetsis, Editions "Epektasi," Thessaloniki 1997, 79p (in Greek), pp. 513-514.

PART III, ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES:

1. Official Patriarchal Delegation to the Festivities on the 75th Anniversary of the Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain [It includes a Salutatory Letter of the Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMEW to Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain], pp. 517-519.

2. The Demise of Metropolitan PHILIPPOS of Tyana [It includes a Funeral Oration by the Very Rev. Deacon Elpidophoros Under-Secretary of the Holy and Sacred Synod], pp. 519-522.

3. Inter-Orthodox Conference in Luxembourg [It includes: 1) A Salutatory Letter from Metropolitan PHOTIOS of Imvros and Tenedos, Vicar Deputy of His All-Holiness in His Absence, 2) A Press Release of the Of-

fice of the Orthodox Church in the European Union, and 3) A Message of Her Excellency Mrs. Madeleine K. ALBRIGHT Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USA], pp. 523-528.

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5. The Ordination to the Priesthood of the Grand Chancellor (Protosyngellos) THEOLEPTOS [It includes a Homily by His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMEW], pp. 529-532.

6. The (Thronic) Feast of the Foundation of the Throne of the Holy and Great Church of Christ [It includes: 1) A Salutory Greeting/Address by His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch BARTHOLOMEW to the Delegation of the Church of Rome for the Occasion, 2) A Homily of His Eminence Cardinal Edward Idris CASSIDY President of the Pontifical Council, and 3) A Salutory Message from Pope John Paul II], pp. 532-542.

7. The Celebration of the Memory of Saint Nicholas at Myra in Lycia, p. 543.

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9. Ordination of a new cleric (Deacon Leonardo BOSCH from Argentina), p. 549.

10. Messages of Sympathy and Solidarity on the Bombing Attempt against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Responses [It includes messages from the following: 1) Pope and Patriarch Peter of Alexandria, Patriarch Ignatios of Antioch, Patriarch Teoktist of Romania, Patriarch Maximos of Bulgaria, Catholicos-Patriarch Ilia II of All Georgia, His Holiness Pope John Paul II of Rome, His Grace Dr. George Carey of Canterbury, The General Secretary Rev. Dr. Keith W. Clements of the Conference of European Churches, His Excellency President Clinton of the USA, His Excellency Theodore Pangalos Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, His Excellency Parris N. Glendening Governor of Maryland, and The Theological School of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki], pp. 549-558.

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b) Deposition of clergy

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Vasileios Th. STAVRIDIS, Review of the book *Churches of Northern Europe in Profile, A Thousand Years of English-Nordic Relations*, by Lars Oesterlin, The Canterbury Press, Norwich 1995 ix-317pp, pp. 68-70.

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Metropolitan Geron CHRYSOSTOMOS (Konstantinides) of Ephesos, Review of the book *Episcopal History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: Presentation, Notifications and Recognition*, by Prof. Vasileios Th. Stavridis, Edit. Adelfoi Kyriakides, Thessaloniki 1996 –1-704p, pp. 331-339.

Metropolitan EVANGELOS (Galanes) of Perga, Review of the book, *The Parish of Ayias of Constantinople Tsimbali*, by Melpo Kesisoglou-Karystinos, Institute of Greater Hellenism, Athens 1998, pp. 351-354.

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2. The Ordination to the High Priesthood of the Metropolitan of Tyanna PAISIOS: 11 April 1998, [includes the speeches of the Metropolitan Geron of Chalcedon Joachim and of the Metropolitan of Tyanna Paisios], pp. 358-362.

3. Ordination to the High Priesthood of the Bishop of Apameia VIKENTIOS: 11 April 1998 [includes the speeches of Metropolitan Athanasios of Elioupolis and Theira and of Bishop Vikentios of Apameia], pp. 362-366.

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5. The Inter-Orthodox Meeting of the Representatives of the Orthodox Churches at Thessaloniki [includes the text of their Decision and the Press Release], pp. 367-374.

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9. The Feast of the Holy Bishops of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarchs on the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman [includes the Address of Metropolitan DEMETRIOS of Sebasteia], pp. 377-381.

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ΣΥΝΑΞΗ = SYNAXI No 65 1998

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[Note: This issue is dedicated to Religious Education in 3 parts: The course, the Professor and the Books and Syllabi]

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Andreas E. MORATOS, Review of the book, "From Time to

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Georgios STATHES, Review of the book, *Living School*, by Angeliki & Alexander Kariotoglou, Editions Akritas, Athens 1997, pp. 129-131.

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Ath. KOTTADAKES, Review of the book, *Pastoralia of multiple Paths*, by Alexandros N. Stavropoulos, Athens 1995, pp. 132-133.

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ΣΥΝΑΞΗ = SYNAXI No 66 1998

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Basileos SPANOS, Review of the book, *Theological approach to the Ecological Crisis*, by Andreas Ch. Argyropoulos, Editions "Exodos in society and life," Athens 1997, pp. 102f.

Yiannes GRIVAS, Review of the book, *Orthodoxy or Barbarism*, by Archim. Dositheos Kastores, Editions "Parousia," Athens 1997, p. 103.

Protopresbyter George METALLINOS, Review of the book, *The Titular Hierarchs in the Ecumenical Patriarchate*, by Chrestos K. Tsouvalēs, (reprint from *Theologia* vol. 62 and 64 1991 and 1993), Athens 1993 191p, pp. 103-105.

Ath. KOTTADAKES, Review of the book, *The Science and Art of Pastoralia*, by Alexandros M. Stavropoulos, Editions "Armos," Athens 1997, pp. 105-106.

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(A quarterly publication of study in Orthodoxy, Athens Greece)

[Note: This issue is dedicated to Magic]

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[Note: This issue is dedicated to the special theme Dilemmas of Bio-Ethics of the "Syndesmos" Conference at Colymbari of Chania in Crete of Greece, 31 Oct. to 3 Nov. 1997]

Athanasios N. PAPATHANASIOU, Editor's Prologue: Between the hammer of Life and the anvil of Ethics (i.e. between the devil and the deep blue sea)," pp. 3-4.

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Stavros S. PHOTIOU, Review of the Book, *Ἀνεσιότητα καὶ Παραπεμπτικότητα, Κριτικὲς προσεγγίσεις στὰ Θεολογικὰ Δρώμενα*, (=Lacking in Focus and Passing on: critical approaches to the Theological Activities, Editions "Armos," Athens 1998, 153p, pp.120f.

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Stavroula PONGA-MOSCHOU, Review of the book, *An Athonite Gerontikon: Sayings of the Holy Father of Mount Athos*, by Archimandrite Ioannikios, editions of the Sacred Female Hesychasterion of "St. Gregory Palamas," Kouphalia in Thessaloniki 1997, 506p, pp. 122-123.

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ERRATA

Please note the following typographical errors almost all of which occurred in Prof. Voulgaris' article:

- p. 200, para. 3, line 7 – “as” should read “has”
 - line 8 – “enough.” should read “enough,”
 - line 6 – “detail” should read “details”
- p. 202, para. 3, line 4 – “n” should read “of”
- p. 203, para 2, line 7 – “Philip” should read “Philippi”
 - line 8 – “who” should read “whom”
 - para 3, line 2 – “I” should read “he”
- p. 204, para. 2, line 6 – “specified” should read “not specified”
 - line 7, “As said,” should read “As we said”
 - line 11 – “in judgement” should read “in my judgement”
 - line 16 – “Tim” should read “Timothy”
- p. 205, para. 1, line 4 – “at end” should read “attend”
 - para. 2, line 3/4 – “ft” should read “ff.” There is no footnote.
 - line 28 – “epistle” should read “epistles”
- p. 206, para. 1, line 4 – “Albinos” should read “Albinus”
- p. 209, para. 2, line 6 – “sw’o~ to; sqevno~” should read “σῶος τὸ σθένης”

The Editorial Staff apologizes to the authors for these unfortunate errors.



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PART III. RESOURCES AND AREAS OF FURTHER STUDY

The History of Christianity in the Collections of the Yakutsk State Museum of the History and Culture of the Peoples of the North

MRS. NADEZHDA SEMEONOVNA ERTYUKOVA

The Yakutsk State Museum of the History and Culture of the Peoples of the North, which is named after Yemelyan Yaroslavski, is one of the oldest scientific-research and cultural-educational institutions in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). It is 105 years old. It contains more than sixty-thousand items in its main collections. More than two-hundred of these items reveal the history of Christianity in Yakutia.

The church-related collection was formed mainly in the 1920s and 1930s, when numerous items were transferred from liquidated churches. It is interesting to note that, in 1929 during the full swing of militant atheism, the museum bought church utensils. Twice the museum has returned church utensils to the possession of active Orthodox churches. The last time this took place was in 1995, when the furnishing that had been preserved from the Yakutsk Spasski Monastery were transferred to the restored Church of St. Nicholas in this city.¹

The collection consists of items of church furnishings, utensils,

icons, clerical vestments, photographs and documents. The photographs and documents are of special interest: this fund contains nearly one-hundred items.² A photograph of Innokentii Veniaminov is found among them.

Among the bishops who succeeded him after 1870, when the Yakutsk diocese was established, the first was the vicar Bishop Dionysii Khitrov, a “most deserving and worthy pastor” in the words of Veniaminov who had recommended him for this position. Including the photograph of Archbishop Innokentii, photographs of seven of these bishops survive and are available in our museum’s collection:

1. Right Reverend Innokentii
2. Right Reverend Dionysii (1870-1883)
3. Right Reverend Yakov (1883-1889)
4. Right Reverend Meletii (1889-1896)
5. Right Reverend Nikodim (1896-1898)
6. Right Reverend Nikonor (1898-1905)
7. Right Reverend Makarii (1905-1909)

The Spasski Monastery was one of the places in the city of Yakutsk associated with the name of Innokentii Veniaminov. He was the hegumen (abbot) from 1852 until 1860. This men’s second-class monastery had been founded in Yakutsk in the early 1660s and was originally named Grado-Spasski. All of its structures were made of wood. They burnt nearly to the ground, resulting from three fires. Reconstruction of the monastery in brick began in the late 1780s with active participation and financial support from wealthy townsmen, including Aleksei Novgorodov, Vasilii Novgorodov and Savva Koriakin, among others. The construction was finished only in the 1820s, through the efforts of Fr. Serapin, who was presented with a memorial certificate by townsmen as a token of their appreciation and in praise of his labour. When Innokentii Veniaminov came, a wooden two-story home for the archbishop and brick monastic cells were built. Of all the structures of the Spasski Monastery, on the ruins of these monastic cells and approximately one dozen photographs have survived.

The tireless work of His Eminence favoured an increase in the number of Orthodox churches in various locations and attention to the well-being of the churches in the capital. Six large churches were to be found in Yakutsk: 1. the church of the Yakutsk Spasski Monas-

tery; 2. the Spaso-Troitski Cathedral [Cathedral of the Saving Trinity]; 3. the Yakutsk Bogoroditskaya church [Church of the Mother of God]; 4. Yakutsk Nikolaevskaya cemetery church [Church of St. Nicholas]; 5. Yakutsk Preobrazhenskaya church [Church of the Transfiguration]; and 6. Yakutsk Ioanno-Predtecheskaya church [Church of John the Forerunner]. They are all shown in photographs taken by Bratchikov and Kellerman and preserved in the museum collection.

The main church in the town which eventually became the cathedral is mentioned in documents from 1643. It was reconstructed in brick between 1708 and 1728, mainly from donations of towns-people of Yakutsk. In June 1859, Archbishop Innokentii appointed a one-week long series of religious services in the Yakut language in the Spaso-Troitski Cathedral. This was the first time that the Yakut people heard the Divine Liturgy in their native tongue. Earlier in the same year, the first eight students had graduated from the Yakutsk seminary, and Archbishop Innokentii ordained all of them as priests.

Innokentii Veniaminov sanctified a stone church dedicated to the name of Nicholas the Miracle-Worker. A builder of this Nikolaevskaya church was a second guild merchant of Yakutsk, an honourable citizen, Ivan Yakovlevich Shilov. He became a warden of this church, and he received two gold medals for his donations for the construction of this cemetery church as well as the construction of a public school. He was buried within the fenced ground of the church. This church has been restored and is active. Three other church buildings have been preserved: the Cathedral building, the Bogoroditskaya church building, and the Preobrazhenskaya church building, which are not used as churches today and have yet to be restored.

On the initiative and under guidance of Innokentii, holy books were translated into the Yakut language. One of the most valuable exhibits for the history of Christianity are the Gospels in Yakut published by the Synodal printing house in Moscow. Written on the title-page is the fact that book had been translated with the support and supervision of the Archbishop of Yakutsk and Kamchatka Innokentii Veniaminov. The work of translation was particularly difficult because the priests, even knowing the language, had to struggle with proper declensions, and had to choose between differing pronunciations of words as well as different regional dialects. A grammar was needed, and the archbishop had a new grammar composed for the Yakut language. He entrusted the responsibility for this work to

the rector of the seminary, Dionysii Khitrov, an expert in Yakut. The result was a textbook, organized for easy presentation and popular use. Photographs as well as a portrait of him are kept in the collection in our museum.

The work of translation continued; so, members of the Kazan Translation Commission are shown in a photograph from the beginning of the twentieth century. A student of the missionary department of the Kazan Theological Academy appears among them, Aleksei Okoneshnikov. His fate was unusual. We hear about this remarkable person in the novel *Cruisers* by V. Pikul. As a young man, Okoneshnikov departed from the Kolyma region, reached Yakutsk, and took shelter in the Spasski Monastery where, among other endeavours, he studied English on his own. He became one of the first Yakuts to enter the Kazan Theological Academy. During his studies there, he participated in the work of the translation commission. After graduation, he was conferred with the holy title of hieromonk, and he returned to the Spasski Monastery. When a request arrived from the navy for a priest with some knowledge of the English language, he accepted. Thus the thirty-three year old priest found himself aboard the Russian cruiser *Ryurik* as chaplain. During the Russo-Japanese war, in the Battle of Tsushima Strait, hieromonk Okoneshnikov behaved with courage and with dignity. Although he himself had been wounded in the leg, he dressed the wounds of others and ministered to the dying. Together with the surviving members of the crew, he was taken prisoner but was dismissed as a civilian. He made his way with great difficulty through Nagasaki, Shanghai and Vladivostok to reach St. Petersburg to report about the Battle of Tsushima Strait and to inform the Admiralty and the artillery scientific committee about the shortcomings of the artillery missiles. He fulfilled this mission with determination and resolve, but the authorities frowned on his apparent stubbornness and obstinacy and sent him back to the Spasski Monastery. After 1908, there are no more references to him. Aleksei Okoneshnikov is shown in two group photographs, in addition to the ones mentioned above.

Innokentii Veniaminov took care especially to bring into the diocese worthy clergymen from among the Yakut people. Clergy such as hieromonk Okoneshnikov are also the result of his righteous work.

At present, the Yakutsk State Museum of the History and Culture of the Peoples of the North is composing an album, including about eighty photographs from the museum's collection, to commemorate

the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Veniaminov. Furthermore in connection with the bicentennial a chapel, designed by L.V. Ammosova, will be constructed on the grounds of our museum, at a site where the Spasski Monastery was once located. The construction is planned to be finished for October 1997.³

NOTES

¹ Editor's note — The grounds of the museum encompass the site of the Spasski Monastery, to which the author refers throughout this chapter. The Church of St. Nicholas had been closed and the building was used as a repository or storehouse for the national library, which is mentioned in the editor's note in the chapter by Ye.P. Gulyaeva.

² Editor's note — The preservation of this collection of photographs intact (instead of their destruction or mutilation during the mid-twentieth century) serves as testimony to the dedication of the museum workers to their task, to retain their people's history in all of its manifold aspects.

³ Editor's note — The chapel was funded and completed, by the tremendous effort of the director and staff in time for the bicentennial celebrations in Yakutsk in September 1997. The chapel was consecrated to the memory of St. Innokentii on 14 September 1997, by Bishop Herman of Yakutsk and Lensk, as part of the bicentennial celebrations. A procession took place from the church of St. Nicholas through the city to the museum grounds for the consecration: this was the first religious procession in living memory.

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The Influence of Church Translations on Subsequent Sakha (Yakut) Literature

DR. ANATOLII ALEKSEEV BURTSEV

“In the beginning was the Word.” This well-known biblical verse is too often used outside its context and without the continuation: “and the Word was with God.” The life of St. Innokentii was devoted to the realization of this idea, and the second part of the verse — “the Word was with God” — indicates the labour in the holy mission of Archbishop Innokentii (Veniaminov) who brought so many people to God.

Today as a result of what we may call de-politicization or de-ideologization, we have been able to return to an understanding of literature that is reflected in Veniaminov’s labour. Since *perestroika* began, we have been able to assess the role of Christianity in general and of the Orthodox Church in particular in the establishment and the development of Yakut literature. During the Soviet period, the formal propaganda asserted that the Yakuts had received a written language only after the October Revolution and that Yakut literature appeared in the twentieth century. Today as the process of de-politicization occurs through all spheres of public life and as we reject that false, artful concept as an adjunct to ideology, it is necessary for us to review some questions that appeared to have been answered definitively.

First of all, our study involves the preconditions for the development of Yakut literature. Earlier it was taught that classic Russian literature was in the main the fundamental precondition for the foundation of Yakut literature. Other sources were overlooked. Our own deep folkloric sources were undervalued; although, folklore — prov-

erbs, tongue-twisters, sayings, ritual poetry, folk songs and fairy tales, shaman meditations, historical traditions and legends — comprised much of the basis of Yakut literature. Another and indeed a very special and vital source in the preconditioning derives from the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Christianization of the native peoples of Yakutia began just after Yakutia joined Russia in the middle of the seventeenth century. Although the expansion of Orthodoxy was an important part of the colonial policy of the tsarist government, the Church's missionary work had its own progressive momentum. The process of Christianization not only led to the extending and developing of co-operative relationships between native inhabitants and Orthodox new-comers, it also facilitated the appearance of a written language and the spreading of literacy.

Churches were built, parish schools were opened, natives were trained to become priests, and divine liturgical books were translated into the Yakut language. Thus by 1917, there were more than three hundred churches and chapels with a staff of approximately 1,500 clergy in the Yakut *oblast* [region]. The first ecclesiastical school was opened in 1735 in Yakutsk within the Spasskii Monastery. Ten boys, between seven and fifteen years old, including six Yakut boys, were enrolled in the first year. They became the initial Yakut missionaries. The most famous of them was Archpriest George, in the world Grigorii Sleptsov. He organized a field church; and with cross in hand, he walked the breadth of Yakutia and turned seventy thousand people to Christianity, according to E.S. Shishigin. For this labour, he became famous as the "Yakut Apostle" and the "Enlightener of all Yakuts."

The first religious book in the Yakut language, *Prayers, the Creed, and the Divine Commandments*, was published in 1812 in Irkutsk. Seven years later, the *Brief Catechism* with the Yakut alphabet was published there. It is supposed that the translator of this catechism and compiler of this alphabet was the priest Georgii Popov. The alphabet was one of the first, and therefore had a number of defects: it was based entirely on the Russian alphabet, but some Russian letters represent sounds (for example: v, sh, ts, shch) that do not exist in the Yakut language at all; while diphthongs, long vowels and some specific sounds that do exist were not taken into account. Nevertheless, this alphabet attributed to Georgii Popov played an important role in spreading Christian ideas through Yakutia.

Subsequently, during the years of his own ministry in Yakutia from 1853 to 1860, as we know, Archbishop Innokentii contributed greatly to the expansion of Christian ideas and to the development of education in this northern region. By his initiative, the committee for the translation of sacred and divine liturgical books into the Yakut language was founded in Yakutsk. The chairman of this commendation was Archpriest Dmitrii Khitrov, appointed on Veniaminov's recommendation. Serving in Yakutia for a long forty-three years, Khitrov was a brilliant expert on the region, the local traditions and customs, and the culture and language of the Yakuts, as well as being an author of a number of scholarly works. At Veniaminov's request, he compiled a Yakut language grammar. The Right Reverend himself initiated the translation of the main book into the Yakut language, the Gospels; and the Russian writer Ivan Goncharov was an eyewitness to this selfless labour, as explained by our colleague E.S. Shishigin.

In 1857, Dmitrii Khitrov was sent by Archbishop Innokentii to Moscow and St. Petersburg to see to the publication of the translations of the Holy Writ and the *Concise Grammar of the Yakut Language*. Through two years of fruitful labour, he saw eight church books and the grammar in the Yakut language brought to publication.

The translation and publication of church literature allowed Archbishop Innokentii to realize a dream: to hold church services in the Yakut language; and on the 19th of July 1859 in the Troitskii Cathedral of Yakutsk, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated in the language of the Sakha people for the first time.

There is evidence that, before his formal appointment to Yakutsk, Innokentii Veniaminov had travelled extensively throughout the *oblast*, as he was interested in the mode of life of the Yakut people, their customs, religion, folklore. During these travels, he learned the Yakut language and could speak with the local people. In 1852 in his memorandum to the Governor-General of Irkutsk, Count N.N. Muraviev-Amurskii, Archbishop Innokentii reported that the Yakut language was predominant in the *oblast*, spoken not only by the other northern ethnicities who had lost their own native languages but even by Russians who had settled in the region. It seems that this circumstance prompted Veniaminov to insist that the priests in the *oblast* should learn the Yakut language. Furthermore under Veniaminov's influence, Vice-Governor Grigoriev issued an order for all civil officials to learn the Yakut language.

The activity of Archbishop Innokentii, especially the translations of religious books and the organization of services in the Yakut language, as well as the analysis of the use of this language throughout the *oblast*, promoted a strengthening of the prestige of the Yakut language. Thus the basis and preconditions were laid for the rise of Yakut literature.

The translations of liturgical texts into the Yakut language cannot be seen as something apart from, and alien to, the wider context in which they were accomplished. The generic relationship of Christianity with primitive religions in general has been indicated by, for instance, the British ethnologist James Fraser, author of the fundamental work in this field *Folklore in the Old Testament* (1918, Russian translation 1931). The Yakut scientist, ethnographer and folklorist Gavriil V. Ksenofontov (1888-1938) focused on "Shamanism and Christianity," and discovered a number of parallels and coincidences between stories in the Old Testament on the one hand and shaman myths and rituals of the Siberian nations on the other hand. For example, the Yakut legends about the forefather Omogoi-bai and the patriarch Ellay reminded Ksenofontov of the biblical story about the patriarch Jacob with the beautiful Rachel and the unpretentious Leah. Arriving by river raft into the land that later became known as Yakutia, Ellay was employed to work by Omogoi and married one of the elder's daughters, the beautiful Nika Harakhsyn, and then the ugly but hard-working An Chynai.

In any case, the classic biblical commandments for kindness, love towards mankind, and compassion were laid upon a basis that had been well-prepared by the folkloric-mythological consciousness of the Yakut nation. Not occasionally but often in Yakut literature, rich traditions of tolerance were developed. Indeed, they were laid down by the first Yakut authors. In particular in the writings of A. Kulakovski, we may see integral if implicit philosophical studies about the proper way of a man's life, the basis of which consists of the ideal of toleration. This is expressed in a succinct conceptual form in his verse from *Benediction in an Old Way* where he wrote: "Damnation like an echo answers by blood; Benediction like an echo answers by love." In his poem "The Dream of a Shaman" (1910), A. Kulakovski simultaneously with Vladimir Vernadski came to an awareness of an indissoluble integrity, or integral unity, of all earthly and cosmic spheres. In effect, he anticipated what is now being called "a new

way of thinking" about the close mutual connections between the microcosm of man and the macrocosm of the world with its material and spiritual factors, economic policy, culture and morality, past, present and future.

A splendid poet, A. Sofronov, whose legacy is being perceived today at the level of world poetry of a Silver Age, also thought first-of-all not by social and political categories but by those common to all mankind and nations. At first sight, a lyrical personality such as A. Sofronov might appear to be a figure of "escapism" who locks himself inside his own ego during a period of catastrophes and conflicts. But the fact is that the poet's lyrical hero expresses the qualities of honesty, good-will, tolerance: traditional characteristics of the Sakha national mentality.

A. Kulakovski in his free translation from Lermontov *The Oath of a Demon* (1908), and A. Sofronov in his poem "Angel and Devil" (1914), both appealed to a classic biblical theme as they created an image of Satan in which demonic traits joined in the countenance of the antagonist Bogatyr "Abasy" from the Yakut heroic epic *Olonkho*. In contrast, the Angel is a bearer of the idea of kindness and light.

In the mid-1930s, when the cult of personality had already become established and the repressions had begun, P. Oyunski wrote the story *Solomon the Wise*. This Yakut writer applied a biblical figurativeness to promote the joy for life, happiness and love, that illustrates indirectly his opposition against the anti-democratic and anti-human regime. Another Yakut poet, Ivan Arbita, referred to himself as an "apostle," a confessor of "love," "wisdom" and "penance."

Thus biblical images and reminiscences came into the works of Yakut authors, and for this, they shall retain their traditional philosophical-artistic stature.

Archbishop Innokentii (Veniaminov) stood at one of the most vital sources; and furthermore thanks to his initiative, an important precedent was set for the translation of world literature into the Yakut language. Following his example, after a long period during which the veins were strengthened, the first Yakut writers began to pump some healthy blood from other world literature through the capillaries of their own translations. For example, one of the founders of Yakut literature P. Oyunski clearly declared the necessity to capture all of the cultural legacy of past epochs through translations, including those of Shakespeare and Pushkin, Goethe and Byron, Dickens

and Balzac, Rolland and Wells. Today, British literature occupies one of the most predominant places due to the number of works translated, alongside translations from French, American, Chinese and German authors. Some of these translations were accomplished by Sakha poets and writers, in particular: Shakespeare's sonnets and Burns' poems by Semeon Rufov; Shakespeare's tragedies *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* by Savva Tarasov; Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* by Dmitrii Kirillin; Kipling's fairy tales by Grigorii Tarskii. Currently a new full translation of the Bible is being done by the well known writer Nikolai Luginov, with assistance from a professional translator, Aita Shaposnikova.

The significance of the translation of church books, and the personal contribution by Innokentii Veniaminov, for the development of Yakut culture is well recognized today. Moreover, our understanding of our participation in the unity of world culture, thus in the unity of mankind, is based on the works and the labour of such eminent figures as St. Innokentii.

During the Middle Ages of European history, the Bible alongside the classical Greek tradition played an important role in the appearance of European literature. Similarly in the next millennium, the biblical texts now translated into the Yakut language, and these alongside the creative oral traditions of the Sakha nation and the classics of Russian literature, became the preconditions in fact for the appearance of Yakut literature.

Today on the eve of the third millennium, and under conditions of a more complicated world, literature can promote a deeper communication and a mutual understanding among all mankind. St. Innokentii contributed greatly to such an understanding through literature — and also of literature. Indeed: "In the beginning was the Word."

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The Legacy of the Altai Missionary Archimandrite Makarii Glukharev and the Church's Contemporary Mission in Russia

DR. DAVID COLLINS

Innokentii Veniaminov was not the only outstanding missionary in pre-revolutionary Siberia. I believe that Archimandrite Makarii Glukharev was very significant, not simply because he founded the Altai Mission, but also because of the legacy of his writings and character. Father Evfimii Ostromyslenskii wrote this about him: "I remember with tender emotion that happy time in my life, the wonderful hours I spent in conversation with Archimandrite Makarii.... God grant that every earthly pilgrim might meet such a comforting fellow traveller, such a wise companion, on the road of life. What love for God's Word and zeal for spiritual enlightenment! What meekness and humble wisdom!"¹

Makarii worked for about fourteen years in the Altai, during which time he baptized only six-hundred seventy-five natives. He dressed in a scruffy old cassock — during his rare visits to Moscow, rich people would scoff at him. He endured many difficulties and "severe trials from depression and homesickness."² He returned to Russia, became abbot of the Bolkhov Optyn Monastery in Oryol Province and died in 1847.

What significance would such a man have for the church in post-communist Russia?

Convinced that God had given the Russian people the task of evangelizing "the peoples who do not know Jesus Christ but are subjects of the Russian crown", in the 1830s he composed the remarkable *Thoughts on Methods for the Most Successful Propagation of the Christian Faith among the Jews, Moslems and Pagans of the Russian*

State, "the fruit of many years' multifaceted experience of missionary endeavour."³ In the *Thoughts* he sets forth a strategy or "ideology"⁴ for missionary work in the Russian Empire.

Makarii thought that "these tribes have been given to the Russian people by Providence so that they can give them the same gift from God which they enjoy themselves."⁵ However, the Russians, he believed, did not understand the Gospel sufficiently: they did not believe in their hearts. It was necessary to "arouse and strengthen in the spirit of the Russian people" such truths as these: the Bible is the unique and full revelation of God; Christianity is the only way to true bliss; love for people "birthed, nurtured, guided and enlightened by love for God" is that heavenly fire of which the Lord spoke.⁶

To attain this goal Makarii considered it necessary "to publish the whole Bible in lively contemporary Russian with the same clarity and intelligibility with which God's Providence had been pleased to grant it to mankind in the original languages."⁷

In addition, this missionary strategist foresaw a network of missionary stations over the whole country, monasteries and nunneries, hospitals and other charitable institutions, educational establishments for the newly baptized as well as missionaries, the formation of a Missionary Society, a missionary journal, not to mention the publication of the holy scriptures, the liturgy and various instructive brochures in the languages of all the Empire's inhabitants.

Makarii was not just a thinker. He taught the Altaians with gentleness. One man wrote in his memoirs: "[Makarii] sat down and gave me a currant pastry ... smiling, he said: 'I'm a priest ... if you get baptized you will become a child of God. Unbaptized people will never come into God's light, but will be with the devil.' Listening to his stories I could hardly refrain from tears. I wanted to be baptized."⁸

This boy, Mikhail Vasilevich Chevalkov, became the first Altaian Orthodox priest.

Post-communist Russia needs people, missionaries, enthused by the ideas and spirit of such a "light and appealing personality"⁹ as Makarii Glukharev.

NOTES

* Editor's Note — This paper was prepared by the author kindly in accordance with a request that the presentation be brief due the constraints on time during the

symposium. This work can only reflect his extensive research into the biography and works of his subject. The author can be reached at the following address, should a reader wish to obtain information about his research and writing in this field: Department of Russian and Slavonic Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, UK (D.N.COLLINS@leeds.ac.uk).

¹ Evfimii Ostromyslenskii, "Archimandrite Makarii, Altaiskii missionary," *Strannik* (1860), no. 1, p. 12.

² Makarii Glukharev, *Pisma*, Kazan (1905), p.59: from a letter to Grigorii Timofeevich Mizko, 25 July 1837.

³ Makarii Glukharev, *Mysli o sposobakh k uspeshneishemu rasprostraneniyu khristianskoi very mezhdru evreyami, magometanami i yazychnikami v Rossiiskoi derzhave*, Moscow (1894), p.1: quoting from the foreword written by S. Strakhov.

⁴ A.P. Borodavkin and N. Yu. Khrapova, "K voprosu o kulturno-prosvetitelnoi deyatelnosti arkhimandrita Makarii (M. Ya. Glukhareva) — ideologa i osnovatelya Altaiskoi dukhovnoi missii" ("On the Question of the Cultural-Educational Activity of Archimandrite Makarii (M. Ya. Glukharev) — the Ideologist and Founder of the Altai Spiritual Mission), *Altaiskii sbornik* (1992), vyp.15, p. 14.

⁵ Makarii, *Mysli*, p.6.

⁶ Makarii, *Mysli*, pp.3-5.

⁷ Makarii, *Mysli*, pp.6-8.

⁸ Mikhail Vasilevich Chevalkov, "Pamyatnoe zaveshchanie" ("Memorial Testimony") *Tomskie eparkhialnye vedomosti* (1894), no.8, p.7.

⁹ Makarii, *Mysli*, p. 1 (from the foreword).

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PART I: THE PATRISTIC THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

**“The Light that Enlightens Everyone:”
The Knowledge of God Among
Non-Christians According
to the Greek Fathers and St. Innocent**

RT. REV. DR. KALLISTOS (WARE)
BISHOP OF DIOKLEIA

We call St. Innocent Veniaminov the “enlightener” or “illuminator” of Alaska and Yakutia, ascribing to him the title that is customarily applied in the Orthodox Church to missionary saints (in Greek, φωτιστής in Slavonic *prosvetitel*). How are we to understand this term?

We do not mean, of course, that St. Innocent was a child of the *Aufklärung*, the eighteenth-century “Enlightenment” that prevailed in Western Europe. On the contrary, his roots lie in the tradition of Orthodox Russia and, more distantly, in the Greek Patristic heritage which Kievan Rus’ received from Byzantium.

Yet, while St. Innocent was in no sense a representative of Western Enlightenment, at the same time he was far from being implacably hostile towards the West. In the Journal which he kept in Sitka during the winter of 1823-1824, for example, he records that in the month of February he has read two books by Voltaire (also two books about Napoleon); in March he is studying a work *On the Advantages of Free Trade*, by the French author Candillac; and the following summer, while at Unalaska, he is deep in Robertson’s *History of America* and the works of Chateaubriand. Endowed with a lively imagination

and an encyclopedic curiosity, Innocent Veniaminov was keenly interested in what these Western authors had to say. With his open and inquiring mind, he was ready to accept the truth, wherever it might be found and whoever the person was giving voice to it.

Do we mean, then, in calling St. Innocent an "Enlightener," that the people to whom he came as missionary were totally "unenlightened," shrouded in the deep darkness of ignorance, and altogether lacking in the light of truth?

Such was certainly not the viewpoint of Innocent himself. On the contrary, in his attitude to the native peoples to whom he preached, whether the Aleuts or the Yakuts, he showed a remarkable breadth of vision, and he was always ready to acknowledge the positive elements acceptable to Christianity that were to be found in their customs and their worldview. "I am come not to destroy but to fulfill" (Matt. 5:17), said Jesus Christ, and Innocent agrees with Him. He found innumerable intimations of Christianity in the native cultures of Alaska and Siberia.

Significantly, this was emphasized by the monastery of Valaam in the commemorative volume that it issued in 1894, on the occasion of the centenary of the mission sent from Valaam to Alaska in 1794. Appealing to Veniaminov's classic work of ethnography, *Notes on the Unalaska District*, the monks of Valaam point out that he discerned, in the moral concepts of the pre-Christian Aleuts, "elevated ideas ... in accordance with God's Holy Revelations," and that he recognized in their traditional beliefs "the spark of God's truth." Appropriately the monks go on to quote Justin Martyr, who speaks of a belief in God that is "inborn in the nature of humankind" (ἐμφυτος τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξα) (2 Apology 6:3).

If, then, we speak of St. Innocent as an "Enlightener," we should at once recall what is said concerning the Divine Logos in the prologue of St. John's Gospel: "He was the true light, that gives light to everyone who comes into the world" (Jn 1:9). When Innocent preached as the "Enlightener of the peoples of Yakutia and Alaska," he was bearing witness to the Light of Christ that he firmly believed was *already* hidden within their hearts, in a seminal and implicit but nonetheless real and active manner. He came not to destroy but to fulfill.

In adopting this dynamically affirmative attitude, St. Innocent was no innovator, but he was faithful to a tradition that has firm roots in

the Early Fathers and, indeed, in the New Testament itself. Innocent was following in the first place the missionary approach that was adopted by St. Paul in his speech at Athens on the Areopagus, as recounted by St. Luke in Acts 17. (It is outside my purpose to assess how far the Lukan narrative is strictly historical.) Paul's advent in Athens, as Luke clearly wishes his readers to appreciate, is a moment of crucial importance. The apostle of the Gentiles has come to preach the Christian faith in a city which had long since ceased to be politically influential, but which was still the cultural and intellectual centre of the classical Greek world. It was the first decisive encounter between the Gospel and Hellenism; and on this encounter, as Werner James affirms in his work *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, the future of Christianity as a world religion depended.

And how does Paul begin? Not by asserting an insoluble conflict, a fundamental incompatibility between Hellenism and the Christian message, but by indicating their possible convergence. His basic stance is positive, although it has also negative undertones. While clearly repudiating all idolatry, Paul does not commence by telling the Athenians that they are blinded by error, but seeks rather to assure them that they are already in some measure on the path of truth. This is surely a sound apologetic technique; if we wish to gain a sympathetic hearing, is it not wise first to suggest to our audience where they are right, before pointing out where they are wrong? But more is at stake than apologetic strategy. Paul is making a spiritual and theological point of primary significance.

The apostle starts, then, with a reference to the altar of the "unknown God:" "What you worship but do not know — this is what I proclaim to you" (Acts 17:23). The Athenians already have a subconscious knowledge of the one true God, and this the apostle seeks not to belittle but to reinforce. The Saviour whom he preaches responds to the deepest yearnings already present in the hearts of his pagan auditors: "I am come not to destroy but to fulfill." Paul appeals next to the essential unity of the human race: "He has made of one blood every nation of humankind" (17:26). Here is a message vitally needed in today's world, with its tragic and worsening fragmentation. Paul goes on to speak of God's immanence and omnipresence, insisting — in terms that partly recall Romans 1:19-20 — upon the natural knowledge of God, accessible to all humans by virtue of their inherent affinity with the Creator: "In Him we live and move and

have our being; as even some of your poets have said, 'For we are also His offspring'" (17:28).

Thus far, employing ideas that the Stoics present in his audience would have found thoroughly familiar, St. Paul has concentrated upon the continuity between Christianity and the classical tradition. But at the same time, he does not overlook a second aspect, the radical newness of the Christian *kerygma*. His speech on Areopagus ends with something that could never have been deduced by natural human reason from philosophical premises, with something known to us solely through God's revelation in history: the Resurrection of Christ from the dead (17:31). What begins to all appearances as a typically Hellenistic oration terminates with a triumphantly Christian conclusion. Newness is combined with continuity. The speech on Areopagus is a model of the way in which Christianity can utilize Greek ideas and at the same time transform them. But this task of transformation is far from simple and, as Paul himself found on Areopagus, can easily meet with mockery and incomprehension. He must have known that his concluding reference to the Resurrection would prove a scandal to his cultured audience, but this scandal the apostle has made no attempt to mitigate.

Turning from the New Testament to the Early Fathers, we find — particularly in the second-century Apologists — an approach strikingly similar to St. Paul's speech on the Areopagus. This is above all the author to whom we have already had the occasion to refer, Justin Martyr, writing around AD 155-161. "Of all the early Christian theologians," writes Sir Henry Chadwick in his excellent introductory study *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, "Justin is the most optimistic about the harmony of Christianity and Greek philosophy. For him the Gospel and the best elements in Plato and the Stoics are almost identical ways of apprehending the same truth."

Justin's own conversion — from Stoicism through the schools of Aristotle and Pythagoras, to Platonism and so finally to Christianity — involved not a clean break with the past but a gradual transition. Even after accepting baptism, he did not lay aside the mantle of the Greek philosopher. This sense of continuity is reflected in his theological standpoint. He made a careful distinction between pagan mythology and ritual, on the one hand, and pagan philosophical speculation, on the other. As regards the first, Justin, in opposition to the Gnostics, believed that there is sharp discontinuity: there could be in his eyes no compromise whatever with polytheism, no syncretism in

the realm of myth and cult. But Hellenic philosophy, as he saw it, stands on an altogether different level, and can act as a valuable handmaid to the Christian faith. The pagan philosophers had attained to a genuine measure of truth; Socrates as well as Abraham is to be regarded as a "Christian before Christ."

Adapting Stoic notions, he argued that Christ the divine Logos has sown seeds of the truth, *logoi spermatikoi*, in the hearts of all humans, for all alike are created in God's image; and the Church in her catholicity takes up all these scattered seeds, nurturing them and bringing them to the fullness of growth. "Whatever, then, has been rightly expressed by anyone, belongs to us Christians." Although it is not clear how far Justin was directly influenced by the Fourth Gospel, his attitude here is exactly that of the Johannine Prologue (Jn 1:9). Christianity, then, completes and perfects all the partial truths present in the pagan philosophers; it is in this way absolute philosophy.

A generation later than Justin, a similar estimate of pagan culture is to be found in Clement of Alexandria. "The way of truth is one," he observes, "but into it, as into an ever-flowing river, run different streams from each side." Not by one path alone, so he believes, do we humans approach the inexhaustible fullness of the truth. The Old Testament occupies, needless to say, a privileged and unique position from the Christian point of view: prior to the Incarnation, Israel is in a distinctive sense *the* chosen people, since it was as an Israelite that the Word became flesh. But, so Clement insists, if the Old Testament was a tutor to bring Jews to the truth, then philosophy was given to the Greeks for the same purpose. There is double preparation for the Incarnation in Christ, with Hellenism as well as Judaism; they are both tributaries of the same great waterway. According to Clement, then, we may discern in the philosophical tradition of Athens a genuine *propaideia*, a real *praeparation evangelica*. With good reason Plato and Aristotle have a place among the prophets upon the walls of the narthex in Byzantine churches.

The approach, however, adopted by Justin and Clement towards pagan culture — an approach that is generous and optimistic, although by no means uncritical — is not the only viewpoint to be found in the early Church. In marked contrast to the Apologists, Tertullian, and to a lesser extent St. Irenaeus, adopt a sharply critical attitude towards Greek philosophy. "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" asks Tertullian, in a spirit of defiant provocation. Where Justin looked for

convergence and complementarity, Tertullian saw only discord. Justin appealed to the indwelling reason, *emphytos logos*, natural to all humans, but Tertullian preferred a theology of paradox: *certum est, quia impossibile*, "it is certain because it is impossible." Yet, for all his animosity against the philosophers, Tertullian in his milder moments was willing to speak of *Seneca saepe noster*, "Seneca who often speaks as we do," and of the *testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*, the "evidence of the natural Christianity of the soul."

Tertullian, in taking up this critical stance towards Hellenic philosophy, was not simply evincing a narrow and illiberal fanaticism. There is a problem here, which we cannot evade. If there is continuity and convergence between the classical tradition and the Christian faith, yet there is also discontinuity and confrontation. He who said, "I am not come to destroy but to fulfill," spoke also of the "new wine" of the Gospel that burst asunder the old wineskins (Matt. 9:17). From a Christian point of view the Incarnation represents a new beginning for the world, a fresh start; in the words of the Greek Fathers, it is "the birthday of the whole human race." Christ's Resurrection on the first day of the week is to be seen as an act of *new creation*: the first day is also the eighth day, the commencement of the new week of eternity, the inauguration of the true "new age."

From this it follows that our attitude towards non-Christian cultures has always to be marked by discernment (*diakrisis*) and by critical vigilance. Just how difficult this process of discernment can prove is shown by the complex, indeed tragic, story of Origenism within the Church. It is never an easy task to separate the wheat from the chaff, rejecting what is alien while incorporating what is valid in an act of truly Christian *anakephalaiosis*. The critical task has to be undertaken afresh in each new generation. What Justin attempted to do in the middle of the second century, what Innocent sought to effect in the early nineteenth, we in our turn must undertake on the threshold of the new millennium.

In any assessment of non-Christian traditions, and particularly in assessing the Greek classical traditions, it is helpful to distinguish three different yet connected levels:

(1) There is the first level of *paideia*, of life-style, culture and education. Here the attitude of the early Greek Fathers, in their dialogue with Hellenism, was predominantly positive. This is clear, for example, in the famous address of St. Basil of Caesarea *To the Young*,

On the Value of Greek Literature. After recounting, for example, the patience of Socrates in the face of ill-treatment, he continues: "Since these actions correspond almost exactly with our own ideals, it is of great value to imitate them." At the same time there are aspects of Hellenic culture which the Greek Fathers viewed in an emphatically unfavourable light, for example, within the field of sexual ethics.

(2) Turning more specifically to the realm of philosophy, we need to distinguish form from content. On the level of *terminology* and *argumentation* — in its use of technical terms, definitions and methods of reasoning — Christian theology owes a manifest debt to the Greek philosophical tradition. We have only to recall the use made by Christian authors of the words *ousia* and *hypostasis* for this to be immediately apparent. But in borrowing these terms, the Greek Fathers have at the same time adapted and transformed them.

(3) How far, in the third place, has Christian theology been influenced by the Greek philosophers, not only as regards its terminology and outward form, but also as regards its *inner content*? It is here, on this third level, that the problematic of Athens and Jerusalem chiefly exists. And the Greek philosopher who, above all others, has acted as a challenge and a stimulus on this level — who has been experienced by Christian thinkers both as an attraction and as a danger — is none other than Plato. Luke tells us that Paul's audience on Areopagus consisted of Stoics and Epicureans (Acts 17:18); but for Christian theology the crucial confrontation has been the encounter, not with Stoicism or Epicureanism, nor yet with Aristotelianism, but with Platonism.

Yet even if Plato has been repeatedly felt by Christian theologians as a threat, those who have looked more deeply have seen him also as an ally. There is a story attributed to St. Anastasius of Sinai which gives me particular pleasure. There was once a learned man whose custom it was daily to curse Plato. Eventually Plato himself appeared to him in a dream and said: "Man, stop cursing me; for you are merely harming yourself. I do not deny that I was a sinner; but, when Christ descended into hell, no one believed in Him sooner than I did." Many other churchmen, learned and unlearned, have over the centuries cursed Plato; yet surely Anastasius is right to regard him in the final analysis as a precursor of the Gospel, a Christian before Christ. In so doing, the monk of Sinai is following the path already marked by St. Paul in his Areopagus speech, when he affirmed the truth — incom-

plete, admittedly, yet none the less genuine — that is enshrined in non-Christian thought.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his classic definition of the term “catholic,” distinguishes within it two levels of meaning. There is the exterior and quantitative sense: the Church is catholic because it extends “throughout all the world from one end of the earth to the other,” embracing “the whole human race.” But alongside this “extensive” meaning there is also an “intensive,” qualitative sense: the Church is catholic because it holds and teaches all the healing fullness of salvation. Faithful to this second, richer meaning of the word, the Church welcomes and makes her own all truth, wherever it is to be found. This was what St. Paul did in his speech to the Athenians. This is what St. Innocent Veniaminov strove to do in his missionary work among the peoples of Alaska, of Yakutia and of the Russian Far East, and this what we also are called do in the secular environment of our contemporary world. St. Innocent, in his work among native peoples, was neither timid nor aggressive, neither syncretistic nor fanatical. Let us follow his example.

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The Origin of the Cult of St. Theagenes of Parium

DR. DAVID WOODS

It is my primary purpose here to bring St. Theagenes of Parium to the attention of a wider readership by providing English translations of the key documents. I will also discuss some of the more obvious historical questions by way of introduction to these texts, but this discussion will be limited for reasons of space. On the basis of the evidence presented, it may also appear somewhat speculative at times, but I wish to draw attention to some possible avenues of investigation rather than explore them in full on this occasion. Three different recensions of the passion of St. Theagenes have survived and been published, one Greek (*BHG* 2416) and two Latin (*BHL* 8106 and 8107), and I shall refer to each by its number within the standard catalogue of hagiographical texts, and by the chapters into which its editor has divided it.¹ Fortunately, they agree in all the basics of the story, so that their editors have been able to follow the same division into chapters in each case, but each has preserved a different amount of detail at certain key points, so all three recensions need to be considered together.

St. Theagenes (or St. Theogenes as *BHL* 8107 consistently refers to him) was the son of a bishop and was conscripted into military service in Phrygia during the reign of the persecuting emperor Licinius (308-24). He was then sent to the *legio II Traiana* situated in the town of Parium in the province of Hellespontus. He refused to serve, and suffered accordingly. Following interrogation by his immediate superiors, the tribune Zelicinthius and the *praepositus* Posidonius, he was ordered to be taken outside the city and beaten. He suffered further public punishment also before he was thrown into prison. The

door of his cell was sealed, and there he was left to starve. Christ then appeared to him in his cell, and when he began to sing psalms of thanks and praise a choir of angels joined him. The soldiers were surprised to hear so many voices coming from his cell and opened the cell-door once more in order to investigate. Yet they found only Theagenes. The next day Zelicinthius reported to the Emperor concerning Theagenes' rejection of military service and was ordered to throw him into the sea. So it was that Theagenes was finally executed on 3 January. The soldiers who drowned him were converted and returned to the city where they converted others also. A few days later, the officers responsible for the trial and execution of Theagenes were themselves the victim of Licinius' cruelty. Their legs were cut off at the twelfth milestone from the city. As for Theagenes himself, his body was rescued from the sea-shore three days after his death, and was secretly buried at the villa of a certain Adamantius. Subsequently, his shrine became famous for the cures worked there. This, in brief, is the story of St. Theagenes of Parium.

THE AUTHOR OF THE PASSION

The first point to note about the passion is that it occurs in the form of an encyclical letter. *BHL* 8106 best preserves the introduction (ch. 1) to the main body of the letter, i.e. the passion proper, while all three recensions preserve different versions of the final paragraph of the letter (ch. 13). *BHG* 2416 and *BHL* 8107 both include the names of the cities to whose churches the author addressed the letter, but omit to name the author himself. *BHL* 8106, however, preserves the name of the author of the letter as one Euticus,² but omits the names of these cities, although it does confirm that he did send it to churches plural. It is important to note that there is no reason to identify the Euticus whom *BHL* 8106 identifies as the author of the letter with the Euticus whom it mentions earlier as one of the "brothers" who had rescued the body of Theagenes from the shore (ch. 12). The fact that the author Euticus refers to the actions of the earlier Euticus in the third person is itself indicative that they are separate persons. Furthermore, the very first line of *BHL* 8106 makes a clear distinction between the author's present and the time of Theagenes' death when it refers to "our nation" (*natione nostra*), but "that time" (*tempore illo*). More significantly, perhaps, as far as its trustworthi-

ness in such matters is concerned, it alone preserves a full list of the names of those who had rescued Theagenes' body from the shore. It names four individuals — Euticus, Eustathius, Zoticus and Germanus, while *BHL* 8107 and *BHG* 2416 each name a different set of three of these four men, Eutyches, Eustathius and Zoticus in the case of *BHL* 8107, and Eustathius, Zoticus and Germanus in the case of *BHG* 2416.

This brings us to the identity of Euticus. *BHL* 8106 tells us only that he regarded himself as a humble servant of God (ch. 13), which is of no practical help, but the fact that he should have taken upon himself the task of sending an account of the passion of Theagenes to the churches or bishops of Nicomedia, Byzantium/Bithynia (see below), Heraclea and Cyzicus, suggests that he was himself a bishop also. We should compare this letter, for example, to Bishop Severus of Minorca's encyclical letter of 418 in which he boasted of the role that the relics of St. Stephen had played in the conversion of the Jews of Minorca.³ Both authors wished to take advantage of the widespread general interest in martyrs and their relics and to enhance their own stature by promoting the relics in their possession.⁴ We know the names of only three of the Bishops of Parium in late antiquity, Eustathius in 365,⁵ Hesychius who attended the council of Ephesus in 431, and Thalassius who attended the Council of Chalcedon in 451, so there is no problem finding a place for Euticus among their number. The real problem comes when we attempt a more precise dating of this letter and his period in office.

THE DATE OF THE PASSION

Euticus' claim that he had sent copies of his letter to the churches at Nicomedia, Byzantium/Bithynia (?), Heraclea, and Cyzicus is important because we are fortunate to possess the so-called *Syriac Breviary*, a Syriac translation of a Greek martyrology which seems to have been composed at Nicomedia originally.⁶ The manuscript of the *Syriac Breviary* dates to 411, while its inclusion among the martyrs of those who had suffered at Synnada in Phrygia under the emperor Julian (360-63) on 19 July 362 points to the completion of the Greek original shortly after that date.⁷ The key point as far as we are here concerned is that the *Syriac Breviary* does not mention Theagenes of Parium. The obvious inference is that Euticus must have sent his letter to Nicomedia after the composition there of the

Greek original of the *Syriac Breviary* c.362.

So what is the earliest evidence for the cult of St. Theagenes? The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which was composed in northern Italy, probably near Aquileia, sometime during the period c.431-50, includes him at the head of its list of martyrs whose feast fell on 3 January, and this points to his inclusion in this document from its first composition.⁸ It is clear that the author of this text used an oriental martyrology as one of his main sources, and that this martyrology had the same ancestor as the *Syriac Breviary*. So St. Theagenes found his way into the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* via an oriental martyrology in circulation by the middle of the fifth century at the latest. This, unfortunately, is the sum of the evidence for his early cult. On this basis, therefore, we should date Euticus and his letter sometime during the period c.362-450, but internal evidence may allow us to narrow this range even further.

How did Euticus decide to which churches he should send his letter? The answer to this question may shed some light on the political organisation of the Empire in his day. First, however, we must resolve an important conflict of evidence between *BHG* 2416 and *BHL* 8107. The former lists the churches to whom the letter was sent as those in Nicomedia, Byzantium, Heraclea and Cyzicus, while the latter lists them as those in Nicomedia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and Cyzicus.⁹ It is clear from the number and order of these names that "Bithynia" in *BHL* 8107 is identifiable as "Byzantium" in *BHG* 2416, but which is the correct reading? In so far as both texts agree on Nicomedia, Heraclea and Cyzicus, and these are all towns rather than provinces, it is clear that the reading "Bithynia" must be wrong. The alternative is a little problematic also, though, in that one might have expected to find the term "Constantinoupolis" used in preference to "Byzantium." One possibility is that the original reference was to the town of Bithynium, or Claudiopolis as it was also known, rather than to the province of Bithynia. This coincides with the best explanation for Euticus' decision to send his letter to the churches in Nicomedia, Heraclea and Cyzicus in particular. The only thing that these towns have in common is that they were each the capital of a late Roman province, Nicomedia of Bithynia, Heraclea of Europa, and Cyzicus of Hellespontus, while Bithynium was the capital of Honorias. So "Bithynium" is my preferred candidate as the original term behind the surviving readings of "Bithynia" and "Byzantium." This is rel-

evant here, because the Emperor Theodosius I (379-95) had only created the province of Honorias c.384/7 before which date it had belonged to the neighbouring province of Bithynia.¹⁰ Hence the decision by Euticus to single out the capitals of the neighbouring provinces as targets for his letter, i.e. the seats of the metropolitan bishops, and his inclusion of Bithynium among these targets, suggest that he sent this letter after the creation of Honorias. Hence the timeframe during which he sent this letter can be narrowed down to the period c.384-450.

It is important at this point to consider the implications of the claim in *BHG* 2416 that Parium was superior to Cyzicus (ch. 2, see below).¹¹ But in what sense? As far as the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies were concerned Cyzicus seems always to have outranked Parium. Its importance is well indicated by the fact that it was the site of an important mint and a state woollen mill throughout late antiquity.¹² Indeed, the fact that Euticus sent a copy of this letter to the church at Cyzicus, another city within the same province at a time when civil and ecclesiastical boundaries generally coincided, and that Cyzicus is the only city within his province to which he does send this letter can hardly be interpreted other than as an acknowledgement on his part that the Bishop of Cyzicus did exercise some authority over him. Yet there must have been some basis to his claim that Parium was superior to Cyzicus. The obvious suggestion, therefore, is that he wrote at a time when the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies were no longer in complete agreement, when the Bishop of Cyzicus remained the metropolitan bishop of the province of Hellespontus, but the city had lost its title as the civil metropolis or even its very right to be called a city. So Euticus included his statement that Parium was superior to Cyzicus in his letter as a not so subtle reminder to all that he did not necessarily accept that Cyzicus deserved to remain the ecclesiastical metropolis once it had been stripped of its status as the civil metropolis even if he was not openly pressing the question at that particular point in time.

The punishment of whole cities by stripping them of their status was not unknown, so the problem now is to identify when might Cyzicus have so incurred the imperial wrath that it was punished in this manner.¹³ One obvious suggestion is that the Emperor Valens (364-78) may have punished it for the support which it showed the usurper Procopius c.365-66. Procopius' forces had captured Valens'

treasury there, along with his *comes domesticorum Serenianus*, during the autumn of 365, and although they had had to fight to capture the city, Valens may well have thought that its inhabitants did not resist as strongly as they could have.¹⁴ Given that the Emperor Julian had earlier promised an embassy from the City that he would support them in their efforts to restore their temples, that he had expelled Bishop Eleusius from the city, and had forbidden some foreign Christians from entering with him when he himself had visited there, it is clear that Cyzicus contained a strong pagan faction who would have provided a natural base of support for Procopius on account both of his paganism and of his relationship with their former champion Julian.¹⁵ It is noteworthy also that Procopius forgave those who had resisted him as soon as he occupied the city. So Valens' probably had good reason to suspect the loyalty of the Cyzicenes. After he had defeated Procopius, Valens punished the City of Chalcedon for the support which it had showed both Procopius and his short-lived successor Marcellus by destroying its city-walls.¹⁶ This is well known only because an oracle found engraved on one of the stones from within the wall was proved true by the Gothic war 377-82. So it is possible that he may have punished Cyzicus at the same time, but that our sources have failed to record this because as a mere administrative change it did not constitute a suitably entertaining tale. It is arguable, therefore, that Euticus wrote this letter sometime after Valens demoted Cyzicus in 366, but before it was restored to its former status as the metropolis of Hellespontus.

In an age when the fortunes of a city often depended on the ability of its bishop to intercede for it with the emperor, Cyzicus was ill-served by its choice of bishop. Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople ordained Eleusius as Bishop of Cyzicus c.358,¹⁷ but Eleusius managed to find himself on the wrong side of almost every emperor throughout his long episcopate c.358-83. The Council of Constantinople had deposed him in 360, and one presumes that Constantius II (337-61) exiled him as he did so many other bishops at this period.¹⁸ Eleusius returned to the city under the amnesty which Julian offered to all bishops exiled under his predecessor, only for Julian to expel him once more because of his destruction of temples. He must have returned to the City under Jovian (363-64) since Valens summoned him to his presence in 366 in order to persuade him, on threat of exile and confiscation of his property, to abandon his

Macedonian beliefs, and while Eleusius capitulated in the imperial presence he changed his mind as soon as he had returned to Cyzicus.¹⁹ It is an important sign of his popularity in Cyzicus that the people forgave him for his momentary lapse and refused his request to appoint another bishop in his stead. Valens then sent Eunomius as the new Bishop of Cyzicus, and Eleusius was forced to build a new church for his congregation outside the city. However, rioters soon drove Eunomius from the city, and it seems that Eleusius was then allowed to resume undisturbed possession of the churches in the city itself. The next we know of Eleusius was that he was present at Constantinople in 381 as one of the chief representatives of a group of 36 Macedonian bishops who came mostly from Hellespontus, but Theodosius I failed to convince them to unite with those whom he considered orthodox.²⁰ This meant that the Macedonian bishops were liable to be expelled from all the churches within their respective sees in favour of claimants supported by bishops whom the state recognised as orthodox. But their sheer number, in western Asia Minor in particular, was such that their expulsion probably took a number of years.²¹ In 383 Theodosius summoned the leaders of the various factions, including Eleusius as the representative of the Macedonians, to a meeting in which he made a final effort to reconcile them to one another, which is a sure sign that he had not yet made as much progress as he would have liked in expelling the heretical bishops from their sees. The effort failed, however, and one presumes that the expulsion of heretical bishops continued apace.²² This is the last we hear of Eleusius, but such was his age and the increasing political pressure on his theological faction that it seems reasonable to suppose that Cyzicus received a new orthodox bishop sometime during the 380s.²³ And he alone would have had the influence successfully to petition Theodosius to restore Cyzicus to its former glory as the metropolis of Hellespontus.

The restricted geographical region inhabited by those to whom Euticus sent his letters — the provinces of Europa, Hellespontus, Bithynia, and Honorias — suggests that he belonged to a theological faction which was confined to those regions. Given that the Macedonian heresy was essentially restricted to the same regions,²⁴ and that it was particularly strong in Hellespontus,²⁵ it is tempting to identify Euticus as the Macedonian Bishop of Parium and the recipients of his letters as the Macedonian churches, or Bishops, of Heraclea,

Cyzicus, Nicomedia and Bithynium. Macedonius had appointed Marathonius as Bishop of Nicomedia c.342, a post which he continued to hold until his deposition by the same Council at Constantinople in 360 which deposed Macedonius himself, after which no more is known of him, and was so closely connected with Macedonius that the so-called Macedonians were also called Marathonians by some.²⁶ A Callicrates of Claudiopolis, i.e. Bithynium, was among the Macedonian Bishops who presented a petition to the emperor Jovian at Antioch in 363,²⁷ and it was Bishop Hypatian of Heraclea who acted on behalf of the Macedonian Bishops of Hellespontus and Bithynia in requesting imperial permission to hold a council at Lampsacus in 364.²⁸ Hence there ought to have been strong Macedonian communities at all four of the cities to which Euticus addressed his letter. Furthermore, this would also explain his failure to send a copy of his letter to the church at Constantinople, since Constantinople was the first city to feel the full impact of Theodosius' new ecclesiastical policy, and as the imperial residence from 380-87, it was probably where the new policy was best enforced also. So Theodosius' new policy may have ensured the temporary extinction for all practical purposes of any Macedonian church struggling to establish itself in or about Constantinople.²⁹ But the biggest blow to the Macedonians, and that which essentially extinguished their last pockets of strength, came as a result of their assassination c.430 of Anthony, the orthodox Bishop of Germa in Hellespontus, on account of his continuing harassment of their church.³⁰ This gave Bishop Nestorius of Constantinople (428-31) the excuse which he needed to persuade Emperor Theodosius II (408-50) to deprive them of their last churches at Constantinople, Cyzicus, and in the rural areas of Hellespontus. To summarize, therefore, scanty though the evidence may be, it points to the identification of Euticus as the Macedonian Bishop of Parium writing probably during the mid- 380s. Furthermore, the fact that his name does not occur among the 64 Macedonian Bishops to whom Bishop Liberius of Rome addressed a letter in 366, suggests that his appointment as Bishop of Parium postdates this letter.³¹

THE FICTITIOUS NATURE OF THE STORY OF ST. THEAGENES

A cursory inspection of the translations presented here will reveal

some immediate problems with the texts of all three recensions of the passion as they survive. For example, the number of centurions who beat Theagenes when he had been led to the parade-ground outside the city remains unclear. All three texts give their number as eight at one point (ch. 3), but as eighteen apparently only a few lines later (ch. 4). It seems obvious, therefore, that one of these numbers is wrong, the result of corruption at a very early stage in the transmission of the text. Again, it must strike one as odd also that *BHL* 8107 and *BHG* 2416 both end their accounts of his passion with the claim that Theagenes had spent forty days in prison without food or water (ch. 12). For the main bodies of their narrative read as if Theagenes had been arrested one evening, tortured through the night, and executed on the next day. This contradiction is best resolved by understanding this final reference to the length of time which Theagenes spent in prison as a late interpolation which seeks to compare his endurance to that of Christ who had spent forty days and nights without food during his temptation in the wilderness.³² But these are relatively minor issues which relate only to the transmission of the text. My main interest here is in the more substantial difficulties common to all three recensions which seem by their nature to have been present in the text even from the time of its first composition.

The fact that Euticus wrote about the passion of St. Theagenes at least sixty years after its alleged occurrence may arouse our suspicions concerning the accuracy of his account, but this does not necessarily require that he must have invented the whole story. Rather, it is the nature of the story itself which causes us to question its origin and worth. The noted Bollandist H. Delehaye dismissed the passion of St. Theagenes claiming that it lacked authority in all its forms, and it is not difficult to understand why.³³ Various details strike the interested historian as highly implausible, if not impossible.

Consider, for example, the claim that Theagenes was sent to the *legio II Traiana* situated at Parium in the Hellespontus. Note, first, that all three recensions of the passion include repeated references throughout the main bodies of their narratives to the identity of the unit in which Theagenes was being forced to serve as a legion rather than a *cuneus*, *vexillatio*, *numerus*, cohort, or any other type of late Roman military unit, which suggests that this element was present in the text from its first composition (chs. 2, 3, 6, 11). Next, the existence of this unit is well attested, and, as its title reveals, it was created

during the reign of the emperor Trajan (98-117). Yet there is no evidence that it was ever based at Parium. Trajan raised it probably for his second Dacian war, to participate in his Parthian war also.³⁴ It is attested in Judaea by 120, and in Egypt by 127.³⁵ The *Notitia Dignitatum* records its presence in Egypt still c.395, by which time it was divided between Parembole and Apollonopolis Magna.³⁶ There it seems to have remained until the Islamic conquest. So there is no evidence that it was ever based at Parium, and any claim to this effect must be suspect. The possibility remains, of course, that some detachment from this Legion, rather than the Legion itself, did spend some time in Parium on its journey to assist Licinius elsewhere in the Empire. Yet this is a remote possibility only, and the passion does not itself support such an interpretation of the evidence. It is more probable rather that Euticus borrowed the title of this Legion from some literary or other source in order to add some authentic-sounding detail to his work. Certainly, the title of the *legio II Traiana* does not occur in any other surviving hagiographical text,³⁷ but his inspiration in this matter may have been anything from a lost military history to a chance inscription commemorating the career of a local veteran whose service had included a stint in the *legio II Traiana*.³⁸ It is an interesting coincidence, though, that troops from Egypt did pass through western Asia Minor on their way to Macedonia in about 380, so a detachment of the *legio II Traiana* may actually have passed through Parium then, and this may have served as Euticus' real inspiration here.³⁹

A second problem concerns the attribution of the death of Theagenes to the reign of Licinius in particular. While it is true that Licinius persecuted Christians in that he subjected them to increasing discrimination and harassment, few were actually killed. Far from conscripting Christians as the passion of Theagenes would have us believe, Licinius actually expelled them from his army unless they were willing to offer sacrifice. Hence Canon 12 of the council of Nicaea in 325 declares:

Those who have been called by grace, and have at first displayed their ardour, but afterwards have run like dogs to their own vomit (insomuch that some have spent money, and by means of gifts have acquired again their former military station), must continue amongst the prostrators for ten years, after having been for three years among the hearers.⁴⁰

It is generally accepted now that this condemns not military service itself but service in the army of Licinius which had entailed a considerable risk of idolatry.⁴¹ Eusebius of Caesarea furnishes further evidence that Licinius forced Christians to resign from his army. For he preserves a copy of an edict issued by Constantine I (306-37) after his defeat of Licinius in 324 by which he sought to undo all of Licinius' anti-Christian measures, and which included the following concession:

Once more, with respect to those who had previously been preferred to any military distinction, of which they were afterwards deprived, for the cruel and unjust reason that they chose rather to acknowledge their allegiance to God than to retain the rank they held; we leave them perfect liberty of choice, either to occupy their former stations, should they be content again to engage in military service, or after an honorable discharge to live in undisturbed tranquillity. For it is fair and consistent that men who have displayed such magnanimity and fortitude in meeting the perils to which they have been exposed, should be allowed the choice either of enjoying peaceful leisure, or resuming their former rank.⁴²

A concrete example of one such Christian who suffered for his faith under Licinius was the future Bishop of Mopsuestia, Auxentius. He served among the notaries at the imperial palace, but was sacked when he refused a request by Licinius himself to place a bunch of grapes at the feet of a statue of Bacchus.⁴³ Similarly, Arsacius, a Persian serving in the Roman army, was dismissed from his position as a lion-keeper, but remained in Nicomedia still until his death there by earthquake in August 358.⁴⁴ Some may wish to argue that the forty martyrs of Sebasteia were soldiers and that they suffered death under Licinius. There is a strong case, however, that they really met their fate at the end of the third century, and that their attribution to the reign of Licinius represents a late addition to their original passion.⁴⁵ Indeed, it may not be irrelevant here that Eustathius, Bishop of Sebasteia c.357-80, flirted with the Macedonians,⁴⁶ and that the relics of the forty martyrs which were rediscovered at Constantinople at the beginning of the fifth century had originally belonged to the Macedonian community there.⁴⁷ Of course, it is always possible that Theagenes' tormentors had exceeded their instructions, and that they did not inform Licinius of the full facts of his case, so that his death ought to be put down to an excess of anti-Christian zeal on their part

rather than to imperial policy proper. Yet the fact that Theagenes was the son of a Bishop ought to have afforded him a measure of protection from such casual brutality. For Licinius seems to have tried to maintain cordial relations with a section of the episcopacy at least, with the result that Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia was accused by Constantine I later of having been an agent of Licinius.⁴⁸ All considered, therefore, it seems unlikely that a Christian conscript such as Theagenes, the son of a Bishop even, should have suffered under Licinius in the manner alleged.

This brings us to a more serious problem, the relationship between the passion of St. Theodore of Amasea and that of St. Theagenes.⁴⁹ According to his earliest surviving passion (*BHG* 1761), Theodore was a conscript who was assigned to a legion stationed at Amasea in the province of Pontus. This was during the joint reigns in the East of the emperors Galerius Maximianus (293-311) and Maximinus Daia (305-13). When Theodore refused to offer sacrifice, or to accept military service, his immediate superiors, the *praepositus* Brincas and the *ducenarius* Posidonius, allowed him to go free for a time in order to reconsider his position. That night he set fire to the temple of the Mother of the Gods in Amasea, and was brought before the governor of the province, Publius. Unsuccessful in his effort to persuade him to apostatize, Publius threw him into prison, had the door of the prison sealed, and left him there to starve. Christ appeared to him, however, and left him rejoicing and singing psalms, together with a choir of angels. The guards heard the angels, and even saw them through a window, but when they summoned the governor to open the sealed door they found only Theodore. Next morning Theodore was tried before the governor once more, but when he still refused to apostatize, he was condemned to death by being burned at the stake. A woman by the name of Eusebia retrieved his body afterwards, and took it to her estate at a day's journey from Amasea in a place called Euchaita. She then built a church for him, where wonders have been worked ever since.

The similarities between the passions of St. Theagenes and St. Theodore are obvious even from the above summary. Both were conscripts, forced to serve against their will. Both received a visit from Christ and an angelic choir after they had been thrown into prison and left to starve. Both counted a certain Posidonius among their superior officers. Indeed, there is a striking similarity between cer-

tain passages in these passions, not just in their substance but in their very words even, such that it is clear that the author of one text has used the other as a source for his fiction. A brief quotation from each will suffice to illustrate this point:

Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν Λικινίου τοῦ βασιλέως κρατηθεὶς εἰς τήρωνα ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ὁ Θεαγένης ὦν ἐπισκόπου υἱός, ἤχθη εἰς λεγεῶνα καλουμένην σεκοῦνδαν Τραιανὴν ὑπὸ τριβοῦνον Ζηλικίνθιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον Ποσιδώνιον, ἥτις λεγεὼν ἐκαθέζετο ἐν Παρίῳ τῇ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἣ ἐστὶν Κυζίκου πρώτη [During the time of the emperor Licinius, Theagenes, the son of a bishop, was conscripted in Phrygia and sent to the legion entitled the *Second Trajan* under the tribune Zelicinthius and the *praepositus* Posidonius. This legion was stationed in Parium in the Hellespontus, which city is superior to Cyzicus.] (*BHG* 2416, ch. 2).

Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν κρατηθεὶς Θεόδωρος εἰς τήρωνα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ἤχθη εἰς λεγεῶνα καλουμένην Μαρμαριτῶν ἥτις λεγεὼν ἐκαθέζετο ἐν πόλει Ἀμασίᾳ τῆς Εὐξείνου Πόντου ὑπὸ πραιπόσιτον Βρίκαν [During this time Theodore was conscripted in the eastern region, with many others also, and was sent to the legion entitled the *Marmaritae*. This legion was stationed in the city of Amasea in Pontus Euxinus under the *praepositus* Brincas.] (*BHG* 1761, ch. 1.).⁵⁰

So which came first, the passion of St. Theagenes or that of St. Theodore? Gregory of Nyssa delivered an encomium on St. Theodore on 17 February 380,⁵¹ whose similarities with the earliest surviving passion of St. Theodore (*BHG* 1761), even in those details which the latter shares with the passion of St. Theagenes, point to the existence of this passion (*BHG* 1761), or an earlier version of the same by this date. For example, his interrogator asks the martyr the same unusual question, whether God has a son, in all three texts, Gregory's encomium on St. Theodore (*BHG* 1760, ch. 1), the early passion of St. Theodore (*BHG* 1761, ch. 2), and the passion of St. Theagenes (*BHG* 2416, ch. 2). Unless one is to assume that Gregory of Nyssa used the passion of St. Theagenes as his source, and the latter's reference to Bithynium, the capital of a province not founded until after 384, rules this out, then it is clear that this was a genuine element of the original passion of St. Theodore whence it was borrowed for use in the passion of St. Theagenes also. In conjunction with the lack of early

evidence for the cult of St. Theagenes, this suggests that the passion of St. Theodore predates that of St. Theagenes. Indeed, at points the passion of St. Theodore reads so much more convincingly than does that of St. Theagenes that it is difficult to avoid concluding that it is the original and the passion of St. Theagenes a pale copy. For example, the passion of St Theodore (*BHG* 1761, ch. 5) reports that the guards looked into his prison-cell through the window in the door (διὰ τῆς θυρίδος), while the passion of St. Theagenes (*BHG* 2416, ch. 7) reports, less precisely, that the guards looked into his cell through the door (διὰ τῆς θύρας).

In summary, therefore, there are a number of important problems with the surviving passion of St. Theagenes. No one problem by itself can be used to prove that the surviving passion is a complete fiction. For each individual problem admits of a possible solution, such that the offending material — either the references to the emperor Licinius, or the description of Theagenes' posting to the *legio II Traiana* stationed at Parium, or the borrowings from the passion of St. Theodore — may be explained as a late interpolation or addition to an original tradition, unlikely though this may seem. Rather, it is the sum of these problems which suffices to prove the fictitious character of this passion, since the removal of all the offending material leaves little other than hagiographical commonplaces. In brief, there is no identifiable historical core to this passion about which we may claim that the rest of the material slowly gathered.

THE INVENTION OF A MARTYR AND THE COMPOSITION OF HIS FICTITIOUS STORY

At the end of *BHL* 8106, Euticus declares that he has written under the influence of "revelation" (*per revelationem*), but he fails to explain what form this "revelation" took. Whatever form it took, however, it is clear that Theagenes is a fictitious martyr. Here Euticus reminds one of bishop Theodore of Octodurum (c.381-93) who discovered the relics of the so-called Theban legion.⁵² He seems to have claimed that the martyrs had "revealed" themselves to him,⁵³ and one suspects that Euticus' "revelation" was of similar worth. Whatever form this revelation was supposed to have taken in either case, whether a vision by day or a dream by night, their claims were equally fraudulent. The story of the Theban legion is of particular relevance

here because the earliest surviving version of their passion occurs in a letter which Bishop Eucherius of Lyons (c.434-50) sent to a Bishop Salvius of unspecified see. It is an excellent illustration of the process at work here also, of how the passion of a martyr was best spread by letter from one bishop to another.

In so far as the cult of St. Theagenes was located at a specific site, a villa which had used to belong to a certain Adamantius, one assumes that it was some discovery at this site which led Euticus to believe that he had discovered the remains of a martyr or his burial-site to be more precise. Pious imagination then supplied the missing details. Two points are of particular interest here. The first is that Euticus is strangely reticent about the history of the burial-site. He fails specifically to confirm that the site had only recently been (re-discovered), although the evidence points in this direction. This suggests that he had relatively little to do with the initial discovery of the site and was prepared to pass over this in silence for this reason. The second important point is that he provides no indication that they had yet uncovered any actual relics from the site. The fact that he does not mention any effort to translate the relics to some new basilica, for example, is significant.⁵⁴ All concerned seem merely to have assumed that they were present based on the miracles worked at the site and whatever it was on the surface which had led them to that site in the first place. So what exactly was it that had led him to this site? Our only clues to this lie in the original elements of the passion as recorded by Euticus, those elements which have not simply been borrowed from existing hagiographical literature, in particular Theagenes' name, the location of his commemoration, and the date of this commemoration. So why was Theagenes chosen as the name of this fictitious martyr, why did his cult originate at the villa of Adamantius near Parium, and why was his feast celebrated on 3 January in particular? These are just some of the questions which one must address here.

There are no easy answers to these questions, and the best that one can hope for is that archaeologists will someday locate and excavate the site of the former villa of Adamantius, but one possibility which does merit serious attention is that the cult of St Theagenes may represent a continuation into late antiquity of the cult of the famous Greek hero and athlete of the early fifth-century BC, Theagenes of Thasos, victor at the Olympic games of 480 BC, among his other achieve-

ments. This is not to claim that any particular features of his Christian cult was necessarily a continuation of a pagan practice. For I am well aware, to quote but one recent commentator, that "to explain the Christian cult of the martyrs as a continuation of the pagan cult of heroes helps as little as to reconstruct the form and function of a late-antique Christian basilica from the few columns and capitals taken from classical buildings that are occasionally incorporated in its arcades."⁵⁵ I suggest rather the *locus* of the cult remained the same, as did the name of the object of the cult, Theagenes, but the pagan cult proper was dead, a distant memory only, when a new Christian cult blossomed forth on the same site because a vague local tradition concerning the sacredness of this site was misunderstood and reinterpreted in an entirely Christian fashion.

The story of Theagenes of Thasos has been best preserved by Pausanias of Magnesia in his *Description of Greece* which he wrote c.160-80.⁵⁶ His description of various statues erected at Olympia in Elis includes an account of Theagenes as follows:

Not far from the statues of these kings stands a statue of Theagenes, a Thasian, son of Timosthenes. But the Thasians say that Theagenes was not a son of Timosthenes, but that Timosthenes was priest to the Thasian Hercules, and that the mother of Theagenes was visited by a phantom of Hercules in the likeness of Timosthenes. They say that when Theagenes was a boy of nine years of age, as he was coming home from school, he wrenched up the bronze image of some god or other which stood in the market place, and for which he had a fancy, and putting it on his shoulders, carried it home. The citizens were enraged at him for what he had done, but one of them, an old and respected man, would not let them kill the boy, but ordered him to carry the image back from his house to the market-place. He did so, and straightway great was the boy's reputation for strength, and the deed was noised abroad throughout all Greece. I have already narrated the most famous of Theagenes' exploits in the Olympic games, how he defeated Euthymus the boxer, and how he was fined by the Eleans. On that occasion the victory in the pancratium is said to have been gained for the first time on record without a contest by Dromeus, a Mantinean; but in the next Olympiad Theagenes was victorious in the pancratium. He also won three victories at Pytho in boxing, and nine victories at the Nemean, and ten at the Isthmian games, of which nineteen victories some were in the pancratium, some in boxing. But at Pythia, in Thessaly, he abandoned the practice of boxing and the

pancratium, and set himself to win a reputation for running also, and he vanquished all comers in the long race. His ambition was, it appears to me, to emulate Achilles, by winning a race in the native country of the fleetest of the heroes. The total number of crowns that he won was one thousand four hundred. When he departed this world, one of the men who had been at enmity with him in his life came every night to the statue of Theagenes, and whipped the bronze statue as if he were mistreating Theagenes himself. The statue checked his insolence by falling on him; but the sons of the deceased prosecuted the statue for murder. The Thasians sunk the statue in the sea, herein following the view taken by Draco, who, in the laws touching homicide which he drew up for the Athenians, enacted that even lifeless things should be banished if they fell on anybody and killed him. But in the course of time, their land yielding them no fruits, the Thasians sent envoys to Delphi, and the god told them to bring back the exiles. The exiles were accordingly brought back, but their restoration brought no cessation of the dearth. So they went to the Pythian princess a second time, saying that though they had done as she bade them, the wrath of the gods still abode upon them. Then the Pythian princess answered them:— But you have forgotten your great Theagenes. While they were at a loss to know how they should recover the statue of Theagenes, it is said that some fishermen who had gone a-fishing on the sea caught the statue in their net and brought it back to land. So the Thasians set it up in its old place, and they are wont to sacrifice to him as a god. I know of many other places in Greece and in foreign lands where images of Theagenes are set up, and where he heals diseases, and is honoured by the natives.⁵⁷

The cult of Theagenes of Thasos certainly left its mark on the literary record, since it is mentioned by many other authors also, both pagan and Christian.⁵⁸ The archaeological evidence too proves the continued popularity of the cult of Theagenes at his central cult-site on Thasos itself well into the Roman imperial period.⁵⁹ So the literary and archaeological evidence combine to support the testimony of Pausanias that the cult of Theagenes enjoyed widespread support by the end of the second century even. But why connect it with the Christian cult of the martyr St. Theagenes of Parium? Firstly, their names are identical. This does not prove anything by itself, but it does constitute an important piece in the larger puzzle. Secondly, while there is no specific proof that there was a statue of Theagenes of Thasos at or near Parium, its coastal location and relative proximity to Thasos suggest that this was not unlikely.⁶⁰ It may well have been one of

“the many other places in Greece and in foreign lands where images of Theagenes are set up,” to quote Pausanias. Next, the role of the statues of Theagenes as centers for divine healing matches that which Christians expected of their *martyria*, including that of St. Theagenes at Parium, or so his passion alleges (all three recensions, ch. 12). Finally, it is not without significance that Theagenes had been an athlete originally. Christians were accustomed to describe their martyrs as “athletes of God,” and this was as true of St. Theagenes of Parium as it was of many other martyrs also (*BHG* 2416, ch. 5; *BHL* 8106, chs. 1, 5). So it is entirely possible that a description of Theagenes of Thasos as an athlete may have contributed to a misunderstanding as a result of which he was transformed from a simple athlete into an “athlete of God,” i.e. a martyr.

But what evidence is there that anyone could ever have made so dreadful a mistake as to identify the statue of a pagan god as that of a Christian martyr? Worse had happened. The inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi in Palestine even managed to identify one of their public statues as a figure of Christ himself, and this by the end of the third century at latest. Eusebius of Caesarea relates the story as follows:

As I have mentioned this city, I do not think that I ought to omit a story that deserves to be remembered by those who will follow us. The woman with a haemorrhage, who as we learn from the holy gospels was cured of her troubles by our Saviour, was stated to have come from here. Her house was pointed out in the city, and a wonderful memorial of the benefit the Saviour conferred upon her was still there. On a tall stone base at the gates of her house stood a bronze statue of a woman, resting on one knee and resembling a suppliant with arms outstretched. Facing this was another of the same material, an upright figure of a man with a double cloak neatly draped over his shoulders and his hand stretched out to the woman. Near his feet on the stone slab grew an exotic plant, which climbed up to the hem of the bronze cloak and served as a remedy for illnesses of every kind. This statue, which was said to resemble the features of Jesus, was still there in my own time, so that I saw it with my own eyes when I resided in the city. It is not at all surprising that Gentiles who long ago received such benefits from our Saviour should have expressed their gratitude thus, for the features of His apostles Paul and Peter, and indeed of Christ himself, have been preserved in coloured portraits which I have examined. How could it be otherwise, when the ancients habitually followed their own Gentile custom of honouring

them as saviours in this uninhibited way?⁶¹

In his epitome of the ecclesiastical history which Philostorgius wrote c.425, Photius provides some important additional details:

Concerning an image of our Saviour erected by the faith of a pious woman in grateful remembrance of her cure from a bloody flux, Philostorgius writes, that it was placed near the fountain in the city among other statues, and presented a pleasant and agreeable sight to the passersby. And when a certain herb, which grew up at the foot of this statue, was found to be a most effectual remedy against all diseases, and especially against consumption, men naturally began to inquire into the cause of this matter; for by lapse of time all memory of the fact had been lost, and it was even forgotten whose statue it was, and on what account it had been erected. Inasmuch as the figure of our Saviour had long stood exposed in the open air, and a great part of it was covered over by the earth which was perpetually carried down against the pediment, especially during the seasons of heavy rain, the notice contained in the inscription upon it was well nigh obliterated. A diligent inquiry was subsequently made, and the part of the statue which had been covered up being brought to light, the inscription was discovered which explained the entire circumstances of the fact; and the plant thenceforth was never again seen either there or in any other place. The statue itself they placed in the part of the church which was allotted to the deacons, paying to it due honour and respect, yet by no means adoring or worshipping it; and they showed their love for its great archetype by erecting it in that place with circumstances of honour, and by flocking thither in eager crowds to behold it.⁶²

The important points to emerge from this description of the statue and its history are that its real identity had long been forgotten, and that it was the healing properties of a herb which grew at its foot which first drew renewed attention to the problem of its identification. Then an inscription was discovered which seemed to lend some credibility to the attempt to identify it as a statue of Jesus. Gullibility and greed combined to do the rest. It is generally agreed that this cannot really have been a statue of Christ,⁶³ although there is much less certainty concerning its true identity. One commentator has suggested that it was a statue of Aesculapius, on the basis, apparently, that it was associated with cures, and Aesculapius was the god of healing.⁶⁴ But as the sources for the cult of Theagenes prove, Aescu-

lapius was not the only god to whom the ancients turned when miraculous cures were required. It is of little relevance to us at present, however, that we cannot determine the exact identity of this god whom a later generation of Christian inhabitants came to identify as Christ. It matters only that such a mistake could, and did, happen. And if it happened once at Caesarea Philippi, then it may have happened on other occasions also at any number of different locations.

It is my argument, therefore, that Euticus of Parium had his attention drawn to a statue which local tradition credited with healing powers. Although the identity of the statue had long been forgotten, locals had continued to turn to it in their times of need, and it had maintained its reputation accordingly. Matters came to a head when Euticus was asked to investigate the identity of the martyr who was responsible for these cures. After all, who else but a martyr could have worked such cures? The area about the statue was tidied up as part of this process of investigation, and an inscription was discovered which led to the identification of this statue as that of Theagenes. Euticus now had the name of his martyr. He may have been content to assume that his relics were buried in or near this "shrine" and have left things at that, or, less likely, he may have planted some "relics" there. Whatever the case, it remained then to recover the martyr's story. Pious imagination, combined with a little historical research, sufficed to supply his tale as they had, or were to do, in so many other cases also. By historical research I mean that Euticus turned to what he regarded as the best sources for the sufferings of Christians during the persecutions of the Church, the existing acts or passions of the martyrs. He turned to the early passion of St. Theodore to assist him in his fiction in the same way that the anonymous author of the passion of St. Typasius turned to Sulpicius Severus' account of the life of St. Martin of Tours as his source of revelation,⁶⁵ and Cyrus of Panopolis, bishop of Cotyaeum c.441/2, turned to bishop Basil of Caesarea's homily in praise of St. Gordius for his account of the fictitious St. Menas of Cotyaeum.⁶⁶ Similarly, writing probably about the time of the construction of a large new shrine to St. Sergius within the walls of Resapha c.425, the anonymous author of the original Greek passion of SS. Sergius and Bacchus based much of his account of these fictitious martyrs on the real-life trial and exile of two military confessors under Julian the Apostate.⁶⁷

It is appropriate at this point to comment in brief upon the obvious

similarities between the passion of St. Theagenes and the life of Theagenes of Thasos as preserved by Pausanias, for example. The claim that St. Theagenes was the son of a bishop is reminiscent of the fact that Theagenes of Thasos was the son, legally if not naturally, of a priest of Hercules. Next, the claim that St. Theagenes was taken outside Parium and beaten by night is reminiscent of the story that an enemy of Theagenes of Thasos had used to flog his statue by night. Again, neither Theagenes let his assailants pass unpunished. The statue of Theagenes of Thasos fell on his enemy and killed him, while St. Theagenes was able to prophesize that his assailants would meet bad ends, which they did. Next, St. Theagenes was cast into the sea to drown, while the statue of Theagenes of Thasos was exiled by being dumped at sea. Again, neither Theagenes was allowed to remain lost. Some fishermen snagged the statue of Theagenes of Thasos in their net and managed to bring him back to land, while the body of St. Theagenes was washed back upon the shore in one piece so enabling its recovery and burial.

While these similarities do exist, it seems to me that they are superficial at best, and are due more to the similarities between the social and physical circumstances which saw the invention of each cult, rather than that Euticus availed himself of some account of Theagenes of Thasos in the composition of the passion of St. Theagenes. By similar physical circumstances I mean, for example, that Thasos and Parium were both sea-side communities, one on an island, the other on the mainland-coast. It was entirely natural, therefore, that the inhabitants of each should dispose of their rubbish at sea, the Christian Theagenes in the case of the legion stationed at Parium, and the statue of Theagenes in the case of governing-council of Thasos. The author of the passion of St. Theagenes did not need any particular source to advise him how to depict the disposal of St. Theagenes, not least because it was generally well known that this was exactly how sea-side communities had disposed of their Christians during the persecutions, at sea.⁶⁸ It was both common-sense, and common knowledge. As for the claim that each Theagenes was the son of a priestly individual, that St. Theagenes was the son of a bishop and Theagenes of Thasos was the son of a priest of Hercules, this was simply a device to explain the character of each in a manner which appealed most to the religious expectations of the relevant communities. Being the son of a bishop served to "prove" that St.

Theagenes deserved to be recognised as a martyr, because it made his story that much more credible. What other sort of behaviour would one expect from the son of a bishop? Indeed, the description of Theagenes as the son of a bishop can only reinforce our suspicions that the author, Euticus, was himself the Bishop of Parium. Similarly, his being a son of a priest of Hercules served to "prove" that Theagenes of Thasos deserved to be recognised as a god, because it explains how and why the god Hercules managed to father him with his mother. So while it is difficult to prove so conclusively, it does not seem necessary for Euticus to have had any genuine knowledge of the historical Theagenes of Thasos to produce the text which he did.

This brings us to the date of the commemoration of the feast of St. Theagenes, 3 January. Why did our author choose to set Theagenes' death on this date in particular? Normally, one might posit that this was the date of the recovery of the relics, or the date of their translation to their final cult site, which gradually came to be regarded as the martyr's *dies natalis*, or date of execution also, in the absence of more concrete information. In this instance, there is no evidence that the relics themselves had actually been recovered from the site yet, so one assumes that Euticus claimed to have learned the date of the martyr's death in the same way that he learned everything else about him, by "revelation". There are at least two possible reasons why he should have chosen to claim 3 January as the date of his death. The first is that he was attracted to do so by the commemoration on the same date of the feast of St. Gordius of Caesarea. According to Basil of Caesarea, our earliest datable source, Gordius was a centurion who had deserted his post at Caesarea during a persecution of Christians, choosing to live in the wilderness instead, only to return during a public holiday in order to stage a protest in the hippodrome.⁶⁹ He met his fate accordingly. So Gordius was another martyr who had apparently rejected earthly military service to serve as a soldier of God instead, and Euticus must have come across his name as he scoured the hagiographical literature looking for a model for his new martyr before he finally settled on the passion of St. Theodore as his primary source. It is noteworthy also that Gordius is normally assumed to have perished during Licinius' persecution of Christians, just like St. Theagenes, although we cannot be sure how reliable this element of his tradition is, or when it first began.⁷⁰ Nor can we be entirely sure that his feast was actually celebrated on 3 January by

the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries. The *Syriac Breviary* notes the commemoration of the feast of an otherwise unknown Gordianus of Caesarea on 2 March, and Delehayé has identified this as a corrupt reference to the Gordius of Caesarea under discussion here.⁷¹ Yet the Byzantine synaxaries normally commemorate his feast on 3 January.⁷² Nevertheless, it remains a possibility that Euticus was influenced by the cult of St. Gordius to locate the death of St. Theagenes both on 3 January in particular and during the reign of Licinius in general.

There is an alternative possibility, however. The so-called *Feriale Duranum*, a fragmentary papyrus copy of the official Roman military religious calendar, which was discovered among the records of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura Europus, and dates to the period c.223/7, includes the following description of the ritual to be observed on 3 January:

January 3. Because vows are paid and undertaken both for the welfare of our Lord Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus and for the eternity of the Empire of the Roman nation, [to Jupiter Optimus Maximus an ox, to Juno Regina a cow, to Minerva a cow, to Jupiter Victor] an ox, [to Juno Sospes? a cow, — to Mars Pater a bull, to Mars Victor] a bull, to Victoria a cow.⁷³

This is generally identified now as the occasion of the annual renewal by the soldiers of their oath of allegiance to the emperor,⁷⁴ the *sacramentum* which each conscript took at the end of his probationary period before he was posted to his final unit.⁷⁵ It was of this oath that Tertullian famously wrote:

Incompatible are the human oath of allegiance and the divine sacrament, the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil, the legions of the light and the legions of the darkness. One soul cannot serve two lords: God and Caesar.⁷⁶

The Christian emperors of the fourth century retained the oath of allegiance, but in a Christianized form which made it clear that allegiance to the emperor was second to one's allegiance to God,⁷⁷ which clarification must have disarmed the objections of many to the oath itself. If this oath continued to be renewed on 3 January, and there is no reason to think that this was not the case, then the decision by the author of the passion of St. Theagenes to date the death of St. Theagenes to 3 January would seem particularly appropriate in the

case of a martyr who was alleged to have rejected earthly military service for the service of God. So the choice of this date represents a continuation of the theme of the passion itself, the need to choose between God and Caesar. It was the final deft touch on the part of the author of this essentially pacifist text. No servant of the state could read of St. Theagenes and fail to marvel that he had been executed for his rejection of military service on the very day that soldiers were accustomed to renew their oath of allegiance. It was a direct challenge, in fact, to all Christians in the military, or at least the more pious individuals who had attended a church-service earlier that day, not to proceed with the renewal of their oath of allegiance, but to take the opportunity offered them and reject earthly service for that of the divine king.

The decision to date the death of the military conscript St. Theagenes to the day on which soldiers were accustomed to renew their oath of allegiance seems deliberate to me. While it was no secret that soldiers were accustomed to renew their vows on this date, the strong consciousness of this fact revealed here, the very subject of the passion itself, and the care taken to include such detail as the name of the unit in which Theagenes had served, and the name of a genuine military unit at that, one which does not occur elsewhere in the hagiographical corpus, all suggest that the author of the passion had some genuine knowledge of the military. The Latinisms within the text, or rather the retention within the text of such Latinisms as were already present in the passion of St Theodore, add some small support to this identification in so far as Latin was the official language of the administration still in the fourth century, and even soldiers from the Greek-speaking areas of the empire would have had to acquire a certain familiarity with the same, such as is suggested by the retention of these terms here.⁷⁸ Finally, it is important to note not just that the author uses genuine Latin terms for the ranks within the *legio II Traiana* rather than attempting to substitute equivalent Greek terms, but that he has chosen the correct terms for a unit of its type. As a unit which dated back to the middle principate the *legio II Traiana* retained ranks such as that of centurion which were no longer in use by the large majority of late Roman military units, many of which had only been created during the military reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I.⁷⁹ So either the author of the passion made a lucky guess or he knew exactly what he was talking about. In short, his use

of the correct terminology in this instance suggests a personal familiarity with the *legio II Traiana*, such as he might have gained had he himself served in this unit, or, more likely, had he become acquainted with some of its members. This brings us back to our earlier suggestion that a detachment of the *legio II Traiana* may have passed through Parium on its way to Macedonia c.380.

It is important also to pay due attention to what the passion says concerning the development of Theagenes' cult at this site. It claims that a group of men by the names of Eutyches, Eustathius, Zoticus, and Germanus, together with several others who are left unnamed, brought the remains of St. Theagenes to the villa, or country-estate, of a certain Adamantius who was a most faithful and very devout man (ch. 12, all recensions).⁸⁰ The alleged involvement of a large group of men rather than an individual woman in the recovery of the remains of St. Theagenes marks a distinct break with the hagiographical stereotype in such matters.⁸¹ The passion of St. Theodore, for example, a copy of which was open before our author as he composed his passion, claims that a woman by the name of Eusebia rescued his remains.⁸² This is significant since the original nature of this element within the passion may provide an important pointer towards the social context which saw its invention. Given both the number of men who are alleged to have participated in the rescue of the remains of St. Theagenes, and their description as "brothers,"⁸³ it is possible that the villa of Adamantius was an early monastery.⁸⁴ This is not to claim that some early monks actually rescued the remains of a genuine martyr by the name of Theagenes, but that a later generation of monks at the villa of Adamantius were pleased to accept this tale concerning the origin of what they believed to be a shrine to the martyr Theagenes at or near their villa. This is an attractive hypothesis in so far as monks often gathered about the remains of martyrs, or were eager to acquire their relics in order to enhance the reputation of an existing or new establishment.⁸⁵ In this context, therefore, one has to imagine that sometime during the mid-380s the monks on the estate of Adamantius made a concerted effort to discover whether the remains of any martyrs lay unrecognised still in the vicinity of their establishment. The result was the discovery of a statue of Theagenes of Thasos which they mistakenly identified as a memorial to "St." Theagenes. It seemed that they had their own martyr at last, but it was no use possessing

the relics of a martyr whom no-one else recognised. The opinion of the local bishop was particularly important. Bishop Martin of Tours, for example, had crushed the growing, but unauthorised cult of one alleged anonymous martyr, by declaring that the spirit of the deceased had appeared to him while he was praying at his grave and revealed that he had not been a martyr but a brigand.⁸⁶ The method by which he chose to investigate this matter is particularly relevant here. He simply went to the grave and prayed to God, asking him to reveal who was buried there and what his character had been. When called upon to do so, Euticus of Parium may have adopted a similar procedure, one suspects, but with more positive results. His revelation confirmed that "St." Theagenes had indeed been martyred for his faith.

The identification of the villa of Adamantius as a monastic establishment may also explain the form which the passion of this newly-discovered martyr took. Why was he identified as a former-soldier rather than as an ex-farmer, say, or as a member of any other occupation or profession? One cannot help but notice that this theme, the rejection of the service of the earthly emperor in favour of that of the divine king, is a recurrent favourite in the monastic literature of the late antique period. This is not to deny that many former-soldiers did become monks, but to recognise merely that the monastic literature of the late antique period did like to report this fact.⁸⁷ The more famous examples of soldiers who preferred to serve God rather than the emperor, and as monks in particular, include Martin of Tours and Dalmatius at Constantinople.⁸⁸ Nor should we forget that Pachomius, the founder of coenobite monasticism in Egypt, had been a military conscript c.313 when the kindness which the Christians showed towards him in his confinement at Luxor persuaded him to reject the paganism of his youth in favour of Christianity.⁸⁹ The manner in which monks identified themselves as soldiers of Christ, and contrasted this service to that of the state, can only have been reinforced by the clumsy efforts which the pagan Emperor Julian and the Arian Valens made to reduce this source of opposition to their rule by subjecting these monks to a violent conscription.⁹⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that the monks' understanding of their position with regards to the state should have impacted upon the production of hagiographical literature also. For example, writing c.397 the author of the passion of the fictitious Mauretanian martyr St. Tipasius of Tigava based his account of

Typasius' resignation from the army of Herculus Maximianus (285-305) on Sulpicius Severus' account of the resignation of Martin of Tours from that of Julian.⁹¹ He then depicted Typasius as an ancho-rite who built a little monastery for himself before the state made an effort to conscript him once more. In brief, the passion of St. Typasius appears to have been designed to appeal to an audience sympathetic to monastic ideology, if they were not actually monks themselves. In this context, therefore, at a time when the rejection of the service of the state for that of God was a common feature of literature written by and for monks, the fact that Euticus should have decided to identify the newly-discovered martyr Theagenes as a reluctant conscript rather than as member of some other occupation or profession reinforces the suggestion that it was monks who had "rediscovered" Theagenes' alleged burial-site in the first place.

CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that the passion of St. Theagenes is a work of fiction, but the real difficulty lies in identifying the circumstances which resulted in such a fiction. This is a question of importance, if for no other reason that the cult of St. Theagenes seems to have established itself at a relatively early date, sometime during the period c.384-450. Given the nature of the present evidence, our conclusions can only be tentative at best. It seems, however, that an otherwise unattested Bishop Euticus of Parium, a Macedonian apparently, was responsible for the promotion of this martyr, but that he was over-hasty in his efforts to discover a local martyr for his flock, and confirmed an antique cult-site of the athlete and hero, Theagenes of Thasos, as that of a previously unknown martyr for this reason, probably during the mid-380s. It is my hope, however, that the present paper may yet spur others to a more critical re-evaluation of this problem.

TRANSLATIONS

I. BHG 2416

On 3 January.

The Martyrdom of the Holy and Esteemed Martyr of Christ, Theagenes.

1. Many great martyrs have prevailed over the work of the Evil Adversary because of their power in the name of the Lord, among

whom the most holy martyr Theagenes has also been deemed worthy to be counted, having wrestled with the Enemy in every manner and defeated him.

2. During the time of the emperor Licinius, Theagenes, the son of a bishop, was conscripted in Phrygia and sent to the legion entitled the *Second Trajan* under the tribune Zelicinthus and the *praepositus* Posidonius. This Legion was stationed in Parium in the Hellespontus, which city is superior to Cyzicus. Brought before the tribune and the *praepositus*, blessed Theagenes was being forced to serve as a soldier. But being faithful and accomplished in the eyes of God, filled with the Holy Spirit, he declared in the middle of the Legion, "I am a Christian, and I serve the Immortal King who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords."⁹² His soldier and servant am I, and I cannot serve another king." The tribune Zelicinthus said, "Theagenes, take the cloak, tunic⁹³ and the full armour, and serve Licinius the great king." Holy Theagenes replied, "I serve my King, and I cannot serve another." Zelicinthus said, "Does Licinius not seem to you to be emperor?" Holy Theagenes replied, "I do not know. I am a Christian, and it is not possible for me to desert my Lord and King." Zelicinthus said, "What, so? Are these men standing about not Christians, and they serve?" Theagenes replied, "Each knows how he serves. For I know that I serve King and Master." Zelicinthus said, "Surely, the gods do not mock?" Theagenes replied "I do not know who are gods, except God the Almighty whom I know through His Son. [For the Holy Scripture says, "I said: You are gods, and all sons of the Most High, but you will die like men."⁹⁴ For it calls gods the pious and faithful men who have recognised the Truth.]" Posidonius the *praepositus* said, "And does your God have a son?" Theagenes replied, "Yes, he has a Son, the Word of His Truth, through whom He made all things." Zelicinthus said, "If we want, can we know Him?" Theagenes replied, "Yes, if you are willing, you will quickly know Him." Posidonius said, "If we recognise Him, can we desert our emperor and surrender to him?" Theagenes said, "There is nothing which prevents you from leaving the darkness and the licence which you enjoy for a short time before your temporary and mortal emperor, and surrendering to the Living God, Eternal King, and Master of the Universe, and serving Him, just as I do and many others who have placed their hope in Him, and you will live for eternity."

3. Then the tribune Zelicinthus, exceedingly angered and grind-

ing his teeth like a lion in the wilderness, said to the whole Legion, "Let us go off by night to the parade-ground outside the city." When they had arrived there, he marked out the ground and ordered four stakes to be sunk and blessed Theagenes to be stretched out there. When the holy man had been stretched out between the four stakes, he ordered him to be beaten with rough wooden clubs. When eight centurions were changed, Zelicinthus said to him, "Serve the great Emperor Licinius." Holy Theagenes replied, "I serve the King of the Ages, Christ the Son of the Living God, who comes to judge the living and the dead,⁹⁵ and rewards everyone according to his works.⁹⁶ For there is no-one upon the earth, either of the kings, rulers, or the mighty, who will escape Him."

4. Again the tribune ordered him to be beaten. While the holy man was being beaten over a great space of time, he sang psalms and his face changed as if he was experiencing great joy and happiness. And when the tribune changed eighteen centurions, and the clubs with which they were beating him broke upon him, and he was casting their bodies from him like winnowed chaff, he took courage yet still more and rejoicing sang psalms to the Lord, speaking thus, "Blessed be God the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who has deemed me worthy to reach this day and has brought me to this joyous state in which I am now. And blessed be the Son of God, Jesus Christ, the King of heaven and earth and that which is under the earth,⁹⁷ and the Lord of all, both seen and unseen, because He has counted me worthy to suffer these things on account of His all-holy name and to share in His suffering and that of His holy martyrs."

5. While he was saying these things, the tribune and the *praepositus* thought that he was asking them to be set free, and said to him, "Are you willing to serve?" Filled with the Holy Spirit the noble athlete of Christ, Theagenes, replied in a louder voice and said, "I have already told you, and I tell you now again, that I am a Christian and I serve the King of Kings and cannot desert my Lord and King. You constrain me by inflicting lengthy tortures upon me. Yet these tortures which you think that you inflict upon me mean nothing." The tribune Zelicinthus said to him, "What? Do you not feel the tortures yet?" Holy Theagenes said, "I am not being tortured at all, nor can you do anything to me. You have power over the body. Torture it however you wish. For you cannot separate me from Christ my Master and King. If you want, bring bigger clubs and stronger workmen. For

these workmen and clubs of yours are useless against me.” [“The Lord is my helper,” he said, “and I will not be afraid. What will man do to me?”⁹⁸ The souls of the just are in the hand of God, and torture will not touch them. They seemed in the eyes of the foolish to be dead, and their passing away was thought an affliction.”⁹⁹]

6. When he had said these things, the tribune ordered him to be brought into the city. It was about the ninth hour of the night, and he stretched him out publicly in the city in the market-place. And there he was stretched out to four columns. Passing by and seeing him, the *optio* of the legion said, “Where is the God and King whom you serve?”¹⁰⁰ Why does He not rescue you from these tortures?” To him the holy man replied, “I told you earlier, and I tell you now again, that these things being inflicted upon me are not tortures, but a cause of delight and exultation. For my Lord and King, whom you do not see, since you do not look with the eyes of the soul, is before me, saving me from the tortures.” The *optio* said to him, “If I had the right of execution, I would count you as a waste of time and throw you to the dogs.” To which blessed Theagenes replied, “You can do nothing to me, but the days will come not long hereafter when your legs and those of your tribune will be hurled into the wilderness and burned by the sun. Your bodies will be consumed by the beasts and reptiles of the earth, and all who do not believe in my Lord and King will themselves be killed shortly afterwards also by those pursuing them. Great affliction, pain, and great destruction will befall those of you who serve.”

7. And when blessed Theagenes had said these things, the tribune ordered him to be thrown into the cell, and to be stretched out upon the rack up to four points.¹⁰¹ And having sealed the door of the cell, he left him there to die of starvation. That night the Lord appeared to him and said, “Theagenes, my dear and faithful servant, take courage and rejoice, since I am with you and share your suffering. So do not accept food or drink from these men. For you will have eternal and incorruptible life with me in heaven.” And when he had said these things, the Lord left him. Blessed Theagenes was nourished by the Holy Spirit, and having seen the fearful vision of the Lord, he began to sing psalms and rejoice and praise God. A large crowd, as it were, replied to him, and those standing guard ran to the door of the prison. Seeing the door locked and the seal intact, they watched carefully through the door and saw a large crowd dressed in white singing

psalms with blessed Theagenes, and fearful, they reported to the tribune.

8. He rose immediately and went running to the door of the cell. And when he saw the chain secure and the seal intact, and heard the sound of those singing in company with blessed Theagenes, he made the soldiers stand guard in a circle about the cell with shields and full-armour, and opened and entered it, thinking that there were Christians with blessed Theagenes. Entering he found no-one except the servant of God stretched out alone upon the rack, rejoicing and singing psalms. So great dread seized him and the soldiers present with him, and they locked the doors and left. Then the tribune ordered the blessed man to accept a bit of bread and a mixed cup of water. In accordance with Scripture which says that "The just man will live on faith,"¹⁰² and that "I am the Bread descended from Heaven,"¹⁰³ the holy martyr did not care to eat or accept anything from them, saying that "My Lord and King nourishes me."

9. When it was morning, the tribune wrote to the Emperor Licinius telling him all these things and as much as the martyr Theagenes did and resisted before him in his unwillingness to serve an earthly king. The Emperor Licinius wrote back in reply ordering him to be thrown into the sea so that his body would not be recovered. Thus, when he received this command on the 3rd day before the None of January, the tribune treated him as ordered. When this sentence had been delivered to him, holy and blessed Theagenes set off giving thanks for eternal life. His appearance was graceful and radiant, as if he were beginning back from a bath or upon a great party.

10. Behold, having boarded the ship and reached the place where he was about to be thrown overboard, he asked the soldiers and the sailors to grant him a small favour, that he might pray to God! And when he received this, the holy servant of Christ stood facing towards the East and spread out his hands. He prayed for about three hours, since even the sailors were in awe and were afraid to touch him. But he turned to them and said, "Brothers, carry out your command without fear and returning to the city in peace, believe in the Lord with your whole heart, and receive eternal life." When he had said these things, and signed himself thrice, they threw him into the sea.

11. And returning to the city, they detailed all that they had seen blessed Theagenes do, and they themselves believed in the Lord as

did another large crowd from the legion on that day. But Zelicinthus and his officers were deprived of their legs by the emperor twelve miles from the city not many days afterwards.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore even, the whole legion went off to war and was destroyed.

12. Three days after the holy man had been thrown into the sea, the brothers Eutyches, Eustathius, Zoticus, Germanus, and many others, gathered together and collected his body which had been cast up by the sea safe and sound. Having secretly readied him for burial, they placed him in a coffin and carried him by night along the walls of the city to the estate of Adamantius, a most faithful and very pious man, and there they set him beneath the ground. Great cures are worked in this place now, the possessed are cleansed, the feverish are cured, and every other disease and malady is remedied through the grace given to him by our Lord Jesus Christ.

[13.] He spent forty days in his cell, neither eating anything at all nor drinking water. For he had the abundance from heaven. So we have written this very account to the churches of God dwelling beside Nicomedia and in Byzantium, Heraclea, and Cyzicus, in order that, recognised among the whole people of God, the confessions of faith of the blessed martyr Theagenes might make the brothers more steadfast in the faith and impel the unbelievers and those in two minds about the Word to believe, we who believe in God the Almighty Father and Lord Jesus Christ, our Hope together with the Holy Spirit, to whom be the power and the glory forever and ever.¹⁰⁵ Amen.

II. BHL 8106

Here begins the passion of saint Theagenes the martyr.

1. Learn, brothers, what great signs, wonders and good deeds God accomplished in our country at the time when an edict of the tyrant Licinius circulated the whole eastern region which was beneath his rule, to the effect that all those who were serving the state in whatever office should be called to offer sacrifice. It was the devil, who was waging war against the servants of God, who incited Licinius to this action. One of these servants of God was blessed Theagenes who by his great sufferings overcame the devil like a most strong athlete. He had been conscripted into military service, and arrived at Phrygia in the legion entitled *Second Trajan* under the command of the tribune Zelicientius and the *praepositus* Possidonius. This legion had its base in a place in Hellespontus. Theagenes was brought to the

tribune and the *praepositus*, and was forced to undertake military service. However, since he was faithful and filled with God, he said in the middle of the Legion, "I am a Christian, and I have been accepted into service by the Great Emperor, the King of Kings. I serve Him, and I cannot serve another." Zelicientius said, "Serve. Accept the military cloak, the sword-belt and weapons, and be a soldier of Licinius, the great king." Theagenes replied, "I serve my King and cannot serve another." Zelicientius said, "Do you not accept that Licinius is your king?" Theagenes said, "I do not. I am a Christian, and I am not allowed to deny my King." Zelicientius asked, "Are not those standing about Christians who serve in the army also?" Theagenes replied, "I do not know. Each knows how he serves. Yet I know what I have undertaken. I am not permitted to deny my King, and I ought not to serve another king. I am not passing from the service of one to the other."

2. Zelicientius asked, "Do the gods mock you?" Theagenes replied, "Who are the gods? I recognise only the one Lord and His Son Jesus Christ who is the King of Kings." The *praepositus* Possidonius spoke, "Your God has a Son, then?" Zelicientius added, "Can we know Him?" Theagenes replied, "Would that God would give to you such understanding as to know Him." Possidonius continued, "And if we recognise Him for who He is, can we desert our king and cross to Him?" Theagenes said, "You can. For there is nothing which stops you from deserting the darkness and that temporary confidence you have in him who is not a king, from joining the living God who is the King of Ages, serving Him as I, and living forever."

3. The tribune Zelicientius, seized with fury, began to grind his teeth. He told the legion to bring him by night to the assembly-ground. He ordered four stakes to be erected there, and that he be stretched out and beaten with clubs. When the eight centurions had changed, Zelicientius spoke to him, "Serve, Theagenes." Theagenes replied in a loud voice, "I serve the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God who will come to judge the living and the dead, and there is no king, leader or man of authority who can escape Him."

4. The tribune again ordered that he be beaten. When he was being beaten, he prayed the psalms, and his face became happier and more joyous. When the eighteen centurions had changed the clubs with which his flesh was being beaten — for they were being broken into

pieces like chaff — he actually took more strength, rejoicing and proclaiming, “Blessed be God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and blessed be Jesus Christ His Son, maker of heaven and earth, hell also, and the visible and invisible, guide and ruler, who has found me worthy to suffer these things in His name and become a colleague of the holy martyrs.”

5. When he was still speaking, the tribune, the *praepositus* and the whole legion thought that he was asking to be released, and Zelicentius asked, “What are you saying? Are you willing to serve?” However, Theagenes, Christ’s athlete, replied, “I have already told you, and now I tell you again, I am a Christian and serve the King of Kings, and I cannot therefore desert the Lord my king and cross to eternal punishment and death. They are nothing, these tortures which you think to inflict upon me.” Zelicentius said, “Do you not feel your punishment, then?” Theagenes replied, “I suffer no punishment, nor can you do anything to me. You have power over the flesh only; torture that as you will. Bring on bigger clubs even, and call stronger workmen. Do whatever you please, you cannot turn me from my King.”

6. When he had said these things, the tribune ordered him to be led into the city. Now, it was the ninth hour almost, and he stretched him out publicly in the forum. He was stretched to four columns. Passing by the *optio* of the legion saw him and said, “Where is your God, the King whom you serve? Why has He not freed you from this punishment?” Theagenes answered him, “I have told you already that I do not feel this punishment. For Jesus Christ, my Lord and my King, stands in my sight, and He alleviates the torture of this savage punishment. You do not see Him because you are blind in the eyes of your soul.” The *optio* replied to him, “If I had the right of execution, I would cut you into pieces now, and give you to the dogs.” Theagenes said to him, “You are able to do these things to me now, but there will come a time, not long from now, when your limbs and those of your tribune will be cast into the wilderness and burned by the sun. Your flesh, and that of all your families who do not believe in my Lord the Crucified King, will be devoured by the beasts. There will be tribulation, sorrow and great ruin for all of you who are seen to serve in the army.”

7. When Theagenes had said these things, the tribune ordered him to be thrown into prison, and stretched on the rack as far as the fourth

inch. He sealed the door of the prison, and left him there to die of hunger. However, Theagenes was nourished by the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the Lord appeared to him that very night, and said, "Be comforted, Theagenes, for I will be with you. Do not accept food and drink from all these. Everlasting life will be yours in heaven with me." When the Lord had departed, Theagenes began to sing psalms and rejoice. Moreover, there was a great crowd responding to him. Accordingly, the prison-guards heard the voice of Theagenes and those responding to him. They rose and ran to the door of the prison. They found the door closed, the seal intact, and heard the sound of those singing psalms with Theagenes.

8. Then the tribune made the soldiers stand around about the prison armed with shield and weapons. He opened it and went in, thinking that there were Christians within with Theagenes. But when he went in he saw no-one except Theagenes, who was singing psalms while stretched out on the rack, and great dread immediately seized him. Moreover, great fear seized in a similar manner also the crowd of soldiers who had accompanied him, and they closed up the entrance and left. Indeed, the tribune ordered a little bread and some water to be given to Theagenes. But in accordance with Scripture, "The just man lives on faith," or as the Lord himself said, "I am the bread which comes down from Heaven," and since he was being fed by the Lord, Theagenes refused to accept anything, and replied, "My Lord and King feeds me."

9. When it was light, the tribune reported to the King all the things that Theagenes had done, and that he was refusing to serve in the army. The King wrote that he should be thrown into the sea. When he heard the Tyrant's command, Theagenes praised almighty God and the Lord Jesus Christ saying, "I bless you, Lord, because you have not deserted me your servant." So on the 4 January he was thrown into the sea. He had spent 40 days in jail without food or water, and he went rejoicing and exulting to the eternal life to which God had called him, and his whole body was like he was on the way back from the baths or from lunch.

10. When they had reached the place from which he was to be thrown into the sea, Theagenes asked the sailors and soldiers to give him time to pray. When he had prayed for three hours continuously, the sailors and soldiers began to be afraid. He swore and said to them, "Do what you have been ordered, and, returning to the city, believe

in the Lord, that you may have eternal life.” When he had said these things, they threw him into the sea.

11. When they returned to the city, they reported all the things which they had seen the holy martyr Theagenes do, and they believed in the Lord. In addition, a second group also from the same Legion took faith in the Lord. Furthermore, 40 days later the King ordered the legs of Zelicentius and the other officers to be broken at the twelfth milestone from the city, in addition to which even the legion was slaughtered when it went to war.

12. Three days after Theagenes had been thrown into the sea, the brothers Euticus, Eustochius, Zoticus, Germanus and other brothers recovered him secretly from the sea. And when they had clothed him, they placed him in a casket, carried him through the night and deposited him outside the walls of the city at the villa of a certain Adamantius, a man of faith. Many healings occur in that place now. For the possessed are cleansed, the feverish are cured, and many other wonders occur there.

13. Accordingly, we have written this to the churches of God so that, when these things are read, others may be strengthened by the example of the blessed martyr. Pay attention, you brothers who are in charge of the churches of God, since I, Euticus, a humble servant of God, have written these things by the revelation of Jesus Christ. So if anyone who is in charge of the churches of God is negligent with the result that these things are not read, he will receive judgement both now and in the next world. Moreover, when you read or hear these things, pray for me and for those brothers who have laboured for the holy martyr. The blessed martyr Theagenes died on 3 January in the forum at Hellepontus. Amen.

III. BHL 8107

1. Many martyrs have conquered the devil and all his contrivances in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ who has crowned them, among whom He deigned to number the most blessed martyr Theagenes who mocked and conquered the Adversary as follows. For in the time of the most pagan tyrant Licinius he was seized in Phrygia, since he was the son of a bishop, and delivered to the legion which is called the *Second Trajan*, to the tribune Zilicentius and the *praepositus* Possidonius, which legion was stationed in Cyzicus, which is the metropolis of Hellepontus, and he was forced to serve by the tri-

bune Zilicentius and the *praepositus* Possidonius. However, this most faithful soldier of the True God, filled with the Holy Spirit, resolutely declared in the midst of the Legion, "I am a Christian, and I serve my King who is the King of Kings: serving Him, I cannot serve another." The tribune Zilicentius said, "Accept the cloak and belt instead, and all the fine weapons, and serve the great Emperor Licinius." Theogenes said, "I have already told you, I serve my King; I cannot serve another." The tribune said, "Does the Emperor Licinius not satisfy you?" Theogenes said, "I do not recognise him, I am a Christian, and it does not befit me to serve the world which I have rejected: neither can I deny that the King whom I serve is eternal." The tribune said, "Behold all these soldiers who are standing present, they are Christians, and yet they serve." Theogenes said, "Each one knows in what way he serves, yet I recognise the King whom I serve."

2. The tribune said, "Are the gods not of the spirit, while you are of the flesh?" Theogenes said, "I do not accept that there are gods except the one almighty God through His Son Jesus Christ." The *praepositus* Possidonius said, "So your God has a Son?" Theogenes replied, "He has a Son born of the Word of His Truth." The tribune said, "Can we know Him?" Theogenes said, "If God gives you the understanding to recognise Him, you will see Him." The *praepositus* Possidonius said, "And if we recognise Him, can we leave our king, and go to Him?" Theogenes replied, "If you want, there is nothing to stop you: besides, if you leave the darkness of this world, and the dignities and honours which you have for a time, and go to the living God, and eternal King, and serve Him, in the same way that I do, you will live for life eternal."

3. The tribune Zilicentius, raging like a lion and grinding his teeth at him, ordered the whole legion to proceed by night to the plain outside the city: and when they had reached the plain at daybreak, he ordered four stakes to be fixed, and most blessed Theogenes to be stretched out there. And when he had been stretched out between the four stakes, he ordered him to be beaten with the toughest rough-wood clubs until the eight centurions were exhausted. Then the tribune said, "Do you serve, or not?" Theogenes said, "I serve the King of Kings, my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who will come to judge the living and the dead. There will be no king upon the earth then, nor emperor, who will escape Him or the day of His judgement."

4. As he said this, the tribune ordered him to be beaten a second

time again for continuing his nonsense. Being beaten, the most blessed Theogenes sang a hymn to God, and his face exulted in joy and great happiness. Furthermore, when the eighteen centurions were being changed, and all the clubs had been broken like chaff, with greater courage of heart, he gave thanks to God and sang, "Blessed are you God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, You who have deemed me worthy to reach this day, and have led me Your servant to this happiness; and blessed is Jesus Christ, Your Son, king of heaven and earth, of the sea and the underworld, and of all things visible and invisible. I praise and glorify You, Lord God, who have deemed me worthy to suffer for Your name and to become a colleague of the holy martyrs."

5. As he said this, the tribune and *praepositus* thought that he was asking them to release him, and said to him, "So, you are willing to serve?" The servant of God Theogenes replied in a louder voice, saying "I have said to you before, and I say it now, that I am a Christian and serve the King of Kings, and that I cannot be a deserter from my Lord and King; furthermore, in your willingness to force me by these punishments, you are readying eternal punishments for yourselves. But these which you think are punishments for me are nothing." The tribune said to him, "If you have felt nothing so far as a result of the punishments, those which follow will be greater." Theogenes replied, "I do not suffer these, nor feel them: and you can do nothing to me, nor can you darken my spirit strengthened in the Lord Jesus Christ by means of these punishments. You have power over my body alone: torture that just as you wish, but you will not be able to separate me from my King. Bring forward bigger clubs, and set stronger labourers upon me: but those whom you have are weak, and can do nothing to me."

6. When he had said these things, he ordered him to be led into the city. It was about the ninth hour, and he stretched him out publicly in the city. Now, the legion's *optio* passed by there, and seeing him said, "Where is your God and the King whom you serve? Why does He not free you from these punishments?" Blessed Theogenes replied, "I have both told you earlier and tell you now, that I do not deserve these punishments in the judgement of my King: that my King and God is my protector, and frees me from these punishments. But you do not see Him since you are blind of mind and eyes." The *optio* answered him, "If I had the power, I would have you cut to pieces by the sword and would throw you to the dogs." Blessed Theogenes

said, "You can do nothing to me, but the days will come after a short time when both your legs and those of your tribune will be broken, and your bodies will be consumed by the beasts and the birds, and all of you who do not believe in my King will perish. For even your king himself will be slain after a short time by those pursuing him, and there will be great tribulation for you who serve him."

7. When Theogenes had said such things, the tribune ordered him to be thrown into prison, and to be stretched on the rack, and fastened down by four nails, and he himself sealed the prison, and left him to die there from tortures and hunger. However, Theogenes was fed there by the Holy Spirit. The Lord appeared to him that very night, saying "Recover your strength, Theogenes, for I am with you. Do not accept food or drink from all these. For there is life everlasting for you in heaven." And saying these things, He left him. As the Lord left, he began to sing psalms, rejoicing because of the Lord's promise: and there were angels there singing in response like a large crowd. Then the guards ran to the door of the prison, and saw the door closed and the seal intact, and looking within, they saw a great crowd in white vestments singing psalms and saying, "Glory be to almighty God." Afraid, they reported this to the tribune.

8. Rising immediately, he ran to the door, and checked that the chain was in place and the seal intact: but he also heard a great noise of people singing psalms with Theogenes. Accordingly, he made a crowd of soldiers armed with shields stand in front of the prison, and hurriedly opening the prison, he went in, thinking that there were Christians with Theogenes. Yet when he entered, he saw no-one inside except [Theogenes] stretched out on the rack and singing psalms. Great fear then seized the tribune and the whole crowd of soldiers with him; and they closed the door, and went away from there. Then, repenting of such action, the tribune ordered bread and water to be given to him. But Theogenes refused to accept in accordance with the Lord's command which he had heard earlier, saying "My King feeds me, and I receive His daily bread."

9. And when it was morning, [the tribune] sent a report to his king Licinius, telling everything which he had done to Theogenes in his refusal to serve. Licinius wrote back that he was to be thrown into the sea, and that his body was not to be collected. Receiving the message, the tribune ordered him to be thrown into the sea. Then the blessed servant of God Theogenes, worthy of such a sentence, walked

rejoicing to the eternal life to which God called him. And his face and whole body shone, as if he had been led from the bath and not from prison and was off to a great delight: and leaving the prison, he was placed on a ship, and they led him to the place where they wanted to cast him into the sea.

10. He now called the soldiers and sailors together, asking them to give him a period to pray. And standing towards the East, with his hands raised, the blessed servant of God prayed for almost three hours: and behold, there appeared there a light by whose brightness the eyes of the sailors and soldiers were blinded, so that they would not see the crowd of angels. They only heard the voices speaking to Theogenes, and the sailors were so terrified with fear that they refused to throw him into the sea. However, he adjured them, saying "Do what you have been ordered, and returning to the city, believe in God that you may have eternal life." When he had said this, they threw him into the sea.

11. Returning to the city, the sailors reported what they had seen, and believed in Christ, as did their sons, and many others from among the people, on that day, and some from the legion itself. Furthermore, after sixty days there was a great battle against Licinius: there, whoever from that very legion did not believe in God, fell by the sword. Angered at this occurrence, the Emperor Licinius ordered the same tribune and the *optio* of this very legion to be led to the twelfth milestone from the city, and their legs to be broken there as an example for the other legions, just as the most blessed martyr had predicted.

12. Now, after the most blessed martyr had been thrown into the sea, faithful brothers arrived, Eutyches, Eustathius, Zoticus, and many others from among the brothers, and collected his body from the shore; they themselves were both faithful and God-fearing, and they placed his body in a casket, and they carried it off by night, and buried it outside the walls of the city in the cellar at the villa of Adamantius, a most faithful man. Great wonders now occur at this place, and the sicknesses of all are cured, by whatever illness they are gripped.

13. All these things were written to all the churches of God, at Nicomedia, Bithynia, Heraclea, Cyzicus, in order that the passion of the holy martyr may be reported to all peoples, and that brothers may be strengthened in the faith of the Lord. His feastday is celebrated on 3 January, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.

NOTES

¹I refer to all hagiographical texts by their listings either in F. Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* [BHG] (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 8: Brussels, 1957), or in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* [BHL] (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 6: Brussels, 1898-99). For BHG 2416 see the commentary and edition by P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "La Passio S. Theagenis," in his *Note agiografiche* 4 (*Studi e Testi* 24: Vatican, 1912) 161-85. BHL 8107, together with a short commentary, is available in the *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum* [AASS], January t. I, 133-35, and BHL 8106 in *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883) 206-10.

²I shall continue to refer to the author as "Euticus" because it is impossible to distinguish whether the original Greek name should be restored as either "Eutychiuss" (Εὐτύχιος) or "Eutyches" (Εὐτύχης).

³See S. Bradbury, *Severus of Minorca: Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* (Oxford, 1996). Similarly, it is a letter which preserves the passion of the Donatist martyrs Maximian and Isaac. Normally attributed to bishop Macrobius, the letter addresses both "brothers" and "sisters," so more than Macrobius' fellow bishops. See M. Tilley, *Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (Translated Texts for Historians 24: Liverpool 1996) 63-75.

⁴In general, see E.D. Hunt, "The Traffic in Relics: Some Late Roman Evidence", in S. Hackel, *The Byzantine Saint (Studies Supplementary to Sobornost* 5: London, 1981) 171-80.

⁵*Vita S. Parthenii* 15 in PG 114.1365.

⁶See the Syriac text, with a parallel Greek translation and relevant commentary, in J. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne (eds.), *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in AASS, November t. II, 1st part (Brussels, 1894) l-lxix.

⁷The *Syriac Breviary* records the commemoration of Macedonius, Pampuros, Antigonos, Iovinus, Victorinus and Tatianus on 19 July. The coincidences between these names and those of a group — Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatianus — who were killed by Amachius, the governor of Phrygia, during the reign of Julian (Socrates, *HE* 3.15; Sozomen, *HE* 5.11), identifies the former as victims of Julian's reign. The fact that the *Syriac Breviary* commemorates the memory of Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (31 May) and that of a priest named Arius (6 June) who seems identifiable as the infamous heretic Arius of Alexandria suggests that the original Greek martyrology of which it was a translation had been composed to serve the Arian church at Nicomedia. So while it is understandable that it should omit the names of those victims of Julian's persecution whom the Arians regarded as heretics, it is difficult to explain why it should omit that of Artemius, the *magister equitum per Orientem* and former *dux Aegypti*, the persecutor of the orthodox church in Egypt, whose rank ought to have ensured that news of his execution at Antioch on 20 October 362 would have quickly spread throughout the whole of the East. On Artemius, see S.N.C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (eds.), *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views. A Source History* (London, 1996) 210-62; also D. Woods, "The Final Commission of Artemius the Former *Dux Aegypti*," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 (1999) forthcoming. So the death of Artemius on 20 October 362 provides a *terminus antequam* for the Greek original of the *Syriac Breviary*.

⁸ See H. Delehaye, *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad recensionem H. Quentin* in AASS, November t. II, 2nd part (Brussels, 1931) 23-24, where he restores the relevant notice as follows: "In Helisponto civitate Par(io) [quae est] Cyzici prima, Theogenis pueri Christiani filii episcopi, qui sub Licinio inter tirones comprehensus, cum nollet militare, caesus ad mortem, carceri mancipatus, missus in ceppo est donec relatione esset responsum; demersoque in mare, delato corpore eius in litore, a religiosissimis viris depositum est in villa Amanti religiosi viri, ubi fiunt orationes magnae."

⁹ BHG 2416, ch. 13: αὐτὸ τοῦτου οὖν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς παροικοῦσαις Νικομήδειαν καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ καὶ ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐγράφαιμεν. BHL 8107, ch. 13: *Haec omnia scripta sunt per omnes ecclesias Dei in Nicomedia, Bithynia, Heraclea, Cyzico.*

¹⁰ He seems to have named it after his son Honorius, born on 9 September 384, although Libanius provides the earliest reference to its formation in a speech composed in 387 (*Or.* 19.62). In general, see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor II. The Rise of the Church* (Oxford, 1993) 158-63.

¹¹ Franchi de' Cavalieri, *La passio S. Theogenis*, 165, dismisses the problem.

¹² Sozomen, *HE* 5.15.

¹³ E.g. Julian stripped Constantia (formerly Maiuma) of its status as a city and made it dependent upon neighbouring Gaza once more in order to punish its predominantly Christian population for their faith (Sozomen, *HE* 5.3). He also deprived Caesarea in Cappadocia of its status as a city, and forced it to revert to its ancient title of Mazaka, because its inhabitants dared to destroy the last remaining temple in the city during his reign (Sozomen, *HE* 5.4). This must mean that he appointed another city as the civil metropolis of Cappadocia, but his measures seem to have been reversed under Valens. Again, Theodosius I stripped Antioch of its metropolitan status in favour of neighbouring Laodicea for a short period in 387 as a result of the so-called riot of the statues (John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 17.2; Libanius, *Or.* 20.6; Theodoret, *HE* 5.19).

¹⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus 26.8.7-11.

¹⁵ Sozomen, *HE* 5.15.

¹⁶ Socrates, *HE* 4.8. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 31.1.4-5.

¹⁷ Socrates, *HE* 2.38.

¹⁸ Socrates, *HE* 2.42.

¹⁹ Socrates, *HE* 4.7.

²⁰ Socrates, *HE* 5.8. In general, see R.M. Errington, "Church and State in the First Years of Theodosius I," *Chiron* 27 (1997) 20-72.

²¹ See R.M. Errington, "Christian Accounts of the Religious Legislation of Theodosius I," *Klio* 79 (1997) 398-443, esp. 440-41 on the problems faced by the proconsul of Asia Aulonius as he tried to implement Theodosius' new policy.

²² Socrates, *HE* 5.8.

²³ Bishop Sisinnius of Constantinople ordained one of his priests, Proclus, as bishop of Cyzicus in 427, but he was unable to take up his see because the people of Cyzicus elected the ascetic Dalmatius as their new bishop before his arrival (Socrates, *HE* 7.28). Socrates refers here to an otherwise unknown law which apparently forbade the people of Cyzicus to choose a bishop without the permission of the bishop of Constantinople, but which the people of Cyzicus claimed to have been a privilege limited to bishop Atticus of Constantinople (406-25) personally. Its existence suggests that Atticus had

chosen at least one bishop of Cyzicus, but the identities of the bishops between Eleusius and Dalmatius remain unknown.

²⁴ Sozomen, *HE* 4.27, says of it in 360 that it had a strong following in Constantinople, Bithynia, Thrace, Hellespontus and the neighbouring regions.

²⁵ Socrates, *HE* 2.45, 4.4.

²⁶ Socrates, *HE* 2.38, 45.

²⁷ Socrates, *HE* 3.25.

²⁸ Sozomen, *HE* 6.7.

²⁹ There were some Macedonians in Constantinople during the latter years of Theodosius' reign when they seem to have been riven by internal disputes (Socrates, *HE* 5.24).

³⁰ Socrates, *HE* 7.31.

³¹ Socrates, *HE* 4.12.

³² Matt. 4:2; Mk 1:13; Lk 4:2.

³³ H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 20: Brussels, 1933) 148. The names of Theagenes' persecutors appear in A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris (eds.), *A Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I: AD 260-395* (Cambridge, 1971), Posidonius at 717, Zelicinthius at 990, but see the remarks by T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass. 1981) 175-91.

³⁴ J.C. Mann, "The Raising of New Legions during the Principate," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 483-89.

³⁵ B. Isaac and I. Roll, "Legio II Traiana in Judaea," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 33 (1979) 149-56.

³⁶ *Not. Dig.*, Or. 28.19; Or. 31.34. P. Beatty, *Panop.* 2 attests the division of the *legio II Traiana* between Apollonopolis, Tentyra and Ptolemais at least, as early as 300 even. See A.K. Bowman, "The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Diocletian," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978) 25-38.

³⁷ On the mistaken modern attribution of the African martyr Marcellus to the *legio II Traiana*, see B. de Gaiffier, "S. Marcel de Tangier ou de Léon? évolution d'une légende", *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1943) 116-39 at 125-27.

³⁸ In general, see M.P. Speidel, "Legionaries from Asia Minor," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* [ANRW] 2.7.2 (Berlin, 1980) 730-46 at 738. Nor should one forget Sulpicius Severus' anecdote concerning the young man of good family from Asia who had come into contact with monasticism while serving against the Blemmyes in Egypt (*Dial.* 1.22). Perhaps one of those involved in the discovery of Theagenes' burial-site had enjoyed similar service in Egypt.

³⁹ Zosimus, *HN* 4.30. The Egyptian troops met the Gothic troops sent to Egypt as their replacements in Philadelphia in the province of Lydia, so the next stage of their journey had to take them through Hellespontus.

⁴⁰ Trans. by J. Stevenson (ed.), *A New Eusebius: Documents illustrating the history of the Church to AD 337* (London, 1987) 371.

⁴¹ E.g. see J.-M. Hornus, *It Is Not Lawful For Me To Fight: early Christian attitudes towards war, violence, and the state* (Scottsdale, 1980) 171; L.J. Swift, *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service* (Message of the Fathers of the Church 19: Wilmington, 1983) 92.

⁴² *Vita Constantini* 2.33. Trans. by E.C. Richardson, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene*

Fathers I (2nd series) (New York, 1890) 508.

⁴³ *Suda* s.v. Αὐθέντιος.

⁴⁴ Sozomen, *HE* 4.16.

⁴⁵ See P. Karlin-Hayter, "Passio of the XL Martyrs of Sebasteia. The Greek Tradition: The Earliest Account (BHG 1201)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 109 (1991), 249-309, at 273-4.

⁴⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *Ep.* 263; Socrates, *HE* 2.45, 4.12.

⁴⁷ Sozomen, *HE* 9.2.

⁴⁸ Theodoret, *HE* 1.19.

⁴⁹ The primary texts relating to the cult of St. Theodore, whose feastday falls on 9 November, have been collected at AASS, November t. IV, 11-89. For the later cult of St. Theodore, see also C. Mango and I. Sevckenko, "Three Inscriptions of the Reigns of Anastasius I and Constantine V," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1972) 379-93; C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit (BHG 1764)," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 46 (1988) 191-210. The problem is further complicated by the strong similarities in parts between both the passions of St. Theodore and St. Theagenes and the highly reputed acts of the African martyr St. Maximilian of Theveste (BHL 5813). The interrogation of Maximilian by the proconsul Dion bears an uncanny resemblance to the interrogation of Theodore by his superiors Brincas and Posidonius, and of Theagenes by his superiors Zelicinthus and Posidonius (ch. 2). This has attracted far too little attention from those who praise the acts of St. Maximilian, even from those who do at least acknowledge the resemblance, e.g. E. Pucciarelli, *I cristiani e il servizio militare: testimonianze dei primi tre secoli*, (Florence, 1987) 311-13. Worse, the majority of Roman historians seem unaware that there is a problem, e.g. B. Campbell, *The Roman Army, 31BC-AD337: A Sourcebook* (London, 1994) 12 and 237. In fact, there is a strong argument to be made that the acts of St. Maximilian are a late antique fiction drawing upon either the passion of St. Theodore or that of St. Theagenes, an argument which I hope to develop at length elsewhere.

⁵⁰ See AASS, November t. IV, 29-30. The author has misinterpreted a vague reference to a *numerus Marmaritarum* in the passion of St. Christopher (BHG 310), i.e. a reference to the historical *cohors III Valeria Marmaritarum* (Not. Dig., Or. 33.34), to refer to a legion rather than a cohort. See D. Woods, "St. Christopher, Bishop Peter of Attalia, and the *Cohors Marmaritarum*: A Fresh Examination," *Vigiliae Christianae* 48 (1994) 170-86.

⁵¹ See C. Zuckerman, "Cappadocian Fathers and the Goths," *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) 473-86 at 480. An English translation of this text by C. McCambly is available at <http://www.sp.uconn.edu/~salomon/nyssa/theodore.htm>.

⁵² See D. Woods, "The Origin of the Legend of Maurice and the Theban Legend," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994) 385-95.

⁵³ Eucherius, *Pass. Acaun.* 7.13-14 (BHL 5737 in CSEL 31, 165-73): *martyrium corpora post multos passionis annos sancto Theodoro eiusdem loci episcopo revelata traduntur*. An English translation is available at <http://www.ucc.ie/milmar/Maurice.html>.

⁵⁴ In contrast, the passion of Sergius and Bacchus, for example, ends by noting that fifteen bishops gathered to translate the relics of Sergius from their original burial place to a new basilica near Resafa (BHG 1624, ch. 30). See a translation in J. Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness: Same-sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (New York 1994) 375-90. Similarly, Eucherius records that Theodorus had built a basilica for the relics of the

Theban legion (*Pass. Acaun.* 7-8).

⁵⁵ P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London, 1981) 6. In general, see H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (London, 1955) (a translation by D. Attwater of the 4th edition of the original French text of 1905) 119-69.

⁵⁶ On Pausanias, see J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge, 1995) 125-55.

⁵⁷ Pausanias 6.11.2-9. Trans. by J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece I* (London, 1913) 298-99.

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae* 15d-e; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 31.95-99; Lucian, *Concilium Deorum* 12, *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* 35; Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 14; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 5.34.9-15.

⁵⁹ See J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I: de la fondation de la cité à 196 avant J.-C.* (Études Thasiennes 3: Paris, 1954) 62-106; idem, "Théogénès de Thasos ... Quarante Ans Après," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 118 (1994) 199-206.

⁶⁰ The relevant inscriptions have been collected in P. Fritsch (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Parion* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 25: Bonn, 1983). This includes a reference to St. Theagenes at p. 78 where he is mistakenly identified as the bishop of Parium.

⁶¹ Eusebius, *HE* 7.18. Trans. by G.A. Williamson, *Eusebius: The History of the Church* (Harmondsworth, 1965) 301-2.

⁶² Philostorgius, *HE* 7.3. Trans. by E. Walford, *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen ... also the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius as Epitomized by Photius* (London, 1855) 475-76.

⁶³ E.g. see A.C. McGiffert, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers I* (2nd ser.), (New York, 1890) 304, n. 1; also R.J. Deferrari, *Eusebius Pamphili. Ecclesiastical History (Books 6-10)* (The Fathers of the Church 29: Washington, 1955) 119, n. 1.

⁶⁴ See G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres V-VIII*, (Sources Chrétiennes 41: Paris, 1955) 192, n. 1.

⁶⁵ See F. Scorza Barcellona, "Per una lettura della *Passio Typasii Veterani*," *Augustinianum* 35 (1995) 797-814.

⁶⁶ See P. Peeters, *Orient et Byzance. Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Subsidia Hagiographica 26: Brussels, 1950) 38-41.

⁶⁷ See D. Woods, "The Emperor Julian and the Passion of Sergius and Bacchus," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5 (1997) 335-67.

⁶⁸ E.g. Eusebius, *HE* 8.12.5, 13.4, 14.13; Lactantius, *DMP* 15.3; Ammianus Marcellinus 22.11.10: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 19.10.

⁶⁹ Basil, *Homil.* 327 (BHG 703) at PG 31.489-507.

⁷⁰ Basil does not name the "tyrant" during whose reign Gordius was killed, although most modern commentators accept that he was Licinius, e.g. P. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 20: Berkeley 1994) 186. An Armenian passion is the earliest surviving source specifically to name Licinius as such. See M. van Esbroek, "La passion arménienne de S. Gordius de Césarée," *Analecta Bollandiana* 94 (1976) 357-86 at 378.

⁷¹ Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, 173.

⁷² E.g. H. Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, in AASS,

Propylaeum Novembris (Brussels, 1902), col. 367.

⁷³ Trans. by R.O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 26: Case Western Reserve, 1971) 428.

⁷⁴ E.g. R.O. Fink, A.S. Hoey, W.F. Snyder, "The *Feriale Duranum*," *Yale Classical Studies* 7 (1940), 1-222, at 51; M. Meslin, *La fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain* (Collection Latomus 115: Brussels 1970) 31; J. Helgeland, "Roman Army Religion," *ANRW* 2.16.2 (1978), 1470-1505, at 1486.

⁷⁵ In general, see H. von Petrikovits, 'Sacramentum,' in B. Hartley and J. Wachter, *Rome and Her Northern Provinces* (Stroud, 1983) 179-99.

⁷⁶ *De Idololatria* 19.2. Trans. by J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. Van Winden, *Tertullianus. De Idololatria. Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 1: Leiden 1987) 63.

⁷⁷ Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* 2.5: "They swear by God, Christ and the Holy Spirit, and by the Majesty of the Emperor which second to God is to be loved and worshipped by the human race. For since the Emperor has received the name of the "August," faithful devotion should be given, unceasing homage paid to him as if to a present and corporeal deity. For it is God whom a private citizen or soldier serves, when he faithfully loves him who reigns by God's authority." Trans. by N.P. Milner, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Translated Texts for Historians 16: Liverpool, 1996) 35.

⁷⁸ E.g. κάμπος from *campus*, 'parade-ground' in ch. 3; κατήννα from *catena*, 'chain', and σκουτάριον from *scutum*, 'shield' in ch. 8; οὐγκία from *uncia*, 'ounce' or 'bit' in ch. 8.

⁷⁹ See W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army 284-1081* (Stanford, 1995) 87-91. It is particularly noteworthy that the author avoids describing anyone as a *ducenarius*, a rank mentioned in his main source, the passion of St. Theodore (*BHG* 1761, ch. 2), but which would not have occurred in the historical *legio II Traiana*.

⁸⁰ The passion of St. Panteleemon (*BHG* 1412z; *BHL* 6429), allegedly martyred at Nicomedia under Galerius Maximianus, records that his remains were buried just outside Nicomedia in a villa belonging to the *scholasticus* Adamantius. I see no reason why we should identify these two Adamantii as the one individual, nor why we should believe that the author of the passion of St. Theagenes borrowed this element from the passion of St. Panteleemon rather than vice versa.

⁸¹ See D. Woods, "Varus of Egypt: a fictitious military martyr," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 20 (1996) 175-200, 194, n. 50.

⁸² *BHG* 1761, ch. 9.

⁸³ Cf. e.g. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 5.3, 7.2-3; *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 1.13-15, 65.

⁸⁴ In general, see J. Percival, "Villas and Monasteries in Late Roman Gaul," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997) 1-21. On the development of monasticism in Asia, for which relatively little early evidence survives, see Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 109-21.

⁸⁵ E.g. Sozomen, *HE* 9.2; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 60; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 44.

⁸⁶ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 11.

⁸⁷ E.g. Basil, *Ep.* 116; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* 1.22, 2.11; *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 23.2; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 44, 68.

⁸⁸ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*; the acts of Dalmatius, whose feastday is 3 Au-

gust, in AASS, August t. I, 213-24.

⁸⁹ See A. Veilleux (ed.), *Pachomian Koinonia: The Life of St. Pachomius* (Cistercian Studies 45: Kalamazoo, 1980), 26-27, 300-01.

⁹⁰ *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 8.10-13; Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* 7.33.

⁹¹ Scorza Barcellona, "Per una lettura della Passio Typasii Veterani," 801-03.

⁹² 1 Tim. 6:15; Deut. 10:17.

⁹³ See P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Come andavano vestiti ed armati i *milites* dell' *apparitio*," in his *Note agiografiche* 7 (Studi e Testi 49: Vatican 1928), 203-38 at 219-20.

⁹⁴ Ps. 81:6.

⁹⁵ Tim. 4:1; 1 Pet. 4:5.

⁹⁶ Rom. 2:6.

⁹⁷ Phil. 2:10.

⁹⁸ Ps. 117:6.

⁹⁹ Sap. 3:1-2.

¹⁰⁰ Ps. 41:4, 11.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Eusebius, *HE* 8.10.8. For a fifth point also, see Eusebius, *HE* 5.1.27; idem, *Mart. Pal.* 2.4.

¹⁰² Hab. 2:4; Gal. 3:11; Rom. 1:14.

¹⁰³ John 6:41.

¹⁰⁴ Although Constantine was reputed to have abolished the breaking of legs as a punishment (Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 41), in 354, for example, Gallus Caesar ordered the legs of two of his victims to be broken at their villa twenty-four miles outside Antioch before their final execution (Ammianus Marcellinus 14.9.8). So it is likely that our author is drawing here upon his knowledge of a form of punishment which continued in his day still.

¹⁰⁵ Of the two manuscripts which Franchi de' Cavalieri used to produce his edition of this text, *Patmiacus* 273 of the 11th century (P) and *Taurinensis* 116 of the 16th century (T), only P retained the story concerning the circulation of the passion to these other churches. So he relegated this material to his *apparatus criticus* in favor of the simpler ending in T. Yet similar material occurs in both *BHL* 8106 and *BHL* 8107. Hence I feel justified in restoring this story to the text proper and treating it as an important element of the passion present from its first composition.

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given that the "eternal" implies the context of "*theologia*" and the "shining forth" the context of "*oikonomia*." In fact it denotes the eternal possibility that the Son has to supply or send the Spirit in time, a possibility which is actually rooted in the eternal manner of communion of the divine Persons and is expressed by the second above-mentioned expression. The key to this exposition is the principle that the meaning of terms is determined by their context, i.e. by the way they are related to other expressions or terms.

There is a lot more to this book than what I have tried to summarize in this review. There are convincing arguments based on a careful examination of numerous original texts. Fr. Sabbatos, who has been newly appointed Lecturer of Patristics at the Faculty of Theology of Athens University, has demonstrated through his lucid erudition the coherence and continuity of the earlier and the later (Byzantine) patristic tradition. He has also shown that Eastern Orthodox theology did try to come up with solutions to the problem created by the Western addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed. The later Byzantine patristic doctrine contains new elements, which may help decisively the contemporary theological dialogue between the Eastern and Western Christian Traditions.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

Thomas E. FitzGerald, *The Orthodox Church, Denominations in America* 7, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995) xiii+240 pp. \$65.00. Paperback student edition. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1998) xiii+165 pp. \$18.95.

On February 8, 1922, Meletios, the former Metropolitan of Athens, delivered his enthronement speech as newly elected Patriarch of Constantinople. Reflecting upon the condition of Orthodox Christianity in America, the new Patriarch stated: I saw the largest and the best of the Orthodox Church in the diaspora, and I understood how exalted the name of Orthodoxy could be, especially in the great country of the United States of America, if more than two million Orthodox people there were united into one Church organization, an American Orthodox Church. Meletios knew well the situation of the Greek Orthodox communities in America. As Metropolitan of Athens, he had led a delegation from the Church of Greece to America in 1918 to organize the disparate Greek communities. Within three months of his enthronement as Ecumenical Patriarch he had placed the newly

established Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America under the Church of Constantinople.

Patriarch Meletios' statement concerning the Orthodox diaspora in America reflects both a sense of hope for a united Orthodox witness and an acknowledgment of the separate Orthodox jurisdictions that constituted Orthodoxy in the New World. Fr. Thomas FitzGerald's monograph, *The Orthodox Church*, is written with these two realities in mind. In undertaking the challenge of writing a synthetic history of Orthodox Christianity in America, Fr. FitzGerald has successfully portrayed the independent and self-governing nature of Orthodox ecclesiastical life. Yet this recognition does not suggest separation or isolation. Rather, FitzGerald highlights the numerous points of contact between the various Orthodox Churches in America throughout this century. These two realities, those of independence and cooperation, are dominant themes in Fr. FitzGerald's assessment of Orthodoxy in America.

The Orthodox Church is the seventh volume in the series *Denominations in America*. Previous volumes of the series have included studies on Unitarians, Baptists, Quakers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics. Fr. FitzGerald is well-positioned as a spokesperson for Orthodoxy in America. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the history of the Orthodox Churches in America. Further, he has taught courses on Orthodoxy in America at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, MA. His prior training, evaluative mind as an historian and his pastoral, educational and ecumenical activities within the Orthodox Church serves him well for the task at hand.

FitzGerald takes the reader on a well-guided historical tour of Orthodoxy in America. His geographical parameters are Alaska and the forty-eight contiguous States. He focuses on those Orthodox Churches which are related to the autocephalous Orthodox Churches with the notable exception of the Russian Synod Abroad. Missing from the discussion are the Oriental Orthodox and Old Calendar Churches and other jurisdictions calling themselves Orthodox but which remain outside the communion of canonical Orthodoxy. Beginning with a concisely written and informative introductory chapter on the Orthodox Church (Chapter 1), FitzGerald opens the story of Orthodoxy in America with the arrival of the Russian Orthodox mission on Kodiak Island in 1794 (Chapter 2). It is unfortunate that

FitzGerald begins here, since by doing so he continues to perpetuate the myth that this date marks the beginning of Orthodoxy in America. Through the work of Lydia Black and especially S.A. Mousalimas, it has been shown that Orthodox Christianity was introduced onto North American soil by merchants and fur traders as many as four generations prior to the organized ecclesiastical mission of 1794. FitzGerald passively recognizes this, noting that "[a] valuable foundation for the work of the missionaries had been laid by some of the more pious explorers and merchants..." (p. 16). However, more than a foundation had been laid. Not only did lay-baptisms occur prior to the arrival of missionaries in 1794 (and continued into the nineteenth century as the journal of St. Innocent reflects) but actual parish organizations existed on the islands of Atka and Unalaska.

From its beginnings in Alaska, the story of Orthodoxy in America moves to the continental United States where the focus shifts from directed missionary activity to immigration (Chapter 3). Of particular interest is the reception of nearly 250,000 Carpatho-Russian immigrants into the Orthodox Church. These immigrants and their priests were Eastern-Rite Roman Catholics and followed the Orthodox practice of married clergy. For this and other reasons, they were rejected by local Roman Catholic priests and bishops. FitzGerald estimates that perhaps as many as two thirds of the parishes belonging to the Russian Diocese in America in 1916 were parishes of former Eastern Catholics.

Fr. FitzGerald next discusses (Chapter 4) early diocesan developments noting that by 1933 at least twelve separate Orthodox jurisdictions existed in the United States. Here FitzGerald describes the creation of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, the tragic events that led to the creation of four Russian Orthodox jurisdictions, and the establishment of separate jurisdictional structures by Albanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian and Syrian immigrants. Following these developments, FitzGerald discusses (Chapter 5) the several attempts at jurisdictional cooperation made during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s. Chapter Six focuses on those jurisdictions whose mother Churches were under Communist governments and the effect that the Sovietization of the Balkans had upon the fortunes of Orthodoxy in America. Chapter Seven deals with the transformation of Orthodoxy in America from a fundamentally immigrant Church to a more indigenous one made up

of persons born and educated in America.

FitzGerald is at his best in discussing the various undertakings made towards greater administrative unity among Orthodox jurisdictions (especially SCOBA) and in his handling of the issue of the granting of autocephaly to the Metropolia (OCA) by the Patriarchate of Moscow (Chapters 8 and 9). However, in dealing with such a significant event as the creation of the OCA, FitzGerald offers no motives or reasons for Moscow's unilateral decision to grant autocephaly. The final chapter brings the reader to the events of the early 1990s and closes with a reflection on the contribution Orthodoxy is making on the American and international scene.

The historical account of Orthodoxy in America constitutes the first part of the book. Part Two contains a bibliographic dictionary of Orthodox leaders ranging from St. Herman of Alaska in the late eighteenth century to Fr. Alkiviadis Calivas of the second half of the twentieth century. This biographical dictionary identifies individuals who have made or are making major contributions to Orthodoxy in America. Each entry lists the dates, education and significant ecclesiastical milestones and contributions of the individual. This information is followed by a usually brief note on the individual.

Additionally, three useful appendices are included: a chronology of the most important events in the short life-span of Orthodox Christianity in America, a table of autocephalous and autonomous Orthodox Churches, and a list of the members of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in America (SCOBA). Finally, FitzGerald provides a helpful bibliographic essay on books and articles on Orthodox Christianity and on Orthodoxy in America in particular. The latter is most useful for it brings together the various scattered works regarding this topic under one heading.

Fortunately, a paperback edition of *The Orthodox Church* has recently been published by Praeger Publishers. The only difference between this edition and the hardback edition is that the former does not contain the bibliographic dictionary found in Part Two of the hardback edition. The paperback edition is most welcome since it makes the book available to a wider readership.

The Orthodox Church is a most-welcome and necessary monograph. It is the first serious attempt at producing a readable, reliable, scholarly and comprehensive account of Orthodox Christianity in America. One particularly commendable feature is that when the name

of a bishop or hierarch appears for the first time in the text it is immediately followed by the individual's last name in parenthesis thus avoiding the usual confusion that comes when one tries to identify hierarchs. FitzGerald did not base his work on extensive archival research and this fact makes the work less valuable for those interested in a more scholarly assessment of Orthodoxy. Nor can the work be considered a social history. Rather, its purpose is to present and interpret the main historical developments and movements of Orthodoxy in America. This, indeed is the great value of the work; it makes the history of Orthodoxy in America accessible to all readers. Fr. FitzGerald should be applauded for his work – a work which deserves to be on the shelf of every Orthodox parish library in the United States and in the homes of those interested in Orthodoxy in America.

Dr. James C. Skedros

Michael J. Buckley, *Papal Primacy and the Episcopate*, New York: The Crossroads Publishing company, 1988, pp. 95, \$12.95.

With the fall of communism in the Slavic countries, the demise of the Ottoman empire a transformation of the Western national states, the roles of patriarchal leadership in the Church hierarchical communion is challenged to adapt itself in the context of a eucharistic fellowship in service to the Christian mission to the modern world. Such internal issues as the appointment aps, transfer of bishops and corporate episcopal decision making, in both East and West, have taken on forms that are not totally consistent with the patristic Church.

This short volume deals with some of these issues in the context of the Western patriarchs Pope John Paul calls for advice as to how to reform his office to better serve the unity of the church in his 1995 encyclical *Ur Unum Sint*. The author, a Jesuit teaching at Boston College faced the core of the book as a paper presented at the 1995 conference in Rome on the *prima Peter*.

The future of the Roman patriarchate can only be discerned in the context not only of its ecumenical role among the churches and the internal working of institutional Catholicism. It must take account the common journey among the patriarchal churches of the East from which its has been separated for a millennium. It is only with full participation of all of the apostolic churches that a common future can be discerned for the Church.

The author develops his perspectives in eight chapters, focusing

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The Renowned Yakut Apostle: Archpriest Grigorii Sleptsov

TATIANA KLADOVIKOVA

The appearance of the Russian population during the development of Yakutia occasioned the arrival of the secular and regular clergy. In detachments of the first explorers, there were always church books, icons and priests (who were sometimes fugitives) to perform church services and occasional religious rites. According to some available facts, ecclesiastics from Kazan were sent to the Lensk stockaded town, founded in 1632 by Peter Beketov, a *sotnik* (lieutenant of cossacks) of Krasnoyarsk. In June 1641, the first *voevodes* (commanders of armies, governors of provinces in ancient Russia) Peter Golovin and Matyei Glebov arrived in the Yakutsk stockaded town with a "whole church mission" consisting of two regular priests (Simeon and Porfirii), two secular priests (Stefan Yakovlev and Stepan Formin), and a deacon, "with all necessary utensils for public worship, taken from Moscow, Ustyug, Tobol'sk," because "it would never do to have no priests on the Lena and to let public servants die without repentance and communion." Besides, they had received orders to christen inhabitants who wanted to adopt Orthodoxy "through their own will." In the 1660s, the Spasski Monastery was founded in Yakutsk from the initiative of public servants.

The clergy were not numerous during the seventeenth century however. Things changed subsequently. When the mass conversion of natives to Christianity began and the struggle for the strengthening of the new faith among the newly-made Orthodox Christians intensified, it became necessary to train new ecclesiastics, missionaries, out of the inhabitants, especially Yakuts and Russians who knew the Yakut language.

For this purpose, as early as 1706, the new Siberian Metropolitan Filaret Leshchinski appealed to Peter I "to build a specialized school wherever useful", in Irkutsk, Yeniseisk, Yakutsk and other towns, "to gather children of any rank and to teach them reading and writing so that they could not only instruct Christians but also call unfaithful people to the Christian faith; to give the *voevodes* a deed and to pay out wages of teachers from the state treasury." The first ecclesiastical school in Eastern Siberia, for twenty-five pupils, attached to the Irkutsk Monastery of the Ascension, was opened only in 1726, however. Such schools also appeared in other places during the later 1720s and the 1730s.

In 1732, the Yakutsk *voevodes*' office received a decree from the Irkutsk provincial office, dated 19 September of that year, to open a "*voevodes* school" and to "gather converts, to teach them the Russian language, reading and writing." It was also recommended to appoint "literate sextons and sacristans" as teachers. In 1734, the Irkutsk diocesan authorities charged Nafanail, an archimandrite of the Yakutsk Spasski Monastery, with the responsibility of organizing the teaching of "priests' and junior deacons' children," aged from seven to eighteen years old, the skills of reading Slavonic and writing.

A primary ecclesiastical school attached to the Spasski Monastery was opened in 1735 by order of the bishop of Irkutsk Innokentii II (Nerunovich). It accepted ten boys, aged from seven to fifteen years old, including six Yakut children, into the school in the first year. The school had to prepare children for the native priesthood and converts for missionary activity. The first missionaries were trained in the school, although it worked with interruptions and was closed in 1747.

The most well known of them was the renowned preacher Archpriest Grigorii (in the world, Grigorii Sleptsov), who "travelled all over the Yakut land from end to end." He had been born in Yakutsk in the family of Aleksei Sleptsov, a sexton of the Trinity Cathedral church. Grigorii with his brother Mikhail Sleptsov, who became a priest in Kolimsk, attended the school attached to the monastery. He served as archpriest of the Yakutsk Church of the Mother of God. In 1799, Grigorii appealed to the Holy Synod to let him have a field church [an antimins used for missionary journeys — ed.], "to spread the faith among the native heathens." And the Synod gave permission. During 1800-1805, Grigorii reportedly baptized as many as

12,431 people, including 6248 men and 6183 women, in the Megino-Kanglask region.

In 1805, he departed with his field church from Yakutsk “for the unsubdued land of the Chukchi to have them yield to the Greek-Russian Church.” Grigorii spent five years in the Verhoyansk and Kolimsk regions on his way, and “almost one and all [of the natives] were made Christians.” He often became godfather himself and gave his own surname to converts (this is why the surname Sleptsov is one of the most widely-spread surnames in Yakutia, especially in the northern regions). One of the secrets of his success was that Grigorii knew not only the Yakut language very well, but also the Yakut traditions, customs and way of life.

He spent three years in the land of the Chukchi. He built a chapel in the stronghold of Anyuisk, and baptized Chukchi, Evenks and Yukaghirs. There is evidence that Grigorii “called more than half of the Chukchi to Jesus Christ,” although he did not know the Chukchi language. The ministry was very hard there. So, during a sermon, some Chukchi men, bribed their wealthy fellow-countrymen and dressed in deer skins and wolf hats, threw themselves on Grigorii, trying to stab him with spears to make a sacrifice of him to the Spirits of the Earth. A leading man, one of the first of the christened Chukchi, rescued the preacher.

The archpriest Grigorii left Chukotka at the end of the year 1812. On the way back, he spent two years in the Kolimsk and Verhoyansk regions. He died in 1817 in Yakutsk in the garments of the celibate hieromonk of the Spasski Monastery. Historians of the missions of Yakutia consider that “he travelled almost all of the Yakut land with the Cross in his hand and baptized up to seventy-thousand people.” He has therefore been called “the renowned Yakut apostle.” Right Reverend Dionysii, the first bishop of the Yakutsk and Vilyuisk referred to him as “the enlightener of all Yakuts”.

After his death, his brother Mikhail Sleptsov, a priest of the Zashiversk Church of Our Saviour, continued with the converting of the native inhabitants of the Verhoyansk and Kolimsk regions to Christianity.

SOURCES

1. E.S. Shishigin, 1991, *Rasprostranenie Khristianstva v Yakutii*, Yakutsk State

Museum of the History and Culture of the Peoples of Siberia, Yakutsk, 1991. [Editor's comment — The quotations in this report derive from this source and have been selected and translated by the student author.]

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The Spiritual Legacy of Innocent Veniaminov: Reflections on the Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven

REV. DR. JOHN CHRYSSAVGIS

The life and work of Archbishop Innocent Veniaminov, né John Popov (1798-1879), is broad and varied: a poor Russian peasant boy who became Archbishop of Moscow; an enthusiastic and untiring missionary who remained a devoted husband and father; a man with scientific interests, who at the same time cultivated the soil of the heart. In his person, not only did the Church find one of its greatest missionaries, but the missions too found their greatest ecclesiastical, financial, and even political recognition.

However, this Bishop of Kamchatka, the Kurile and Aleutian Islands was also the author of a small treatise on the spiritual life, entitled *Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven*. This work was written for use in the missions, and was originally composed while Innocent was still a priest — in the (Unangan: Fox Island dialect of the) Aleut language during his ministry on the islands. Since its publication in St. Petersburg in 1841, it has been translated into numerous European (especially Russian and German) as well as other missionary languages.¹

MISSION AS LOCAL AND AS GLOBAL

A mere glance at the contents of the *Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven* is sufficient to reveal the primary emphasis of this small treatise on the spiritual life as being the Cross.² Yet in almost everything that Archbishop Innocent writes, it is the light of the Resurrection and the glory of the kingdom that provide the inspira-

tion and background. The central focus of his life and work is at all times the kingdom of heaven, which is simultaneously already “at hand” and still “to come.” The opening words of the *Indication* are:³

People were not created merely to live here on earth like animals that disappear after their death, but to live with God and in God, and to live not for a hundred or a thousand years, but to live eternally.

The good news of the kingdom is that the light of the Resurrection shines for all people to the ends of the earth. In describing in the first part of his treatise “the blessings that Jesus Christ has granted us,” Veniaminov writes:⁴

By His resurrection Jesus Christ destroyed the gates of hell and opened to us the gates of Paradise which had been closed for everyone by Adam’s disobedience; and He conquered and crushed the power of the devil and death, our enemies. So now those who die in faith and hope, believing and trusting in Jesus Christ, through death pass from vain, rotten and temporal life into a life that is bright, incorruptible and unending; while for the conquest of the devil and for driving him away we have the cross and prayer.

So it appears that, for Innocent Veniaminov, the distance between “the temple of the heart” and “the ends of the earth” is not very great. He is convinced that the darkness within must, first, be overcome if the light of Christ is to pervade the world at large:⁵

Why [something] is built as it is and not otherwise, or why it is there and not in another place, and so on — all this is not your business. Your business is to surrender yourself to the will of the Master of the house, and with hope (trust) in His help and with love for Him in your heart to go to Him and follow Him, and to go as He orders.

This may be the reason why, from beginning to end, the *Indication* makes no direct or explicit reference whatsoever to the missionary imperative that determined the life of its author.⁶ While his journals and more historical accounts may differ on this point, the *Indication* was composed purely for the purposes of edification (lit., for “building people up”) and education (lit., for “leading people out”). It is clear that Veniaminov is fully aware of the spiritual order of things, which moves *from the local to the universal*: first, the light shines in the particular, in the local setting; and, then, the leap to the universal is effected by the Holy Spirit. The initial requirement is ascetic disci-

pline — which is the essential message of the *Indication*; but the consequence is a matter of mystery — it is the divine work of the Holy Spirit. The latter reflects the paschal dimension of the spiritual life. Indeed, a focal point of attraction and attention in Orthodox missions has always been the Easter midnight Vigil, when the flame is received from “the light that knows no setting” and is transmitted to all people. The universal is, therefore, interconnected with the eschatological, which is revealed in the liturgical. Anything that looks to itself alone, anything that remains closed, is condemned to destruction and tantamount to spiritual death. The liturgy broadens the horizons of our limited vision, because it occurs “in all and for all.”⁷ Mission is no less than an extended liturgy in space and time. One of Veniaminov’s first tasks was to construct a church building.

In the words of Veniaminov: “True Christianity is never and nowhere a hindrance, but on the contrary is everywhere and for everything beneficial.”⁸ This mystery is professed each time that the Orthodox cross themselves during the article of their Symbol of Faith: “In one holy, catholic, and apostolic church.”⁹ North and south, east and west are deeply united in one song that offers glory and thanks to the Lord of heaven and earth. The underlying theological principle here is that this world has been created by a loving God, and that all of its inhabitants are His children: “From one blood He made all nations to inhabit the whole earth, and He allotted the ... boundaries of the places where they would live” (Acts 17:26).

This emphasis on the universal love of God is an important feature also of the *Indication*: “Jesus Christ is true God, the almighty Creator of the whole universe, the powerful Lord of all creatures, the awful Judge of the living and the dead.”¹⁰ Any other attitude would reflect an arrogant discrimination against both God and the world.

Adaptation, therefore, is not a luxurious concept for some, but becomes a condition and command for all; quite simply because “God created the heavens and the earth” (Gen. 1:1), and because “God emptied Himself” (Phil. 2:7), “becoming flesh” (John 1:14). The criteria are grounded in Scripture, indeed in St. Paul:

To the Jews I became as a Jew.... To those under the law I became as one under the law.... To those outside the law I became as one outside the law.... To the weak I became weak. I have become all things to all people ... for the sake of the gospel. (1 Cor. 9:20-3)

However, there is yet another theological factor that is implied here. Veniaminov was convinced that the Aleuts possessed profound moral qualities and natural virtues. And in this respect, he is firmly rooted also in the tradition of the Eastern Church Fathers who regard the divine Word as a seed (cf. Luke 8:5-11) that is disseminated and shared throughout the world to all people, irrespective of colour and creed. Over the centuries, the Greek Fathers have variously developed a doctrine of God as intrinsic within creation and as innate to humanity. The classic expression of this teaching was articulated by Justin Martyr (c.100-c.165) who claimed that God was implanted (*emphytos*) in created nature.¹¹ Whether reference in the tradition is made to “seed” (*sperma*) as in Justin, or to “powers” (*dynameis*) as in Basil the Great (c.329-379),¹² to “dispensations” (*oikonomiai*) as in John Chrysostom (c.347-407),¹³ or else to “reasons” (*logoi*) as in Maximus the Confessor (c.580-662)¹⁴ or again to “energies” (*energeiai*) as in Gregory Palamas (1296-1359)¹⁵ — the implication always is that there is something clearly positive, a hopeful ray of light in all peoples and in every part of the world.

Very much a part of this tradition, Veniaminov describes the vocation of Christians to listen attentively to the voice of God: “The voice of God who speaks clearly, distinctly and intelligibly can be heard everywhere and in everything, only you need to have ears to hear.”¹⁶

This attitude may be contrasted with the general outlook in the West of Tertullian (c.160-225)¹⁷ and Augustine of Hippo (354-430)¹⁸ who propounded the theory that the very nature of humankind was corrupted by sin. Even if there was some “sense” or “instinct” of sacredness in heathens, it was granted to them not for their salvation but as condemnation.¹⁹

Evangelism is neither naïve relativism, nor mere enculturation. Nor again is it some form of colonialism. The purpose of mission is never some kind of worldly conquest. Again Innocent reminds his readers:²⁰

We are strangers on earth, pilgrims and travellers; our home and fatherland are there in heaven, in the heavenly kingdom.... Let a man own the whole world and all that is in the world, yet all that will not interest him for more than a minute, so to speak, and it will never satisfy his heart.

The result of authentic mission is not simply the recognition of certain points of correspondence, but in fact the creation of some-

thing new. For not only is the local broadened to visualize the global, but *the universal becomes most local*. The reason for this is very simple for Veniaminov:²¹

... for a righteous man whose heart is filled with the consolations of the Holy Spirit, wherever he may be, everywhere will be Paradise because *the Kingdom of Heaven is within us* (Luke 17: 21).

According, then, to the mind-set of the Christian East and of Veniaminov himself, the Gospel is appropriated in a unique way by the local culture which is not only informed by the Gospel but in turn also forms its own identity. It is no wonder that mission leads indigenous peoples to acquire a national, particular identity within the Orthodox Church. Veniaminov himself enthusiastically studied every aspect of the traditional culture and the natural environment of the local Aleut peoples.

The passage quoted above, from the Book of Acts, continues: "He allotted the ... boundaries of the places where they live, so that they would search for God and perhaps grope for Him and find Him though indeed He is not far from each one of us" (Acts 17:27).

SALVATION OF THE SOUL AND OF THE SOIL

Reference to the divine Word as a "seed" provides further insight into to relevance of missionary spirituality for the environment. When we are transformed by the liturgy into a living and authentic image of the kingdom, we also learn to express thanks for — and on behalf of — the entire created cosmos.

In this manner, salvation is not perceived in any individualistic sense of justification from guilt, but as the dynamic reconciliation and return of all to God: "so that God may be all in all" (I Cor. 15:28). This means that mission too is not concerned with humanity alone, but with the whole natural world; nor can it ever be addressed to humanity in abstract or in general, but to each person in his/her environment, and time, and space. Thus Veniaminov was genuinely interested in observing the weather, tides, flora and fauna of the region where he lived.

The "seed," then, needs to be sown everywhere. According to the life of Clement of Ohrid (d. 916), this apostle to the Bulgars and disciple of the earlier missionaries Cyril (826-869) and Methodius (c.815-885) came prepared with much more than simply doctrine,

spirituality, and liturgy. In his travels from Byzantium to Bulgaria, he took more than the spiritual treasures, cultural tradition, and political legacy of the imperial city. We learn that he brought seeds and plants in order to cultivate — not so much the people, as — the ground; we are told that he even grafted many trees in that country.²² What was in fact exported from the Mother Church and expected in the missionary field was the entire “world” of the Eastern Empire. This cosmic sense of expectation echoes the words of St. Paul:

For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God ... in the hope that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and will obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God. (Rom. 8:19-21)

The consequence of this attitude is that nature may not be seen as an enemy to be either conquered or else controlled — as countless missions of the eighteenth century indeed regarded it; the Gospel message liberates people from any fear of the environment. Nor is nature to be understood as merely useful or perhaps attractive for the purpose of consumption; it is beautiful and even essential, revealing the whole world as mystical, and not just magical. Veniaminov is clear about the cosmic, or the “environmental” consequences of sin. As a scientist himself, he was convinced of the impact of “the fall of Adam” on even the temperatures that we experience:²³

The very elements, that is the air, fire, etc., which had previously served Adam and ministered to his pleasure, then became hostile to him. From that time Adam and all his descendants began to feel hunger, heat and the effects of change of winds and weather. Wild animals became savage, and began to look upon people as their enemies and as prey.

When we look upon creation only for the satisfaction of our own selfish desire, then we are no longer respecting it but worshiping it (cf. Col. 3:5, Eph. 5:5, and I Cor. 8:4). Then we have failed to distinguish between Creator and creation. In the words, once again, of St. Paul: “[we] have exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever” (Rom. 1:25). In this way, creation is degraded from an icon to an idol. For, just as the liturgy reveals the iconic function of the earthly Church, so too creation reveals the iconic dimension of the material world. From the very first church constructed by Fr. John

Veniaminov, it was a local self-taught Aleut, Vasilii Kriukov, who painted original icons.

One of the arguments of the eighth and ninth century iconoclasts was that there cannot be a genuine image of Christ in this world because then every other image would be false: Which is the authentic one? (they asked). The one made by the Romans, or the one painted by the Indians, or again the one created by the Greeks or the Egyptians?

For Photius the Great (c.820-c.891), this question in itself is evidence of the universal existence and acceptance of icons. However, Photius responds with a more theological argument, claiming that there can never be only one authentic icon. Whether it is a matter of painted images (theology in colour) or of written symbols (images in words), none of these may be *identified* with God, and still less are they able to *substitute* for God. It is, as Photius declares, “the elevation of the honour to the prototype that is the primary purpose of iconography.” And he continues:

Just as we share the same human nature [as heathens] and have in common with them an intellect, and a reason, and a body-soul relationship, and so on, we also share with them a perception of God, even though many significant aspects of this perception may in fact differ.

This is how he is able to refer to heathen idols as “respectable objects of worship” (*sevasmata*). Perhaps also this is the deeper spiritual justification of the naive pious enthusiasm of those who have supported missions through the centuries by sending icons to the lands of mission. From 1870, when the Roman Catholic Church was formalizing its channels of receiving divine truth, the Missionary Society established by Veniaminov in Moscow was preparing icons as one of its major tasks in the mission to discern the truth throughout the world.

A theology of the icons in missionary ministry implies a perception of everything and everyone in Christ, of “Christ as all in all” (Col. 3:1 1). It is an invitation to missionaries, and all Christians, to see the face of Christ throughout the world, from pre-Christian times to the end of time “when we shall see Him as He is” (1 John 3:2).

THE SOUND OF SILENCE

There is much that Innocent Veniaminov said, and still more that

he achieved. However, there are certain things that were neither always spoken nor always seen, which must have shaped his life and work. In this concluding section, I would like to suggest three such arguments from the silence of the sources and of his own tradition. They are intended to present a more intimate picture of this great man.

The sources of Veniaminov's life, and indeed his own writings, have very little to say about his father who died in or about August of 1803 when Innocent/John, who was his eldest son, was still very young. We know his name — Eusebius [Evsevii]; we know that he was poor — working as a sacristan in his village church; and we know that he was pious — the parish records state that "Eusebius Popov, having confessed his sins, received Holy Communion, was anointed with oil, and died at the age of forty." Yet one of the most striking details about his life is hardly discussed at any length, and sometimes it is even omitted. We are told that he was disabled, an "invalid," unable to work, spending most of his adult life in bed.²⁴

Innocent's most inspiring words on suffering may well have been informed, to a great degree, by his own early experience of internal and external crosses.²⁵ I am not sure that I agree with the criticism that is rather sweepingly levelled against Innocent Veniaminov, that his *Indication* "echoes much Westernized legalism, especially in its emphasis on Christ's suffering and agony, not characteristic of traditional Orthodox piety."²⁶ Instead, I would discern "echoes" of Pauline theology, as well as of Veniaminov's own experience. Even if "the section on interior crosses originated from a book banned by ecclesiastical censors as inconsistent with Orthodox doctrine,"²⁷ there is perhaps much more to be questioned about the "banning" rather than the "borrowing."

The gospel message became, for Veniaminov, a declaration of life and healing addressed to all peoples of the earth, with a view to liberating those who were oppressed. He interprets the command to take up one's cross in various and practical ways taken from daily life:²⁸

[Perhaps] some misfortune has happened, for example, either you are ill yourself, or your wife, or children, or with all your activity and untiring labours you are suffering from want and poverty, and are so hard up that you do not know how to make both ends meet.... Bear it all with love, with joy and firmness.... Blessed, a hundred times blessed is the person to whom the Lord grants to bear [interior] crosses, be-

cause they are the true healing of the soul, the sure and the safe way of becoming like Jesus Christ.

So we must remember the pain inside this great man, as well as his search for what he calls “the great cure.”²⁹

A second detail that is scarcely mentioned in the sources is the death of Innocent’s wife, Catherine, on 25 November, 1839.³⁰ We hear about his subsequent election and elevation to Bishop, and about Innocent’s care for his children after Catherine’s death. However, his breadth of vision and charity cannot be understood outside his relationship with his wife. Indeed, even his concern for his seven children is not unrelated to his compassion for the children of all the Earth.³¹ His children reaped the benefits of their father’s reputation: we learn that they were either ordained, or tonsured, or else married into clerical families, although his eldest son — the fourth child, also named Innocent — started in seminary and ended in jail. These words are by no means intended to portray a picture of Innocent as a model father; contemporary attitudes to parenthood would probably note the absence of sufficient “quality time” with his children — the result of his extended missionary journeys. They are simply a reminder that Innocent’s exposure to married and family life could not have left his character and thought untouched. Only the loving father of seven children could recognize a similar compassion in God.³²

Do not despair and do not be afraid; but with full submission and surrender to Him, have patience and pray. For He is always our Father, and a very loving Father.

His struggle to lead a married life under difficult circumstances, as well as his endeavour to hold together his family were the driving force behind his prayer “for the unity of all” and “for the peace of the whole world.”³³ and so we must also remember the woman behind this man.

Finally, in a letter to his daughter Polyxenia,³⁴ Innocent wrote:³⁵

I cannot teach you the monastic life, for I have never been a “normal” monk myself. I don’t know by experience what it means ... and only one who is experienced can trust such things.

However, Innocent’s monastic ethos, prior to his actual monastic tonsure, surely determined his life and thought.³⁶ The *Indication* was finished by 1834 — five years before the death of Catherine, and six

years before his acceptance of monastic vows. According to the Orthodox ascetic tradition, the monk assumes all the pain and mourning of the old Adam, of the whole Adam. For Innocent, the Christian — and here he is expanding the notion of monasticism to embrace the life that every baptized member of the Church is called to do — is obliged to follow Christ:³⁷

For whom did Jesus Christ suffer? For all sinners, from Adam till the end of the world.... [The] duty of the disciple of Jesus Christ is to follow Him. To follow Jesus Christ means to imitate in all our works and acts the works and acts of Jesus Christ. Just as Jesus Christ lived and acted on Earth, so we should also live and act.... Jesus Christ loved everyone, and did every kind of good to all. So we too should love our neighbours and, as far as possible, do good to them either by deed, or word, or thought.

The emphasis in the *Indication* is on repentance, on discipline, and on prayer. The monk is a pilgrim on this Earth (cf. I Peter 1:1 and 2:1), belonging to another world (11 Cor. 5:6-7). As a monk, Innocent became a prophetic witness to the kingdom; and as a missionary, he was rooted in this world and avoided the inherent temptation of escapism.

CONCLUSION

Veniaminov's struggle was ultimately against evil, in himself and in the world, and this became the source of his joy. For this missionary, monastic, and hierarch, the search for this joy signified much more than just spiritual progress; its effects were at once outward-looking and far-reaching:³⁸

And so, train and accustom yourself.... Then it will be easier for you to be both an industrious member of society, and a good friend, and a good housekeeper [lit. employer], and a good citizen, and a good Christian.

NOTES

¹ Veniaminov's assistant in the work of translation was the Aleut leader Ivan Pan'kov, whose name appears on the title pages of Veniaminov's writings. For this paper, I have consulted two English translations and one Greek edition. Cf. the translation published by Eastern Orthodox Foundation [henceforth EOF] (Indiana, PA: n.d., 48 pages); also

the translation (by Paul Garrett) in Michael Oleksa (ed.), *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality* [henceforth Oleksa], Paulist Press, New York, 1987, pp. 80-119. The first Greek translation by Alexandros Pangelos appeared in Odessa in 1843 and was reprinted in Volos in 1949.

² See esp. Part III.

³ EOF, p. 3; Oleksa, p. 80.

⁴ EOF, pp. 7-8; Oleksa, pp. 83-4. [Emphasis is in the original]

⁵ EOF, p. 18; Oleksa, p. 93. Also see EOF, p. 21; Oleksa, p. 95.

⁶ The prologues to certain translations do refer to the successful missionary ministry of Innocent, but many of the editions (e.g., that of EOF.) do not. Innocent himself makes no such allusion.

⁷ From the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: "kata panta kai dia panta".

⁸ EOF, p. 30; Oleksa, p. 102.

⁹ Cf. EOF, p. 34; Oleksa, p. 106.

¹⁰ EOF, p. 14; Oleksa, p. 89. See also EOF, p. 11; Oleksa, p. 87.

¹¹ Cf. Justin, 11 *Apology* vi, 3. Also see S. A. Mousalimas, "Contrasting theological outlooks on ancient Kodiak culture", in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34,4 (1989) pp.365-78. Particularly helpful in the preparation of this paper was the doctoral dissertation of S.A. Mousalimas, *The Transition from Shamanism to Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska*, Oxford University, 1992 (published initially by Berghahn Books, Oxford, 1995, 254 pages); revised edition titled *From Mask to Icon: Transformation in the Arctic* (published by Holy Cross Orthodox Press, in print).

¹² *Epistle* 234.

¹³ *On the Incomprehensibility of God* 1, 280-281.

¹⁴ *Ambigua* PG 91:1081,1085, and 1329.

¹⁵ *Triads* III, ii, 5-15.

¹⁶ EOF, p. 36; Oleksa, pp. 107-8. [Emphasis in the original]

¹⁷ *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* 34.

¹⁸ *Enchiridion* 23, 92; and *Letter to Laurentius* 214, 3.

¹⁹ Cf. John Calvin (1509-64), *Institutes* 1, iii, 1.

²⁰ EOF, p.4; Oleksa, p. 81. See also EOF, p.31; Oleksa, pp.103-4.

²¹ EOF, p.29; Oleksa, p.101.

²² Cf. Theophylaktos of Bulgaria, *Life of Saint Clement*, chapter 68, in A. Milev (ed.), *Grăckite Zitiia na Kliment Ohridski* (Sofia, 1966) p.134.

²³ EOF p. 7; Oleksa, p. 83. See also EOF, p. 6; Oleksa, p. 82.

²⁴ Cf. the fleeting references in Paul Garrett, *St. Innocent: Apostle to America*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1979, p.18. Also see Michael Oleksa, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, p. 341.

²⁵ EOF, pp. 19-24; Oleksa, pp. 93-7.

²⁶ See Oleksa, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, p. 58.

²⁷ *Ibid.* While it is true that Veniaminov read and reread (at least three times since 1828) two major theological works entitled *Khristianskaia Filosofia* (*Christian Philosophy*) in five volumes and *Tainstvo Kresta* (*The Mystery of the Cross*), even admitting that he borrowed from these (cf. his journals: March 1833, Library of Congress: Innokentii, *Bumegi*, F410-F411; also available in an English translation published by University of Alaska Press, 1995), he does not refer to any specific details of authorship and publication. A note on the margin, barely readable and unsigned, indicates:

"Forbidden book. Ought to be confiscated. Refer to edicts of the Holy Synod for 1825." The ink of the notation differs from Veniaminov's notes in the journal, and possibly belongs to the dean of the clergy or to some other ecclesiastical superior. (I am grateful to Prof. Lydia T. Black of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks for this clarification.)

²⁸ EOF, p. 19 and p. 24; Oleksa, p. 93 and p. 97. And, of course, "all carry their crosses, all have to suffer. To carry the cross is not the portion or lot only of Christians. No! Both the Christian and the non-Christian, the believer and the unbeliever carry the cross." (cf. EOF, p. 27; Oleksa, p. 100).

²⁹ EOF, p. 36; Oleksa, p. 108.

³⁰ Cf. Garrett, *St. Innocent*, p. 132f., Oleksa, p. 356. See also Michael Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1992, p. 137.

³¹ An exceptional account of the Veniaminov children may be found in Garrett, pp. 209-23.

³² EOF, p. 23; Oleksa, p. 96. See also Jordanville, p. 37; Oleksa, p. 108.

³³ Petitions chanted by the Deacon in the Great Litany of the Orthodox Divine Liturgy.

³⁴ Her secular name, before monastic tonsure, was Paraskovia, affectionately known as Pasha or Pashenka.

³⁵ Cf. Garrett, *St. Innocent*, p. 222.

³⁶ Cf. his teaching on unceasing prayer (EOF, p. 39; Oleksa, p. 110), on fasting physically and spiritually (EOF, p. 40; Oleksa, p. 111), on godly passion (EOF, p. 3; Oleksa, p. 80), and so on.

³⁷ EOF, pp. 12 and 24-5; Oleksa, pp. 88 and 98. [Emphasis in the original.]

³⁸ EOF, p. 48; Oleksa, p. 118-9.

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I will not point out the originality of Professor Gones' work, because it is self-evident. I wish to underline only certain points which show the value of the present study.

1) This is the first time that such an extensive study on a Bulgarian Orthodox Saint appears in the Greek bibliography.

2) This study reveals that the interest of the Greeks in Saint John was diachronic, since it began in the 12th Century and has continued unabated to the present.

3) This study supplies answers to a multitude of heretofore-scientific problems and prepares the ground for the edition of all the relevant Greek texts into one *corpus*, so that the Greek reader can be acquainted with a Great Saint of Bulgarian Orthodoxy.

4) This study brings into public light important elements of the life and activity of persons who directly or indirectly dealt with Saint John, such as the Hieromonk Damascenos Riliotes (pp. 59-69), the Monk Iakovos Neascetiotes (pp. 93-95), the former Metropolitan Gregory of Adrianople (pp. 95-99), the Hieromonk Neophytos Riliotes (pp. 74-75, 118-122) and the literary figure Alexander Moraitides (pp. 135-153). We knew nothing of some of these figures until this publication.

5) Finally, this study indicates in a most conspicuous manner that the Saints of the Orthodox peoples and, in this particular case, Saint John of Rila, bring down the walls which the various ethnic upsurges erected and unite the Orthodox peoples. This was made most evident in the case of the Bulgarian St. John of Rila, who was embraced by the Greeks.

I will close with wishing a speedy publication of the second volume, which will comprise all of the hymno-hagiological Greek texts concerning Saint John, as well as a modern Greek translation of the various texts of our Byzantine ancestors George Skylitzes and Demetrios Kantakouzenos, as Prof. Gones informs us in his Prologue (p. 10). In this way the contribution of our colleague will be complete and the texts will become available to our Orthodox faithful for research and praise of God's grace.

Prof. Spyridon Dem. Kontogiannes
(Translated by Fr. G. D. Dragas)

Archimandrite Chrysostomos Sabbatos, *The Theological Terminology and Questioning of the Pneumatology of Gregory II the Cypriot*

(*Ἡ θεολογικὴ ὁρολογία καὶ προβληματικὴ τῆς Πνευματολογίας Γρηγορίου Β' τοῦ Κυπρίου*), Ekdosis "Epektasi," Katerini 1997, 255p.

1. This carefully written and profound book represents the author's successful doctoral dissertation presented to the Theological Department of the School of Theology of the University of Athens, Greece. It consists of an Introduction, two main Chapters, and Conclusions and Bibliography. The purpose of the dissertation, as the author points out in his Prologue, is "*the study of the Pneumatology of Patriarch Gregory and especially its relation to the earlier Patristic Tradition, on the basis of a fresh and close examination, analysis, presentation and interpretation of it.*" In other words, the present work is "*hermeneutical and theological in character*" (pp. 7f). Indeed, the author attempts to interpret Patriarch Gregory's doctrine on the Holy Spirit, just as Gregory himself had done with the earlier doctrine, on the basis of his writings and in relation to the doctrine of his predecessors in the Church. In doing this the author adopts the Patriarch's hermeneutical presuppositions, and succeeds in his ultimate purpose, the elucidation of the problem of Pneumatology which in the past exercised the Church in East and West and continues to do so today as the contemporary inter-church theological dialogues indicate. Thus the final product is not only of interest to historians of doctrine but also to contemporary theologians as well. The richness and significance of the book warrants a closer examination of its contents which I have tried to summarize in the following paragraphs.

2. The Introduction (pp. 23-52) deals with the problem of Pneumatology as Patriarch Gregory understood it in the context of his own time as well as in that of the most important Byzantine authors from the 9th to the 13th century. There are actually four sub-units to this introductory chapter, which supply a wealth of well-documented information.

The first sub-unit (pp. 24-29) deals with the ideological orientations and the theological problems of the 12th and the 13th century, which are centered on the unionist and anti-unionist tendencies of those times.

The second sub-unit (pp. 29-35) pinpoints the unionist theology of Gregory which is centered on his treatise "*Concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit*" and "*the Tomos of the Synod of Vlachernai II*" (1285) and also the fierce opposition to it by both unionists (e.g.

Ioannes Bekkos, Contantine Meliteniotes, George Metochites, George Pachymeres, and Nicephoros Gregoras) and anti-unionists (e.g. Ioannes of Ephesus, Daniel of Cyzicus, Theoleptos of Philadelphia). Yet, as the author observes, Gregory's views were never rejected by the subsequent Orthodox theological tradition; rather, many Byzantine authors praised him for them, while the Palamite scholars of today have propounded a direct line of influence of these views on Gregory Palamas. Gregory Palamas, not only did not reject Patriarch Gregory's doctrine of the procession of the Spirit "*through the Son*," but also was prepared to accept his understanding of the formula "*and from the Son*" (*Filioque*) provided that the Father's monarchy was preserved.

The third sub-unit (pp. 35-41) of the introduction is a brief bibliographical survey of contemporary appraisals of Gregory's doctrine. These include: a) Jugie, Cordillo, Krumbacher, Beck, and Runciman, who acknowledge the newness of Gregory's constructive approach; b) Meyendorff and Clement, who agree with the former and see the Patriarch as the forerunner of Palamas in spite of Candal's critical questions; c) Patasci's criticism of the claim of newness and Sopko's defense of Gregory's originality; d) Staniloae's and Martin's positive contributions; e) the defenders of the Patriarch's traditional approach (Bobrinskoy, Papadakis, Orphanos, de Halleux, Christodoulou, Radovitsch and others); and f) Schultze's criticism (especially of Papadakis).

The fourth sub-unit (pp. 41-52) concentrates on the attempts that were made towards the solution of the problem of the *Filioque* up to the time of Patriarch Gregory. It begins with a brief statement of St. Photios' position and moves on to the first synodal discussions in Bari (1098) which involved Anselm of Canterbury, the "*Dialogues*" which were written on the subject during the 12th century (Nicetas of Nicomedeia, Anselm of Havelberg, Nicetas of Maroneia) as positive contributions to a solution, the Synod of Nymphaion (1234) which accepted the formula "*through the Son*" of Nicephoros Vlemmydes, the unionist policy of Michael VIII Palaiologos which revived Latin aggression and led to the Arsenian schism, the Synod of Lyons (1274) which was purely political and simply revived Anselm's views that had been defended at Bari, and the Synod of Vlachernai II (1285) which was purely theological and marks Patriarch Gregory's constructive contribution through its "*Tomos*."

3. Chapter I (pp. 52-135), the first main chapter of the book, deals with the presuppositions of the Pneumatological doctrine of Patriarch Gregory II. It starts with a preliminary epistemological presupposition, the distinction between "the sounds of the words" and "right perceptions," which goes back to Gregory the Theologian and Athanasius of Alexandria. Then the author elucidates through painstaking research of the original texts three fundamental theological presuppositions: i) the "relation and distinction between *theologia* and *oikonomia* as a basis for understanding inner Trinitarian life;" ii) the "precise meaning of the key terms of *ousia* and *hypostasis* in the context of the inner Trinitarian relations of the three divine Persons;" and iii) the "Monarchy of the Father" which characterizes and distinguishes Gregory's approach as compared to those of other Byzantine *latinophrones* and makes it an authentic extension of the Triadology of the earlier Greek Fathers.

This chapter is rich in references and full of important nuances that really advance more precise knowledge of the foundations of Greek Patristic Triadology as Patriarch Gregory understood and appropriated them. It also contains critical discussions, especially of controversial or questionable points advanced by other scholars who have expounded Gregory's doctrine. The most notables of these are the essays of Clement and Patasci, which are decisively opposed by the author. From this rich and detailed exposition we may mention some basic examples of the key nuances from each of the above mentioned presuppositions which the author advances in his exposition.

The discussion of the first presupposition (pp. 59-87) includes the following: a) the correlation of the pair of *theologia* and *oikonomia* with the pair of *hyparxis* (existence) and *phanerosis* (manifestation) and with the pair of *ousia* and *energeia* which respectively refer to the inner-triadic existence of the *hypostaseis* and the outer-triadic manifestation of their willful operation; b) The transcendence of the confusion of *theologia* and *oikonomia* by the clarification of the true meaning of the terms *Logos* and *Paracletos* which characterize the *enousios energeia* in the *oikonomia* which in turn is derived from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit and is revealed in the world as energy and power and not as *hypostasis* or person; c) The distinction between *physikos* and *ousiodos* and *demiourgikos* which specify the *how* (*to pos*) and the *what* (*to ti*) of the two operations "in God"

and "in creation," i.e. of "the operation of the *hypostaseis* on the basis of the *ousia*" (*theologia*) and "the operation of the divine energies on the basis of the *hypostaseis*."

The discussion of the second presupposition (pp. 88-106) includes the following: a) The understanding of *hypostasis* as the personal manner of existence of the divine *ousia* and not as an element of the existence of *ousia*, and the clarifications: i) that the union of the *hypostaseis* in the *ousia* does not make the *ousia* the cause of the *hypostaseis*; ii) that the distinction based on the *hypostatic idioms* does not incur division because it rests on the monarchy of the Father which is the basis of the Trinity; and iii) that the distinction between the *hypostaseis* and the *ousia* is real and no identification or confusion is possible. b) The *homoousion* is the basis and not the cause of the communion of the three divine persons, i.e. the divine persons are *homoousia* not as being the *ousia* of each other, but as being from the same *ousia* of the Father and as having the same *ousia*. c) The term *idion* does not refer here to the *ousia* but to the *hypostatic idioms*, and the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit indicate eternal relation and not *ousia* or energy. d) All these points lead to the following conclusions with regard to Pneumatology: i) that the eternal relation of the divine persons is not to be confused with the *hypostatic* procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father; ii) that this eternal relation constitutes the manner of life and existence of the Holy Spirit; and iii) that the eternal relation of the three divine persons is revealed in time by means of the divine energies.

The discussion of the third presupposition of Gregory's Pneumatology comprises the following nuances:

a) that the Father as person or *hypostasis* is the only origin, source and cause of the *hypostaseis* of the Son and the Spirit. The real force of this statement can only be understood when seeing as a negation of the view that the divine *ousia* (as distinct from the divine *hypostasis*) is the cause in the Trinity. The *ousia* is only "the content of the *hypostaseis*," without this implying that the Father's *hypostasis* exists apart from the Father's *ousia*, since there is no *anhypostatic ousia* nor an *anousios hypostasis*. It rather means that the Father's *hypostasis* is the only origin of the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession, which imply the *homoousion*. It is on this basis that Patriarch Gregory II opposed the doctrine of the Synod of Lyons II (1274), which identified the *logos physeos* with the *logos hypostaseos*, although

they ought to be kept distinct so that Sabellianism is excluded.

b) The Son's generation and the Spirit's procession are from the Father *ousiados* or from the Father's *ousia*, which implies the union of the divine *hypostaseis* in the person of the Father. The *ousia* is specified from the Father's person. The *hypostaseis* are distinguished through their relation to the Father and not to the divine *ousia*.

c) The *hypostasis* of the Father is not the cause, source and origin only in the economic manifestation of God. As a Person the Father eternally causes the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession, i.e. the consubstantial *hypostaseis*. But he is also the One from whom the Godhead determines the creation of the world and God's manifestation in time through the Son in the Spirit. Thus, as eternal originator of the Son and the Spirit, the Father is the only origin in the Godhead, but also in the world through the other two *hypostaseis*. The Father is the origin of both *theologia* and *oikonomia*.

4. Chapter II (pp. 137-228) deals specifically with "Gregory's theological terminology and the actual content of his Pneumatology," in three sub-sections: a) the expressions used in Gregory II's Pneumatology; b) the problems associated with the theological terms "procession" (*ekporeusis*), "having existence" (*hyparxin echein*) and "existing" (*hyparchein*) and c) the theological interpretation of the phrase "eternal shining forth through the Son" (*aidios di Hyiou eklampsis*) and the problem of the prepositions "from" (*ek*) and "through" (*dia*). Fr. Sabbatos prefixes these three sub-sections with some general observations and then proceeds to expound particular points. The general observations are as follows: i) Gregory II uses both terms and the content of the earlier patristic tradition; ii) his method transcends the antirrhetical and polemical arguments of his contemporaries; iii) he cites key texts from the Cappadocians, Athanasius the Great, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus the Confessor, John Damascene, and various authors after Photius without mentioning their names. The particular points stressed here are as follows: a) the confirmation of the Spirit's eternal relation to the Son and his *hypostatic* procession from the Father; b) the confirmation of the contemporaneity of the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession and the eternal "*shining forth of the Spirit through the Son*;" c) the connection of the eternal shining forth of the Spirit "through the Son" on the basis of the distinction between the created and the uncreated and of the unity of the divine energies.

The first sub-section (pp. 137-154) deals with the meaning of the phrases: a) "by nature God" and "*homoousios*," which denote the Spirit's Godhead and "the equality of his perfection" in comparison with the other two divine persons; b) "complementary" (*sympleromatikon*) and "perfect" (*teleion*), the former not implying any deficiency in the Father and the Son, but their synergy with the Spirit in time and their complementary relation in eternity, and the latter implying the perfection of each of the divine *hypostaseis* and their perfect relations.

The second sub-section (pp. 155-179) deals with the meaning of the term "procession." The new points introduced here are as follows: a) "procession of the Spirit through the Son" does not refer to the existence or *hypostasis* of the Spirit and b) "procession" and "shining forth" are understood not only as the mission and sending of the Spirit in time but also as the Spirit's eternal manifestation. Furthermore, this sub-section deals with the theological content of the terms "having existence" and "existing," phrases which Gregory II employs from earlier fathers, especially Cyril of Alexandria, to denote respectively the origin of the Spirit from the Father alone and the personal intra-Trinitarian relation of the Spirit with the other two divine persons which is expressed *ad extra* in time. Whenever this latter term is combined with the Son (i.e. "from" or "through" the Son) it refers to the *homoousion*. Also, this term ("existing") is distinct from the term "shining forth" (*ekphansis*) although it is synonymous with the term "to appear" (*phainein*, *pephenenai*, *pephenos*) and even with the term "procession" (*ekporeusis*). This is why Gregory II speaks of the Spirit's procession from the Father through the Son, not to denote the *hypostatic* procession of the Spirit but the eternal relation and communion of the two divine persons, especially the mediation of the Son, which is also manifested in the economy.

The third sub-section (pp. 180-228) clarifies Gregory II's celebrated phrase "eternal shining forth through the Son" (*aidios di Yiou eklampsis*) and the problem of the prepositions "from" and "through." The phrase under examination expresses the eternal relation of the *hypostaseis* of the Trinity and is designed to overcome the impasse of the *Filioque*. For Gregory II *eklampsis* = *ekphansis* = *phanerosis* = *apostole* = *pempsis* = *hyparxis*, i.e. that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and is conjoined to the Son, being of the same nature and essence (*homophyes* and *homoousion*). The author discusses exten-

sively the term “eternally” (*aidios*), which shows that in Gregory II’s perception, as in that of the Fathers before him, “time” does not enter the relation and manifestation of the Persons of the Trinity, and that the uncreated is distinguished from what is created. Another term used by Gregory II from Gregory of Nyssa is the adverb “adjoiningly” or “connectedly” (*prosechos*) and the adjective “adjoined with” or “connected with” (*proseches*), which combined with the prepositions “from” and “through” denote the natural relation of the Spirit to the Father and the manifestation of the Spirit to the world through the Son. Other relative phrases discussed by the author are: “to be known with the Son” (*meta tou Yiou gnoρίζesthai*) and “resting on the Son” (*en Yio anapauomenon*) which relate to the *homousion* and to the communion of the three divine Persons.

As for the prepositions “from” and “through” the author stresses that their signification is determined by the words which are conjoined with them. They denote the work of the Father and the Son and their relation to the Holy Spirit. They cannot be used to denote a double or a unified cause, especially in relation to the Spirit’s procession, but only to set forth the Spirit’s manifestation. Furthermore, the author shows that there is no contradiction between Gregory II and Gregory Palamas in the use of these prepositions, as some scholars have claimed. In general these prepositions are distinguished whenever the existence of the Persons in themselves is in view, but they are identified when the manner of existence of the Persons in communion is envisaged.

5. Fr. Sabbatos’ clarificatory exposition of the teaching of Patriarch Gregory II on the Holy Spirit and the Trinity is admirable, inasmuch as he has carefully analyzed the semantics of the terms and formulas used by this great Byzantine Patriarch in light of earlier Patristic and ecclesiastical Pneumatology and has shown that this Patriarch is the link between Photius the Great and Gregory Palamas. Gregory II was no Latinizer and no innovator, as he was accused. He used existing patristic terminology in a new way in order to overcome the impasse of the *Filioque* controversy and to contribute to the reunion of the West with the East. There are six major points in Fr. Sabbatos’ conclusions which summarize his understanding of Patriarch Gregory II’s doctrine:

1) The principle of the absolute Monarchy of the Father as the only origin, cause and source of the Son and the Spirit.

2) The principle of the interrelation of *ousia* and *hypostaseis*, namely, that the divine *ousia* is included in the *hypostasis* of the Father which is the cause of the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession. Thus the Son and the Spirit became *homoousioi* to the Father and to each other and so the *homoousion* cannot be understood apart from the eternal relation of the Father with the Son and the Holy Spirit. These relations are caused by the *hypostasis* of the Father and are based on the divine *ousia* as the content of the communion of the divine and consubstantial *hypostaseis*.

3) The distinction between *theologia* and *oikonomia*, which is not absolute because these two contexts are also related, has its origin in the *hypostasis* of the Father. According to the former He is the cause of the generation of the Son and of the procession of the Holy Spirit, but also of their communion with each other. According to the latter, He is the cause of the divine energies which are revealed through the Son and the Spirit. Furthermore, the *oikonomia* reveals the existence of the three Persons in their eternal Triadic relations and not their *hypostatic* manner of existence.

4) The Holy Spirit is a distinctive *hypostasis* that proceeds from the Father and exists with the Son eternally. This *hypostasis* is perfect and complementary because through it the Father perfects and completes the Trinitarian life and thus is revealed in time.

5) Gregory II uses the terms "to exist" and "to have existence" to denote respectively the relation and distinction of the divine Persons. The first term actually denotes the manner of the eternal existence and communion of the divine Persons, but not the *hypostatic* manner of their existence, i.e. the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit. The second term expresses the uniqueness of the *hypostasis* of the Father as the source and origin of the procession of the Spirit. The examination of the connection of these terms with the prepositions "from" and "through" leads to the clarification that the use of "through" denotes the eternal relation and life of the divine Persons in the Trinity and the manifestation of the Spirit through the Son.

6) Apart from the above terms Gregory II also applies to the Spirit the expressions "eternal shining forth through the Son" and "resting in the Son" which he takes from the earlier Patristic tradition. The former expression seems to be problematic because it suggests some kind of fusion of "*theologia* and *oikonomia*" or an "eternal *oikonomia*"

given that the "eternal" implies the context of "*theologia*" and the "shining forth" the context of "*oikonomia*." In fact it denotes the eternal possibility that the Son has to supply or send the Spirit in time, a possibility which is actually rooted in the eternal manner of communion of the divine Persons and is expressed by the second above-mentioned expression. The key to this exposition is the principle that the meaning of terms is determined by their context, i.e. by the way they are related to other expressions or terms.

There is a lot more to this book than what I have tried to summarize in this review. There are convincing arguments based on a careful examination of numerous original texts. Fr. Sabbatos, who has been newly appointed Lecturer of Patristics at the Faculty of Theology of Athens University, has demonstrated through his lucid erudition the coherence and continuity of the earlier and the later (Byzantine) patristic tradition. He has also shown that Eastern Orthodox theology did try to come up with solutions to the problem created by the Western addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed. The later Byzantine patristic doctrine contains new elements, which may help decisively the contemporary theological dialogue between the Eastern and Western Christian Traditions.

Fr. George Dion. Dragas

Thomas E. FitzGerald, *The Orthodox Church, Denominations in America* 7, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995) xiii+240 pp. \$65.00. Paperback student edition. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1998) xiii+165 pp. \$18.95.

On February 8, 1922, Meletios, the former Metropolitan of Athens, delivered his enthronement speech as newly elected Patriarch of Constantinople. Reflecting upon the condition of Orthodox Christianity in America, the new Patriarch stated: I saw the largest and the best of the Orthodox Church in the diaspora, and I understood how exalted the name of Orthodoxy could be, especially in the great country of the United States of America, if more than two million Orthodox people there were united into one Church organization, an American Orthodox Church. Meletios knew well the situation of the Greek Orthodox communities in America. As Metropolitan of Athens, he had led a delegation from the Church of Greece to America in 1918 to organize the disparate Greek communities. Within three months of his enthronement as Ecumenical Patriarch he had placed the newly

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Two Ecumenical Patriarchs from America: Meletios IV Metaxakis (1921-1923) and Athenagoras I Spyrou (1948-1972)

PROF. VASIL T. STAVRIDIS

Speaking in this historic Hall of the Maliotis Cultural Center, I would like first of all to thank the appropriate bodies of the Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology for their proposal, and especially His Eminence Archbishop Spyridon, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of this distinguished Institution for his blessing, in giving me the great honor to deliver the 1999 *Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lecture*. It is quite moving to me to be back in this important place of our Church, where I spent several happy years of research and teaching in the past and made long-lasting friends.

INTRODUCTION

In the life of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which has a long history of almost 20 centuries, we could particularly note the election of two Patriarchs to the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople since both of them came from the Greek Archdiocese of America. Meletios IV Metaxakis (1921-1923) held the throne for a short period of time, while Athenagoras Spyrou (1948-1972) was Ecumenical Patriarch for about 25 years, the longest period of time of any Patriarch of Constantinople in office after the conquest of the City (1453).

Both of these Patriarchs belong to the 20th Century, a period full of great and dramatic events: of two World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), of the fall of great Empires and the appearance of new States. This has been a century of vast social upheaval, when borders had to be redefined, when new ideologies emerged clashing with preexisting ones. Generally speaking, the two above-mentioned prelates

moved within that particular context, while their geographical and cultural backgrounds had as centers the USA and Constantinople, or rather present-day Istanbul and the whole world on a broader level.

Fortunately, enough time has passed and both the archives as well as many books and articles, both ecclesiastical and secular, are presently at our disposal. Bibliography on the various parts and aspects of this topic is abundant and gets richer by the day. Living experiences help a lot, but unanswered questions relating to these two outstanding and impressive personalities continue to engage the minds of historians and other scholars. In the following presentation an attempt will be made to briefly review the Biographies of these two distinguished prelates and to compare them to each other in order to point out existing similarities and differences between the two personalities which are of special significance to the history of the Church. Our attention will be mainly focused on the USA and the Patriarchate in the Phanar.

I. THE BIOGRAPHY OF PATRIARCH MELETIOS IV (1921-1923)

A. Early developments: Crete – Jerusalem – Antioch – Jerusalem – Travels – Expulsion

Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV, whose baptismal name was Emmanuel, was born in Crete on the 21st of September 1871. His parents were Nicholas Metaxakis and Maria Provatakis. His father was a cattle-breeder and a farmer. The boy Emmanuel completed his grammar school and part of his secondary education in Crete. Upon his father's demand the young boy also had to work with him in the fields. Emmanuel proved a good student, occasionally however he opposed his parents, being very lively and independent—characteristics, which he retained to the end of his life. He remained a person full of dynamism and an ardent lover and admirer of education.

In the year 1889, after receiving an invitation from his uncle, the Priest Stephanos Provatakis, and ignoring the objections of his parents, he went to Jerusalem. This was the beginning of his many wanderings around the world. For some church people this fact constitutes an asset, but for others it rather seems to be a shortcoming. His uncle introduced him to abbot Benjamin of the Monastery of St. Nicholas and the young boy completed his studies at the Seminary of the Holy Sepulchre.

Upon the election of Spyridon the spiritual father of abbot Ben-

jamin, the then Archbishop of Tabor, to the Patriarchal See of Antioch (1891), both Benjamin and Emmanuel Metaxakis moved to Antioch. Emmanuel was ordained a deacon (1892) and was given the name Meletios. The new deacon served in the Patriarchate of Antioch until 1899.

After the reopening of the Holy Cross School of Theology of the Holy Sepulchre (1893), Deacon Meletios returned to Jerusalem and entered that school, graduating from it with high honors in 1900. In the meantime he joined the renowned Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre becoming an *Agiotaphites*.

Three days after his graduation, Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem (1897-1931) appointed him Secretary, and two years later Chief Secretary of the Synod (*Archigrammateus*). In the meantime he was ordained to the priesthood and received the title of Archimandrite. In addition, he was made a member of the Board of Trustees of the School of Jerusalem. From his new positions he worked for the reorganization of the Patriarchal Press and the regular appearance of the patriarchal periodical *Nea Sion* (founded in 1904 and continued to the present) making these his goals for which he strove in the following years.

During that period Archimandrite Meletios engaged in considerable travelling. He visited Alexandria in 1903 and 1905. This was the period when his personal friend Photios Peroglou ascended the venerable Throne of that ancient and famed See (1903-1926). Meletios assisted Patriarch Photios in the publication of the patriarchal periodicals *Ecclesiasticos Pharos* and *Pantainos* (both founded in 1908 and continued to the present). In 1906 Austria and Russia were the destinations of his travelling and in 1907 he traveled to Cyprus for the solution of the main ecclesiastical problem.

In 1908 Archimandrite Meletios and Archimandrite Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (who later became Archbishop of Greece) were relieved of their duties in Jerusalem being 'expelled' by Patriarch Damianos, whereupon he came to Istanbul. This was the first case of an expulsion of such nature in the life of Meletios Metaxakis, which came from his superior authorities.

B. Metropolitan of Kitium – Involvement in the struggle between Royalists and Venizelists

While in Istanbul, Meletios Metaxakis was elected Metropolitan

of Kitium in the island of Cyprus in February 1910. He received Episcopal ordination at the Archbishopric of Nicosia in March 1910. Here he prepared the Charter of the Church of Cyprus. He founded the Priests Seminary (*Hieratike Schole*) of the Church of Cyprus in October 1910, and started the periodical *Ekklesiastikos Keryx*, which was first published in Cyprus (1911-1917), then in Athens (1918-1920) and finally in New York (1919-1922). As a Bishop of Kitium Meletios became a famous preacher, but he also distinguished himself as a leader. Wherever he served his main goal was Church reorganization.

In the meantime the political horizon of Greece saw the development of two main political parties which were destined to exert an influence in the career of Bishop Meletios. These parties were the Royalists who supported the Kings of Greece and the Venizelists, who supported the prominent Cretan republican politician Eleftherios Venizelos. Meletios Metaxakis, being a Cretan himself, openly supported Venizelos, a tendency which, for a long period of his life, will sometimes influence favorably and other times unfavorably his career.

As a Hierarchy of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus he visited Athens and Mount Athos (1913, 1914), and wrote an important study on the presence of the Russians on the Holy Mountain. During the vacancy of the Ecumenical Throne (1912-1913) his name was among the aspirants to this important position.

C. Metropolitan of Athens – First Visit to America – Expulsion from Athens – Return to America

In February 1918 the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece elected the Metropolitan of Kitium Meletios Metaxakis Metropolitan of Athens and ecclesiastical head of the Church of Greece. Generally speaking, with his elevation to the Throne of Athens he imbued a new spirit to the Church of Greece. Among other activities, he submitted the main ecclesiastical charter for the administration of the Church of Greece, which left its marks in the life of that Church in the years to come. His presence was, as always, felt on matters affecting church order, education, finances, philanthropy, ecclesiastical diplomacy and the like.

His tenure on the Throne of Athens coincided with the decision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to leave for a period of time (1908-1922)

the care of the Greek Orthodox of the Diaspora to the Church of Greece. Thus, the Metropolitan of Athens Meletios, taking advantage of this decision and accompanied by his assistant Bishop Alexander of Rodostolon, as well as his friends Archimandrite Chrysostome Papadopoulos and Dr. Hamilcar Alivisatos, both professors at the Theological School of the University of Athens, visited the USA. He was the first Greek Orthodox Hierarch to come to the USA and occupy himself with organizational matters of the Greek Orthodox Christians in the New World. He created the synodal trusteeship (*synodike epitropeia*) and appointed to that post Bishop Alexander who thus became the first Bishop of the Greek Church in the USA and later the first Archbishop of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America. During this visit to America Meletios of Athens had unofficial theological discussions with Episcopalians in America and Anglicans in England (1918). Meletios worked fervently for Anglican-Orthodox interests in this matter. While in England he was presented with the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Oxford.

Having accomplished his mission in the New World and having left Alexander in New York, Meletios returned to his See in Greece. It was not long after this, however, that his fortunes changed and he was forced once again to be on the go. In November 1920, following the general elections, which brought back to power the Royalists in Greece, Meletios of Athens was forced to leave his position by only a simple royal decree.

In February 1921 he chose immediately as his place of refuge the USA, where he returned and still continued to act as the holder of the See of Athens, overseeing the Greek Orthodox in this great country. During this second short stay in America, which actually amounted to a period of 10 months, Metropolitan Meletios worked hard with the assistance of Bishop Alexander firstly for the reconciliation of the two opposing parties within the Greek American Church, the Royalists and the Venizelists, and secondly, for the firmer organization of this new institution.

The first Congress of Clergy and Laity was held on September 13-15 1921 in the Holy Trinity Church of New York City. One of the most significant decrees of the Congress aimed at the incorporation of all Orthodox communities into the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Within a few days a constitution was

drawn up and the first Charter of the Archdiocese was approved by the State of New York on September 17, 1921. Then Alexander assumed the title of Archbishop and put himself under the *omophorion* of the Ecumenical Patriarch.

Other achievements of Meletios were the founding of the short-lived seminary of St. Athanasios (October, 1921-1923), the philanthropic treasury for the needy, and the publication of the *Ecclesiastical Herald* (*Ekklesiastikos Keryx*). As Metropolitan of Athens Meletios also maintained good relations with the other Orthodox and various heterodox Christian Churches, particularly with the Episcopal Church in the USA.

D. Ecumenical Patriarch – Expulsion/Resignation – Patriarch of Alexandria

On November 25 1921 Meletios of Athens was called to ascend the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople, the highest administrative post in the Orthodox Church. It was for the first time that such an event took place in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. That is, that Meletios Metaxakis, an Orthodox Hierarch and actually Metropolitan of Athens, being connected with the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America and residing at the time in the USA, should be summoned to become the Ecumenical Patriarch!

The overwhelming majority of the Greek Orthodox faithful in America were proud of him and of his election to the Patriarchal Throne. President Hoover received him and honored him at the White House. On January 1 1922 Meletios left New York and after visiting England and France he arrived in Istanbul on January 24 1922.

Upon his arrival in the city Meletios IV of Constantinople headed directly for the Patriarchate, where his ecclesiastical enthronement was enacted that same day (January 24 1922) without obtaining his secular recognition from the Ottoman State as it was required by the General Regulations (1858-1862). This action proved to be a major tactical mistake for the future of Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis. In his enthronement speech he did not forget to mention the Diaspora and particularly his beloved Orthodox Church in the USA.

As Patriarch Meletios wasted no time in taking important actions. On March 1 1922 he issued a Patriarchal and Synodical Encyclical whereby he reunited the Greek Orthodox Parishes of the Diaspora to

the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate reversing the 1908 decision of Patriarch Joachim III which had placed these parishes under the pastoral care of the Church of Greece.

He proceeded next, by issuing appropriate Patriarchal and Synodical Decrees, to the establishment: a) in April 1922 of the Metropolis of Thyateira and Exarchate of Western and Central Europe with its See in London and Germanos Strenopoulos (1922-1951) as its first Metropolitan; and b) in May 17 1922 of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America with Alexander (formerly of Rodostolon) as its first Archbishop (1922-1930). In the year following (1923) he granted autonomy to the Orthodox Churches of Finland, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Latvia by means of appropriate Tomes.

Patriarch Meletios IV also turned his attention to inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian relations. Thus, he called the Pan-Orthodox Congress of Istanbul in 1923, which changed the Julian Calendar, and discussed other issues of a practical and canonical nature. On the other hand, in a letter dated July 22 1922 and sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury Randall Davidson, Meletios IV of Constantinople announced the decision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to recognize Anglican orders with the view to facilitate rapprochement and re-union of the two Churches.

All this flurry of activity was interrupted by the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the new Turkish Republic by Kemal Ataturk in 1923. Meletios IV of Constantinople could not remain on his throne any longer. Asking for a three-month recuperation leave of absence he left Istanbul on July 10 1923 and came to Mount Athos, where he stayed in the monastic house of Mylopotamos (the same place of residence of his predecessor Joachim III). From there he sent his personal resignation to the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on September 20th 1923.

He moved later to Kifissia, a suburb of Athens, where on May 20th 1926 he was informed of his election to the venerable Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria as Meletios II. From his personal diary of this period we learn about his keen interest in the affairs of the Greek Orthodox in the USA. It seemed that his eye was still on America and the Greek American Church.

Meletios II of Alexandria continued successfully his many-sided work in the new Patriarchate until his death which occurred on Sunday night July the 28th 1935.

Crete, Jerusalem, Antioch, Cyprus, Greece, the USA, Constantinople, Mount Athos, and Alexandria were the ecclesiastical centers where Meletios Metaxakis served. From his late correspondence we get the impression that he fervently wished to ascend the throne of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to which he always owed his allegiance ever since he went there as a young man. This desire, however, was not to be fulfilled.

I. THE BIOGRAPHY OF PATRIARCH ATHENAGORAS I (1948-1972)

A. Early Developments: First growth – Deacon at Halki – Pelagonia – Mount Athos – Athens

Patriarch Athenagoras I, whose baptismal name was Aristocles Spyrou, was born on March 25 1886 in Epirus, Greece. His father Matthew Spyrou (1852-1908) was a medical doctor, and his mother Eleni (1863-1899) came from the Mocoros family. Aristocles had his primary and secondary education in the schools of his birthplace. In the year 1889 he and his mother got seriously ill and due to this illness his mother passed away.

Aristocles Spyrou always cherished in his mind the early memories from his childhood with the strongest of emotions springing from the sudden and untimely loss of his mother. His place of birth, Epirus, was during those years under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the young man experienced there how people of different races and religious beliefs could find ways of living peacefully together and this was something for which he strove throughout his life.

Aristocles Spyrou studied theology at the Theological School in Halki, Heybeli-Ada, in Istanbul, Turkey (1903-1910). During his stay in Halki he lost his father (1908). There he was ordained a deacon by Metropolitan Polycarpus of Elasson and was given the name Athenagoras (1910). His major dissertation bears the title: "The Election of the Patriarch of Constantinople from Constantine the Great to the Fall of Constantinople."

Deacon Athenagoras' first assignment (July 1910) was that of an archdeacon in the Metropolis of the Pelagonia (Monasterion), in present day Fyrom, which was under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at that time as a part of the Ottoman Empire. There he remained for 8 years until the fall of 1918 when this land was attached to the Orthodox Church of Serbia. The context in those years was multi-national and multi-religious.

Accompanying his mentor and spiritual father, the late Metropolitan of Pelagonia Chrysostomos, Deacon Athenagoras came to Mount Athos where he stayed until March 1919 in the monastic house of Mylopotamos, the house where his two predecessors, Patriarchs Joachim III and Meletios IV had spent a period of time. For the deacon Athenagoras his removal from the Pelagonia had been a forced departure.

Having received an invitation from the Metropolitan of Athens Meletios to serve under him, Deacon Athenagoras came to Athens in March 1919 and worked as a deacon and secretary to Meletios Metaxakis for two years, this being the first close contact of the two men. He managed to stay in the same position for two more years under Metaxakis' successor and arch-rival for the Throne of Athens Metropolitan Theocletos.

Thus, Deacon Athenagoras came to consider and accept Meletios Metaxakis as his mentor throughout his life, and revealed this on many occasions by expressing his high esteem for his mentor. He also admired the Patriarchs Cyril Lukaris (1612-1638), Germanos IV, the founder of the Theological School of Halki (1844), and Joachim III (1878-1884, 1901-1912). In Athens Deacon Athenagoras Spyrou revealed his abilities and zeal for hard work, as well as his diligence, abundant patience, and skills in ecclesiastical diplomacy.

B. Metropolitan of Corfu – Archbishop of America

On December 16 1922 the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece elected Deacon Athenagoras at the age of 36 Metropolitan of Corfu (1930). He was first ordained a Presbyter by the Bishop of Talantion Hierotheos and on December 22 1922, he was consecrated to the Episcopate by several Hierarchs, one of them being Damaskinos of Corinth who later served as Patriarchal Exarch to America and Archbishop of Athens.

Since his arrival at Corfu Athenagoras tried to restore order in this diocese. Besides the local people, a great number of refugees from Asia Minor needed support and protection, shelter, food, assistance and spiritual guidance.

He introduced the use of the organ in holy worship, an innovation which was quite unusual for the Church of Greece, and which was also later introduced in the Church in the USA. He had great respect

for the Saints and their relics, a thing that prompted him to recognize the sainthood of religious people during his Patriarchate (1948-1972). Those who have studied his life and work consider him a great preacher and speaker but not an author.

While in Corfu he cultivated good relations with the Roman Catholics and participated in some inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian meetings and conferences. He attended the conversations between the Orthodox delegation headed by Meletios Metaxakis of Alexandria and a special committee of the Seventh Lambeth Conference in London (1930), where he acted as secretary of the Orthodox under the guiding spirit of Meletios Metaxakis.

On August 12 1930 the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate promoted the Metropolitan of Corfu Athenagoras Spyrou to the headship of the Archbishopric of North and South America. He arrived in the USA on February 24 1931, equipped with politeness, versatility, farsightedness, ecclesiastical diplomacy, realism, a keen memory, and a reforming spirit. He spoke or understood Albanian, English, French, Greek, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish.

The gravest problems he faced there were those of a Church in the Diaspora, and particularly the division of the Greeks as Royalists and Venizelists. In the beginning of his church administration the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued *the Charter of 1931* which was kept in force until the year 1977. This Charter reinforced the authority of the Archbishop while the former Episcopal Synod ceased to exist and Assistant Bishops were introduced instead.

Athenagoras succeeded in restoring peace among his flock. He also turned his attention to ecclesiastical, religious, spiritual, social and educational matters. Among his achievements we may recall the foundation of various important institutions: 1) The Ladies Philoptochos Society (1931). 2) The Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, located at first in Pomfret Center Connecticut and later in Brookline Massachusetts (1937). 3) The Academy of St. Basil in Garrison NY, and 4) The publication *Orthodox Observer* (1934-present) of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. He also worked for the cooperation of the Orthodox jurisdictions in the USA (1943-) and in the field of inter-Christian relations.

C. Athenagoras: Ecumenical Patriarch - his work at home and abroad

We now come to the last period of Athenagoras' earthly life, when

the Endemousa Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected the Archbishop of North and South America on November 1 1948 to be the next Patriarch of Constantinople. Athenagoras Spyrou had moved throughout his life to different parts of the world: Epirus, Greece, Halki (Heybeliada in Turkey), Pelagonia (now in FYROM), Mount Athos, Athens, Corfu Greece, the USA, Istanbul Turkey. The only obligatory dismissal he experienced in all these movements was from Pelagonia to Mount Athos.

The newly elected Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople prolonged his stay in the USA for almost three months visiting the different central parishes and reviewing the work of the institutions of the Archdiocese which he had served for almost 2 decades. He arrived at his See by air on the private airplane of President Harry S. Truman on January 26 1949. He was enthroned on the next day, January 27, 1949. From the first days of his Patriarchate it became evident that the new Patriarch coming from abroad and not from the Patriarchal Court in Phanar was not going to follow strictly the traditional method of work as it was customary to the circles of the Phanar. He brought along all the personal qualities and charisms which have been pointed out in the previous pages.

Athenagoras had a striking personality and being a hard worker himself he wanted to have eventually everything under his personal control. In some critical moments in the life of the Church he did not seem to take into consideration the opinions and suggestions of other more experienced people. Within the Turkish Republic he was the first non-Turkish citizen to ascend the Ecumenical Throne acquiring his citizenship the moment he stepped on Turkish soil. He was the first Ecumenical Patriarch to visit the capital of Turkey, Ankara, and the state officials (1949, 1952) and the first to be visited by the then Prime Minister of Turkey Adnan Menderes (1952). Due to the Cyprus problem, however, things did not go so well in the years to come. He witnessed the tragic events of the night of September 6-7 1955: the mass exodus of the Greek Orthodox from Turkey that followed as a consequence, the confiscation of the two churches of St. Nicholas and St. John Prodromos in Galata (1965) by the sons of Efthym, and finally the closing of the theological school of Halki (1971) shortly before his death.

As Archbishop of Constantinople he tried to meet the spiritual needs of his faithful. The Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate under

his prelacy recognized as Saints, St. Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain of Athos (1955), St. Cosmas Aetolos, and St. Nectarios of Pentapolis, whom Athenagoras had known personally (1961), as well as some other religious persons. The Holy Myron (Chrism) was blessed twice during his Patriarchate (1951, 1960). Patriarch Athenagoras displayed a warm affection towards his Alma Mater, the theological school of Halki (-1971). He also experienced the satisfaction of seeing three additional academic centers founded during his Patriarchate: 1) The Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Chambésy near Geneva in Switzerland (1966), 2) The Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies at the Vlatades Monastery in Thessalonike, Greece (1968), and 3) The Orthodox Academy of Crete at Gonia of Kissamos near Chania in Crete, Greece (1968). Finally it was with his efforts that the Patriarchal Press started working once more (1951-1964), but the Turkish authorities put an end to its functioning in 1964. That also saw the termination of the publication of the two Patriarchal Periodicals, *Orthodoxia* (1926-1963) and *Apostolos Andreas* (1951-1964).

During Athenagoras' term of office the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople continued its work with the Patriarch as its President and Convener. We do come across some periods of tension between the members of the synod on the one hand and Patriarch Athenagoras on the other, but on the whole the period is marked by growth in several spheres of church life. The number of *archons* or honorary ecclesiastical officers increased remarkably during his time. Relations with the Church of Greece and the Church in America, where Athenagoras had previously served and had acquired first hand knowledge, were enhanced. The semi-autonomous Church of Crete was granted its new charter in 1961, and subsequently her bishops were named Metropolitans (1962) and the Metropolitan of Crete was given the title of Archbishop (1967). Furthermore, the Ecumenical Patriarchate activated the institution of Hierarchical Gatherings (*synaxes*), especially of the Hierarchs of the Dodecanese, who belonged to the Patriarchate's jurisdiction. These gatherings were presided over by the first ranking Hierarchy of these areas, or by a special Patriarchal Exarch or even by the Ecumenical Patriarch himself.

On the international scene the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued under Patriarch Athenagoras to regulate and to enhance the life and

work of the newly founded Orthodox churches of the Diaspora. These primarily included: a) the Church of Thyateira, based in London (1922) and encompassing the whole of Europe; b) the Church of America, based in New York (1922) and covering the two continents of the Americas; and c) that of Australia, based in Sydney (1924) which encompassed not only Australia but also New Zealand and the Far East. Through the creation of these vast ecclesiastical jurisdictions the ecumenicity of the Patriarchate of Constantinople became, geographically speaking, a new reality as never before. This expansion and reorganization grew apace with the immigration of the Greek Orthodox people to various parts of the world. Thus, after the tragic events of World War II (1939-1945) and the exodus of a great number of Greeks and of other Orthodox refugees to many parts of the world, the Patriarchate saw under Athenagoras of Constantinople the need to divide the initial vast jurisdictions of the Diaspora into smaller ecclesiastical units. Thus, under Athenagoras new Metropolises were formed in France, Germany and Austria in 1963, in Sweden and Belgium in 1969, and in New Zealand in 1970. Athenagoras' policy has been followed by his successors, Demetrios (1972-1991) and Bartholomaios (1991-).

Patriarch Athenagoras' term of office is marked by important visits, which promoted good relations. The Patriarch himself paid different visits to various countries and Churches outside Turkey. He visited many sister Orthodox and other Christian Churches and religious institutions. He had a fervent wish to go to the Church of Russia and to his beloved flock in the Americas, which unfortunately was not fulfilled. He was always happy to be visited by the heads of the Orthodox Churches and other leaders of the religious and the secular world. This exchange of visits, on various levels, constitutes one of the most significant events during the Patriarchate of Athenagoras because they created a new impetus in the promotion of inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian relations.

In the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which has the honor of precedence among the other sister Orthodox Churches, took the initiative to convene a Panorthodox or Ecumenical Synod, which finally took the name "The Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church." Athenagoras worked successfully towards this end by means of four Pan-Orthodox Conferences, which met in Rhodes in 1961, 1962 and 1964, and in Chambésy near Geneva in 1968 and

through the Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Committee for the Holy and Great Synod which met at Chambésy in 1971. Another important development on the Inter-Orthodox level is the foundation in 1953 of the international organization of the Orthodox Youth Movements called *Syndesmos*, which received the unequivocal blessing of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

In the decades following World War II (1939-1945) the relations between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches have undergone a change for the better. The Popes John XXIII and Paul VI on the one hand and the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras on the other were mainly responsible for the change of climate. Pope Paul VI continued the efforts begun by his predecessor. On his visit to Jerusalem in 1964 the meeting between him and the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem made history. The mutual lifting of the Anathemas between Rome and Constantinople in 1965, which had stood between the two Churches since 1054, was followed by the visit of Pope Paul VI to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul and the return visit to Rome by Athenagoras in 1967. This event of establishing good will and rapprochement between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism met with both positive and negative reactions. It is hard, however, to understand the attitude of some monks at Mount Athos, who stopped commemorating the Patriarch because of these exchanges between him and the Bishop of Rome. The fact is that on his part Patriarch Athenagoras, who adhered to the monastic vows and had himself had strong monastic inclinations, always showed great respect for monasticism.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate as a Church-member of the WCC continued its support of the work of this Council and tried to fulfill its obligations towards it. Furthermore, Patriarch Athenagoras encouraged the other Orthodox Churches to become members of this council and work together to project Orthodoxy as a unifying force. In 1955 the Patriarchate established its office for liaison at the headquarters of the WCC in Geneva.

Patriarch Athenagoras's work was interrupted by his death, which occurred on July 7 1972 at the Greek hospital of Balukli. His body was interred at the Patriarchal Cemetery in the Monastery of Balukli.

III. A COMPARISON OF THE PATRIARCHS

The two Patriarchs Meletios IV and Athenagoras I share some

common traits but also have qualities of their own, which mark their distinctive characters. The starting point for associating them is the fact that both of them served prior to their election to the patriarchal throne as head of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, an ecclesiastical unit of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Diaspora. On the other hand, both of these Church leaders were born within the borders of the vast Ottoman Empire and in the spiritual realm of the same Patriarchate.

Meletios VI Metaxakis who was a Cretan and was born in the year 1871 came from a family of peasants and had a strong and independent character and a restless spirit. Athenagoras Spyrou who was an Epirote and was born in the year 1886, 14 years after Meletios IV Metaxakis, grew in a family in which the father was a doctor and the mother a very sensitive person. Having lost his mother in early childhood and his father later in his youth he experienced very early in his life the pains known by orphans.

Ignoring the objections of his father Meletios VI decided to move to Jerusalem in order to study theology at the "Holy Cross" School of Theology and to join the "Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre" as a monk. It was there that he also received his ordination to the Diaconate in 1892 and to the Priesthood in 1900-1902. It was there too that he first served in different capacities, always trying to put in order the houses where he stayed, to assist in theological studies and publications and to act as an orator or preacher and as an advisor on crucial ecclesiastical matters in Jerusalem as well as beyond its borders and thus influencing the wider Orthodox and Christian world.

Athenagoras, who grew under the motherly care of his grandmother, followed his call calmly studying Theology at the Theological School of Halki near Istanbul and getting ordained there to the Diaconate (1910) 18 years after Meletios IV Metaxakis. His selection of the topic of "The Election of the Ecumenical Patriarch" as his major dissertation at Halki probably focused his attention to the fulfillment of this goal, namely his future elevation to the Patriarchal throne, a dream common to all celibate clergymen. This goal was made evident later on in his activities as Archbishop of North and South America.

His first assignment as an archdeacon of a remote diocese of the Ecumenical Patriarchate with heterogeneous population offered him the opportunity to learn not only how to serve the spiritual needs of

his own people, but also how to promote and implement cooperation among all men of good will—something he strove towards throughout his life. With the annexation of the Metropolis of Pelagonia to the Church of Serbia, he moved with his spiritual father to Mount Athos, where he stayed for a period of time and experienced the spiritual life daily at this beacon of Orthodox spirituality. Thus, he remained a monk throughout his life and entertained a great respect for the Holy Mountain and monasticism as a whole.

Meletios VI Metaxakis, as it has already been pointed out, was forced to leave some of the places where he had been serving. On one occasion, having been relieved of his duties in the Church of Jerusalem, he moved to Istanbul, where he was informed about his election to a Metropolitan See in the Church of Cyprus. He was ordained a bishop in his forties. Besides faithfully serving the Church, he openly supported the Venizelist Party in Greece. This inclination influenced his future endeavors both favorably and unfavorably.

From the Metropolitan See of the Church of Cyprus he was summoned to become the Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece (1918) at the age of 45. Following the change of the political climate in Greece Meletios of Athens would be forced to leave Athens and Greece (1920/1921) and find refuge in the USA. In his two successive visits to the States he would have the honor of laying the foundations of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

It was during the tenure of Meletios Metaxakis in Athens that the two men met for the first time. Meletios Metaxakis was in his fifties serving as Metropolitan of Athens and head of an autocephalous Church, and Athenagoras Spyrou was 32 years old and serving as a deacon. The two men had their differences. Athenagoras was a royalist, while Meletios Metaxakis supported the opposite party being himself a Venizelist. Yet the young deacon entered into the service of the Church of Greece as a confidant of the Metropolitan! The former succeeded in remaining in the same position even during the reign of the latter's archenemy and successor to the throne of Athens Metropolitan Theocletos (1922). Obviously Athenagoras tried very hard not to mingle with politics and keep as low a profile as possible. On the other hand it is evident that Athenagoras Spyrou remained an admirer of Meletios Metaxakis throughout his life, while avoiding the political extremes of his mentor. On some occasions they had the opportunity to meet with each other again.

Deacon Athenagoras Spyrou was elected to the Metropolitan See of Corfu in the Church of Greece in 1922, whereupon he received his ordination to the priesthood and to the episcopate within a few days. In his new position he proved to be an extremely successful church administrator, a chief pastor and a spiritual father. Meletios Metaxakis left the USA in 1921, never to return again leaving as Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America his former Assistant Bishop Alexander of Rodostolon (-1930).

It is interesting to note that Athenagoras of Corfu was to succeed Alexander, Meletios' man, as Archbishop of America in 1931 and to enter once again the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate where he was destined to remain until his death. Athenagoras of America was to continue the work begun by his predecessors, Meletios Metaxakis and Alexander (1922-1930), and by the Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Metropolitan Damaskinos of Corinth (1930). Here Archbishop Athenagoras had to accomplish two main tasks: a) to organize the Church and b) to eliminate the division of the Greek Orthodox people in the USA. As it is commonly acknowledged his work was crowned with success. During the long period of his prelacy (18 years), the longest prior to that of Archbishop Iakovos (1959-1996), he tried probably with an insight into the future to cultivate good relations with the Turkish diplomats residing in the USA.

Meletios Metaxakis for his part left the USA in an unusual and unprecedented way. On November 25 1921 he was elected Ecumenical Patriarch, thus abandoning the jurisdiction of the Church of Greece and entering the House of the Great Church of Christ after a vacancy of three years. In the meantime in the political arena World War I (1914-1918) had long ended. The Ottoman Empire, an ally of Germany, was on the losing side. In the treaty of Sevres (1920), an unfavorable treaty for the Ottomans, certain arrangements were made between the victors and the Ottomans. The Greek Army advanced towards Thrace and headed for Asia Minor. The Greeks were divided into Royalists and Venizelists. Besides Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, where the Ottoman Sultan and the state authorities resided, another political center located in Ankara with Mustafa Kemal as a leader was coming into existence. It was within this context and with the help of a strong Venizelist Party in Istanbul that Meletios Metaxakis was called to become Patriarch by a Holy Synod which did not represent the majority of the Hierarchs. It was

only on the surface, theoretically, that there seemed to be a majority in the Holy Synod for the sake of following proper procedure.

Coming from abroad Meletios Metaxakis did not seem to realize the existence of the factor which bore the name "Ottoman Empire" for the simple reason of the presence of the Patriarchate within the borders of the above mentioned Empire. This was a tactical mistake, which proved fatal for him and for his tenure on the Throne. In the meantime the political scenario began to change. The Turkish forces under Mustafa Kemal moved forward and forced the Greeks to retreat and with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 the Turkish-Greek War was terminated. In the course of these changes Meletios IV Metaxakis of Constantinople could not hold his post any longer. Under the pretext of ill health he left Istanbul and went to Mount Athos whence he sent his final resignation on September 20 1923. This was another and fortunately the last, but most painful, expulsion of Meletios Metaxakis from the post he was serving, indeed the highest post in Orthodoxy.

One of the stipulations of the Treaty of Lausanne was the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece with the Greek Orthodox confined only to Istanbul and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos (Gökçe ada and Bozca ada). Consequently, the Ecumenical Patriarchate was deprived of its flock in Asia Minor and Thrace, ironically enough from areas where Christianity had first started its expansion. This could probably be considered as a second reversal or blow in the life of the Ecumenical Patriarchate after the Fall of Constantinople (1453). On the positive side the reordering of the life of the Greek Orthodox in the Diaspora and the USA, the steps taken in the Inter-Orthodox and other fields, the calling of the Pan-Orthodox Congress of Istanbul in 1923 and some other decisions have left indelible marks in spite of the brevity of Meletios IV Metaxakis's reign on the Ecumenical Throne.

The accession of Meletios Metaxakis to the Alexandrian See was a soothing consolation after the traumatic experience he had to go through. Thus, once more he was able to offer his invaluable services to the second in seniority Patriarchate of the Holy Orthodox Church and on a wider level. The Lord called him to his eternal rest in 1935 at the age of 64 while still on the Patriarchal Throne. May his soul rest in peace!

Archbishop Athenagoras had probably had his eye on the Ecumenical Throne during his stay in the USA and thus tried, as we have

noted, to be on good terms both with the Turkish authorities and with their counterparts in Greece. This was the time when World War II (1939-1945) was over, with Greece having been an ally of the USA. After this war and the formation of two blocks of leading powers, on the one hand the USA and on the other the Soviet Union, Greece and Turkey became partners of the USA and Athenagoras emerged as the favored person by all three parties to ascend to the Ecumenical Throne. Upon the vacancy of the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople resulting from the resignation of Patriarch Maximos V, under the pretext of poor health, the appropriate Turkish authorities informed the Patriarchate that Archbishop Athenagoras of America was the only eligible incumbent to the throne. Consequently, the majority of the Holy Synod, abiding by the suggestion of the State, summoned Athenagoras who was 64 years of age to fill the Patriarchal Throne.

At the beginning Church State relations were perfect so to speak. Due to the Cyprus problem, however, which strained relations between Turkey and Greece, things took a bad turn. The tragic events of the night of September 6-7 in 1955, with the Turkish mob attacking the Greeks of Istanbul, their churches, schools, institutions, stores etc. were the most heartbreaking and frustrating events. With the rapid worsening of life conditions for the Greeks, the Greek Orthodox population of Constantinople was diminished in a very short period of time from 100,000 to 2-3,000. Thus, Patriarch Athenagoras, who had arrived in Turkey with great pomp, became towards the end of his life a *persona non grata*. Events somehow seem to run parallel to those that took place in the time of Meletios Metaxakis (1921-1923).

On the other hand, the period of Athenagoras' Patriarchate for almost a quarter of a century proved to be a golden era for the organization of the Patriarchate all over the world, and a time when inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian relations flourished or were at their best. Athenagoras, who had the blessing to remain in the Patriarchal Throne for so long a time, was directly involved in the formation of one or two generations of people entering the priesthood and serving at all levels of the Church or living a monastic life, for whom the Patriarch became their guiding spirit or symbol. God called him to eternity while still on the throne in his 85th year in 1972. His body lies in peace in the Patriarchal Cemetery of Balukli outside the Byzantine walls of the city.

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Veniaminov's Pastoral Ministry Among the Nomadic Ethnic Minorities of Northeast Asia

DR. SYMEON NIKOLAEVICH GOROKHOV

The spread of Christianity in the region of the Lena River began a long time before the arrival of Archbishop Innokentii in Yakutia. The nomadic peoples of Yakutia and the north were confessing Orthodoxy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by the end of the first third of that century it was reckoned that the Christianization of Yakutia was complete. But this success had yet to be consolidated, a mission that Archbishop Innokentii undertook. A particularly difficult part of his missionary activity was to spread, or strengthen, Christianity among the nomadic ethnic minorities of northeast Asia.

In the Yakutsk eparchy, Veniaminov occupied himself with the translations of service books into the Yakut language, the construction of church buildings, the establishment of new parishes, and the opening of church schools. His effort to involve native people in the missionary activity is clearly evident. The task of training clergy involved not only their knowledge of the Yakut language but also their acquaintance with native ways of life and beliefs. For this reason, the newly baptized were welcomed more than others into the theological seminary.

From the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century, the peoples of the North themselves, mainly wealthy ones, took an active part in setting up churches and chapels in places where the nomads usually roamed. In this way, the following churches were built, among others: the church of the Ascension in Oimyakonsk (1842), the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Uchursk (1846), the memo-

rial church of the Holy Apostle Andrew the First-Called in Ust-Maïsk (1854), the chapel of St. Stephan in Kiopsk (1864, through the support of the Evenk G.A. Aprosimov), the church of the Annunciation in Nel'kansk (1902), the church of the Saviour in Ust-Yansk (1844), the church of the Saviour in Indigirsk (1850), the chapel in Epambol'sk (1879, through the support of the Chukchi Andrei Amvraurgin), and others.¹

Tribal leaders were encouraged to bring their kinsmen into baptism under pressure from, or by encouragement from, the Chukotka mission run by the Committee of the Orthodox Missionary Society of the Yakutsk eparchy. Thus after a Chukchi leader named Chinin came to Innokentii and asked to be baptized, he then brought five of his people.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, virtually the entire population of Yakutia was reckoned to be Orthodox. According to records from the beginning of the 1870s, the population of the Yakutian region was 232,000. Among them, the number of Christians reached 230,000, including 219,000 Yakuts, Tungus, Chukchi and Yukaghirs.² However, they were only formally Christian. The priests from one *ulus* (district) after another complained that the natives did not observe the rules and customs of the Christian beliefs. The priest L. Kokoulin of the Verkhoyansk *ulus* wrote regarding the indigenous people, on 21 September 1866, that "the majority of them did not go to confession but resorted to the help of an idolater, did not cross themselves, did not baptize their children, and had forgotten their zealous preachers."³ They wrote that the natives of Yakutia, although received into Orthodoxy, still adhered to their pagan beliefs. In 1884, the Bishop of Yakutsk and Vilyuis, Iakov (Danskoi), wrote to the Holy Synod that "the majority of the Yakutians [i.e., the indigenous people of Yakutia in general — S.N.G.] often hold to superstitions about shamanizing, because they do not know the language or doctrine of Christianity."⁴

But some clergy would at times, perhaps even often, minister to patients together with native healers. A shaman's treatment could take the form of psycho-therapeutic, hypnotic and bio-energetic action on the patient. Orthodox clergy recognized their role as that of a physician. We know, for example, that in 1880, one Russian priest, having fallen ill, resorted to the help of a Yakutian shaman.⁵

Shamanism proved so difficult to eradicate that the Orthodox them-

selves would resort to the help of shamans particularly during times of illness or at loss of possessions. Participating in the Billings/Sarychev north-eastern expedition, 1785-1795, the captain of the fleet G.A. Sarychev, wrote that among the Cossacks of the Kolyma region superstitions and shamanism had not disappeared: the Cossacks would take recourse on occasion to the help provided through shamanizing. The Yakutsk government, despite efforts, failed to succeed in eradicating these prejudices.⁶ Another participant in this expedition, K. Merck, noticed that shamans continued to exercise influence among the Yakutians, and he proceeded to state that he felt they would do so until "the ray of enlightenment illumined the darkness of their ignorance."⁷

An historian of these regions, A.G. Chikachev, refers to interesting material describing the intense influence of local culture on the Russian population of the Kolyma and Indigirka. Being Russian himself, he distinguished various aspects of the spiritual life of the people there. In his work titled *Shamans' Healing among Russian Old Settlers*, he writes that the Russian by nature and origin is prone to a "double-belief" through which Christian ideas and pagan customs get on with each other wonderfully.⁸ Perhaps this is why shamanism proved to be so very popular among the Russian old settlers of Yakutia. The population of Pokhodsk and Russkoe-Ustie readily resorted to the help of a shaman; even statesmen and clergy sought his assistance. The priest A. Argentov wrote in his book *Fifteen years in the Nizhnekoliumsk area*: "Many patients find a visit from a shaman to be useful, as he appeals to the patient's imagination, supports his spirit, raises his hopes, and quiets and encourages his relations. One must agree that effective shamans are useful there."

The dissemination of Christianity among the Northern peoples surely had a positive influence in many respects of their social, economic and cultural life. It stimulated their economic growth and, to a certain extent, acquainted them with the life of Russian society, especially with the Russian trade market. Church schools were opened, and at times these people received medical treatment, etc. However, Christianity as the religion of the conquerors came into conflict with shamanism as a belief-system of defeated minorities, incompatible with the canons of the Orthodox religion. The initial representatives of Christianity noticed that shamans were not only their rivals but their potential enemies.

Although records show that the vast majority of the indigenous peoples had been baptized by the 1820s, and therefore statements were made that the Christianization of the Yakuts and the peoples of the North had been completed and that the affirmation of the new faith had begun; not so many indigenous people actually had accepted the Orthodox belief and broken with paganism and its rituals. Christianity was only superficially assumed by the Yakuts and particularly the Northern nomads. They accepted the religion outwardly because it brought economic advantages, while inwardly or privately they remained pagans.

Such a contradiction was caused by objective factors. The aboriginal religious notions, rituals and other traditions of the Yakutian peoples were closely connected with their economic activity. Economic activity was closely bound-in with their social as well as spiritual life. Cattle-breeding, reindeer-herding, hunting and fishing remained the basic livelihoods for the Yakutian peoples and determined the spiritual sphere of their existence. The Orthodox religion did not bring about any noticeable changes in economic life; and the doctrines of the Christian belief in God were expressed in an unknown language and were, therefore, difficult to comprehend. While these people may have been attracted by the exotic Orthodox rituals, they had their own beliefs about God. It would be impossible to overcome the conservatism of their mentality in such a short time without changing the economic structure of their societies radically.

Representatives of the Orthodox Church were at times meant, not only to explain the advantages of the new faith, but also to root-out the old one using any and all means and ways. Shamans were persecuted beginning in the seventeenth century. Firstly, they were victimized as leaders of the opposition, then later as ideologists of the traditional beliefs. Authorities along with priests demanded that shamans not only renounce "sorcery" but declare "public repentance." Shamans' paraphernalia were taken away and burnt.

Yakut *toions* [civic leaders — ed.] as well as the tribal heads of the Northern people took part in the effort of the Church to eradicate shamanism. *Toions* officially assumed the task of enforcing the Orthodox canons and ritual observances along with the task of rooting-out and banishing shamans. Thus, the struggle for the eradication of shamanism began long before the establishment of Soviet power. During the later era, in 1930, for instance, more than forty

people were falsely accused of shamanism and were arrested in the Ust-Yansk *ulus* where only a small number of Evens lived. They were brought to Yakutsk by way of Verkhoyansk on reindeer sleighs in December. Six people froze to death as the sleighs pressed on at night in route from Kazachi to Verkhoyansk. Reaching Yakutsk, the survivors were released as innocent. Attempts at eradication which had begun earlier, however, which were closely connected with the colonial policy of tsarism, and increased the feudal yoke and the economic and spiritual enslavement of the dependent aboriginals. The destruction of the earlier forms of religious shamanism inflicted the greatest ethno-psychological wound on the aboriginal people. Yet deep in their hearts, these people retained their traditional beliefs, rituals and traditions. A.E. Kulakovski has noted that if the development of the "religion" of the Yakutian aboriginals had not been interrupted by Christianity, it would have evolved and flourished.⁹

Nowadays in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), we find a very peculiar condition. There are many different confessions. Many religions and sects have found conducive ground in this remote desert. Here today we shall find a Roman Catholic monastery, and diverse churches and temples including the "Unification Church" led by the Korean Moon, the "Church of the Last Testament" led by Vissarion, Adventists, Baptists, New Apostolics, Bahai, Evangelical Christians and others — as well as, of course, the Orthodox and the admirers of shamanism and of ancient beliefs of the aboriginal peoples. Orthodoxy came to prevail three centuries ago and has since enjoyed state protection, then and now, except during the Soviet era; and it is quite understandable that an opposition should exist between the Orthodox Church and paganism.

According to a decision by the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksei II and by the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, on 23 December 1993, the diocese of Yakutsk was restored with Bishop Herman (Moralin) at the head. At the time of Bishop Herman's elevation, Patriarch Aleksei II stated: "The storm of atheism that swept over Yakutia destroyed what was spread by our Orthodox missionaries and was created by our Church." He advised with emphasis that the pious Orthodox people should courageously resist the current influx of eastern teachings and the stream of domestic sorcerers.

In contrast to the Orthodox Church, the followers of the pagan religions cannot pride themselves on any considerable success. There

have been attempts to revive the pre-Christian religions among the Yakuts, Evens and Yukaghirs. Often the attempts are artificial, as many people have forgotten the rites of their cults. As early as 1920, Kulakovski wrote: "It is extremely difficult to build up anew an adequate building from the splinters of the ruined Yakut religion ..." ¹⁰ This statement pertains to a significant measure to the religions of the Northern folk also. Pre-Christian religions of the peoples of Yakutia have survived to some degree though. It will take time to revive them.

It is difficult to say which religious beliefs will prevail in Yakutia, while it is obvious that each religion will strive for a place on the religious map of the land. Perhaps the statistics, showing the numbers of followers of each religion, will eventually provide an adequate answer. The most important factor is that the process should pass through calm and tolerant forums.

Archbishop Innokentii laboured to consolidate Orthodoxy among the Northern nomadic peoples along with the Yakut people within a context that it was not too dissimilar to the context today. The extent to which his labours succeeded or were entirely worthwhile has yet to be proven convincingly for some.

NOTES

¹ E.S. Shishigin, *Yakutskaya Eparchiya*, Mirny, pp. 54-59.

² See *Pamyatnaya knizhka Yakutskoi oblasti na 1871 g.* Yakutsk (1872), p. 186.

³ National Archives of the Sakha Republic, Yakutsk, f. 226-i, 1, vol. 8, doc. 4347, p. 18.

⁴ P. Yavolski, *Sistematicheskii ukazatel statei Yakutskikh eparkhal' n' ikh vedomostei za pervoe desyatiletie izdaniya: 1887-1897*, Moscow (1898), p. 1.

⁵ See: Ya.I. Lindenau, *Opisanie narodov Sibiri (pervaya polovina XVII veka)*, Magadan (1983), p. 191.

⁶ Quoted in P.N. Il'yakhov-Khamsa, *Bor'ba s shamanizmom v Yakutii*, Yakutsk (1995), p. 3.

⁷ Quoted in V.N. Ivanov, *Russkie uchen'ie o narodakh severo-vostoka Azii*, Yakutsk (1978), p. 43.

⁸ A.G. Chikachev, "*Shamanskoe lechenie*" *russkikh starozhilov*, Yakutsk (1994), pp. 99-101. [Editor's comment — The notion of a "double-belief" was criticized as hasty and inappropriate during discussions in Edinburgh and Yakutsk. For the locations of the Kolyma and the Indigirka, which are very remote regions, see Introduction, sec.4.]

⁹ A.E. Kulakovski, *Maternaliu dlya izucheniya verovanii yakutov*, Yakutsk (1923), p. 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

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